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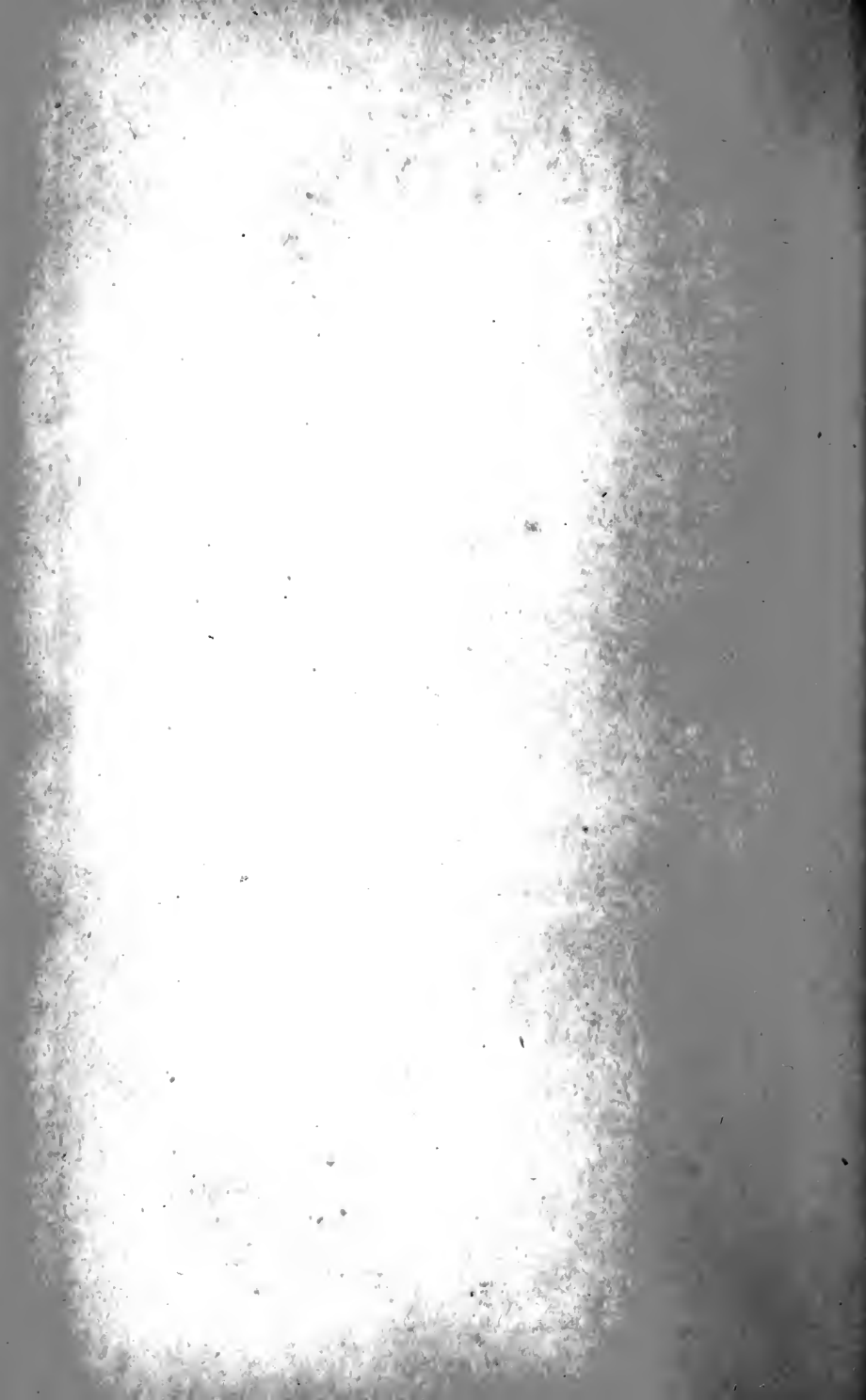
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J. H. Harrison



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## Social Science

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Ethical, Economical, Political, and Ameliorative  
Aspects.

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# Meliora.

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- ART. I.—1. *Thoughts on Convict Management, &c.* By Captain Maconochie, R.N., K.H. Hobart Town. 1838.
2. *Crime and Punishment.* By Captain Maconochie. London: Hatchard and Son. 1846.
3. *Norfolk Island.* By Captain Maconochie. London: Hatchard and Son. 1847.
4. *Reformatory Discipline in County and Borough Gaols.* By Captain Maconochie. Birmingham: Grew and Son. 1851.
5. *Account of the Public Prison of Valencia, with Observations by Captain Maconochie.* London: Gilpin. 1852.
6. *Penal Discipline. Three Letters to the 'Daily News.'* By Captain Maconochie. London: Thomas Harrison. 1853.
7. *Irish Convict Prisons.* By Matthew Davenport Hill, Q.C. London: Parker and Son. 1857.
8. *The Immunity of 'Habitual Criminals.'* By Captain Walter Crofton, C.B., Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons in Ireland. London: Bell and Daldy. 1861.
9. *The Convict Service. A Letter to Sir George Cornwall Lewis, Bart.* By C. P. Measor, Esq., Deputy-Governor of Chatham Convict Prison. London: Robert Hardwicke. 1861.

FEW individuals, we may safely aver, have exercised an influence beneficial to their fellow-men at once so widely extended and so little recognized, as the late Captain Maconochie. His name, it is true, has for many years not been unfamiliar to the public, simply because no opportunity was ever lost by him of uttering the truths he held to be vital; of fulfilling the duty he set himself when a residence in Tasmania having opened his eyes alike to the horrors of the convict system there, and the errors of prison discipline at home, he resolved he would do what in him lay, at any cost to himself, to initiate a reform in England's treatment of her criminals. But the popular mind holding that the object of punishment is to deter, and will be achieved by temporarily depriving the offender of the physical ability to do wrong, is slow to grasp the doctrine taught by Captain Maconochie, that its aim should be to implant the will and teach the way to do right. Oblivious of the painful and long-continued effort it costs the best of us to overcome even one bad habit, the suffering inevitably inflicted by that system which

obtains from the deeply-dyed criminal voluntary obedience to the command—‘Cease to do evil, learn to do well,’ was ignored, and Captain Maconochie, when he sought to substitute moral for coercive discipline, was regarded as an amiable visionary, who vainly desired to coax by weak indulgence those who could effectually be governed by the lash alone. Bit by bit, however, though too often without acknowledgment of their authorship, his plans have been adopted, until in 1856 a Committee of the House of Commons embodied in its resolutions most of the principles for whose acceptance by the Legislature he had struggled incessantly from the time he first enunciated them in 1837. His advocacy was still unrecognized; but the genuine philanthropist cares little for the acknowledgment of his efforts if their end be attained; and had those resolutions embraced the substitution originally suggested by Archbishop Whately, of *task* for *time* sentences, which constitutes the keystone of Captain Maconochie’s system, he would have felt amply repaid for twenty years of toil, disappointment, and pecuniary loss, whether his name had been associated with the triumph or not.

Born in 1787, and entering the navy at fifteen years of age, he saw much active service, and attained his captaincy before the downfall of Napoleon put an end to the war. Thus he had had experience in the management of large bodies of men, and had already tested the value of the principle of mutual responsibility which afterwards became an important feature in his plan for the treatment of criminals, when in 1836, upon the invitation of his old friend Sir John Franklin, appointed Governor of Van Diemen’s Land, Captain Maconochie accompanied him thither as his secretary; and his thoughts would probably have occupied themselves with the subject of convict management, even had they not been specially turned in that direction by a request from the Prison Discipline Society to correspond with them on the subject.\*

In the early days of the colony, what is termed *Assignment* had had much to recommend it. Free labourers were too few in number to form a class distinct from the bond, and the latter would dwell with the masters to whom they were assigned by Government almost on terms of equality, common hardships and dangers creating a friendly sympathy. The convict, removed from evil associations and companions, would feel that he was beginning life afresh, with his fate in his own hands; while the primitive state of the society of which he found himself a member, would afford few of the temptations to evil to which he had succumbed in the old world. Moreover, he would be purified by those genial influ-

\* Life of Captain Maconochie, in ‘Our Exemplars, Poor and Rich.’ Edited by Matthew Davenport Hill. London: Cassell and Co. 1861.

ences of domestic life, to secure which, by artificial combinations, where the real family is unattainable, is now the special aim of the most enlightened criminal reformers. Indeed, a system of apprenticeship, in principle akin to assignment, though far better guarded from abuse, is at the present time, in the backwoods of America, training up thousands of destitute and criminal juveniles to be good and happy men and women.

But the Australian colonies rapidly advanced in prosperity. Free labourers poured in, thrusting the convicts downwards in the scale, until they were regarded as pariahs. Meanwhile, the temptations to crime incident to wealth and numbers rapidly multiplied, and the masters having been amply supplied with physical means of repression, too often abandoned all attempt to restrain their assigned servants by moral influences. Having thus begun to fall back, mutual deterioration rapidly ensued; and years before Capt. Maconochie arrived, a system of virtual slavery, in some respects almost as atrocious even as that of the United States, threatened ruin, moral and material, to the community. It would be unjust not to except many masters from condemnation; and the honest discharge of their duty towards their dependents was still often rewarded by the faithful service and subsequent good conduct of the latter. In the thickly-populated districts especially, public opinion in some degree shielded the convict from the extremity of oppression; but that great tyranny was exercised even at the seat of government, (though sinking to a trifle when compared with the cruelty perpetrated up the country), the following conversation in 182—, will serve to show. The speakers are the author of 'Settlers and Convicts,' and an old resident in the colony, who narrates a few instances of such horrors as afterwards came to the knowledge of Captain Maconochie by hundreds.

'You may wonder, my lad,' he said, 'at what you read about the treatment of prisoners; most people do when they first come. But you'll see things yet up the country, that these Sydney doings are only child's play by the side of.'

'You don't mean to say,' I replied, 'that I shall meet with anything worse than this case I have just read. Here is an offence called by three different names; three several charges are made upon it; three several trials, three several sentences, and three several punishments following. A man gets drunk, has his clothes stolen, and is afraid to go home to his master. He is tried first for drunkenness, a second time for making away with his clothing, and a third time for absconding. His sentence is in sum total one hundred lashes, which, with the cat-o'-nine-tails, is really nine hundred lashes.'

'Why, I have known the same act to be called by five different names and five sentences passed upon the prisoner for it. It was in the case of a Government servant belonging to a magistrate near me. The man, as in the case you read, had got a drop of liquor from a travelling dealer. His master's son, a very pert young fellow, began to curse at and threaten him. The man retorted; a constable was sent for, whom he knocked down and escaped from. He then ran off into the bush, taking with him, as he passed his own hut, about three parts of a cake he had by him ready baked. The young fellow prosecuted him for drunkenness, insolence, theft (the piece of bread, for rations are considered the master's till used), and bushranging; and then the magistrate made the constable swear the

assault against him. He got twenty-five lashes for drunkenness, twenty-five for insolence, fifty for bushranging, six months to an iron gang \* for stealing the cake, and three months for assaulting a peace-officer in the execution of his duty. The flogging he got before going to the iron gang frightened him; and on receiving sentence for some trivial offence at the iron gang, he escaped before the punishment was inflicted, took to the bush, joined a gang of bushrangers, who had arms, committed several robberies with them, was taken with arms in his hands, and hanged. The man was a quiet, hard-working, honest fellow, but he could not stand flogging, and he was fond of liquor. The crime he was sent here for he committed when drunk, and it was perhaps the only one he had to answer for. That man was murdered; and so hundreds upon hundreds have been, and are being, every year in this cursed country.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'The fact is, flogging in this country is such a common thing, that nobody thinks anything of it. I have seen young children practising on a tree as children in England play at horses. I have now got a man under me who received 2,600 lashes with the cat in about five years, and his worst crime was insolence to his overseer. The fact is, that the man is a red-hot Tipperary man, and when his blood gets up, you could not make him hold his tongue if you were to threaten to hang him. Since I have had him he has never had a lash, just because I take no notice of what he says. The consequence is, there is nothing in the world that man would not do for me if he could.'

\* \* \* \* \*

'What I tell you now, I tell you on the authority of my own eyes. I was sent for to Bathurst Court House, to identify a man supposed to have taken the bush, from the farm I have charge of. I had to go past the triangles, where they had been flogging incessantly for hours. I saw a man walk across the yard with the blood that had run from his lacerated flesh squashing out of his shoes at every step he took. A dog was licking the blood off the triangles, and the ants were carrying away great pieces of human flesh that the lash had scattered about the ground. The scourger's foot had worn a deep hole in the ground by the violence with which he whirled himself round on it to strike the quivering and wealed back, out of which stuck the sinews, white, ragged, and swollen. The infliction was one hundred lashes, at about half-minute time, so as to extend the punishment through nearly an hour. The day was hot enough to overcome a man merely standing that length of time in the sun; and this was going on in the full blaze of it. However, they had a pair of scourgers who gave one another spell and spell about, and they were bespattered with blood like a couple of butchers.'

The evidence given by Colonel Arthur before the Transportation Committee of the House of Commons in 1837 was to the same effect; and yet so ignorant was he of the true principles of punishment, so prejudiced in favour of assignment (and in these respects we may regard him as the fair representative of the state of public opinion in the colony), that, to quote his own avowal, he said, '*I think it affords a better prospect of reformation than any other species of punishment I am aware of!!!*'

Arriving in Van Diemen's Land, Captain Maconochie found himself an abolitionist in a land of slavery, and bitter was the animosity excited by the declaration he made of his opinions. Social advantage and pecuniary interest alike prompted silence. Both were unhesitatingly sacrificed. He had put his hand to the plough, and he never looked back. In the following year he

\* Prisoners working in irons.

† Settlers and Convicts.' London, Cox. 1852.,

forwarded to the Home Government three elaborate reports upon the social condition of the colony, but chiefly as it concerned the convict population. He pointed out the cruel injustice of a system of which the degree of punishment it imposed must be quite uncertain, as wholly dependent upon the character of the master who administered it; he declared the suffering it inflicted to far surpass that attributed to it in England, and showed how it was felt most acutely by the best-disposed prisoners, its effect being gradually to reduce all to one dead level of hardened crime. Of good conduct no official record was kept, that which was punishable being alone noted, while this was infinitely increased, and the distinction between right and wrong broken down by the arbitrary multiplication of conventional offences. The labour of the convicts he showed to be worth less than half that of free men, the settlers themselves declaring it to be not worth even a quarter;\* while by official papers transmitted with his report he proved that, as regarded reformation, the system was not only a failure, but that it was actually productive of crime to an enormous extent, both by instigating to further wrong-doing its immediate victims, the convicts, and by the corrupting influence it inevitably exercised upon the free population. That the wretched prisoner, he said, did not become an absolute devil, was solely to be attributed to the unquenchable divine spark in every human breast; and he touchingly illustrated the convict's abasement among his fellow-men, and at the same time his yearning for sympathy, by allusion to the passionate love he feels for his dog, who alone of all living creatures respects him.†

Having demonstrated the evils he sought to exterminate, and shown that the interests of society and of the malefactor, erroneously regarded as antagonistic, are, in truth, identical, he proposed a plan in substitution of the existing system of criminal discipline both in England and the colonies. We cite it from a Report by a Committee of the Law Amendment Society upon Captain Maconochie's writings, drawn up in 1846, when time and four years' practical experience had matured and in some degree modified his views.

'1. Captain Maconochie's plan had its origin in his experience of the evil tendency of sentences for a time certain, and of fixed gratuitous gaol rations of food. These he practically found opposed to the reformation of the criminal. A man under a time-sentence looks exclusively to the means of beguiling that time. He is thereby led to evade labour, and to seek opportunities of personal gratification, obtained, in extreme cases, even in ways most horrible. His powers of deception are sharpened for the purpose, and even when unable to offend in act he seeks in fancy a gratification by gloating over impure images. At the best his life stagnates, no proper object of pursuit being presented to his thoughts. And the allot-

\* This proportion obtains at the present day in England, a navy excavating eight cubic yards while the convict excavates two.—*The Convict Service*.

† 'Thoughts on Convict Management.'

ment of fixed gratuitous rations, irrespective of conduct or exertion, further aggravates the evil by removing even the minor stimulus to action furnished by the necessity of procuring food, and by thus directly fostering those habits of improvidence, which, perhaps even more than determined vice, lead to crime.

‘2. In lieu of sentences to imprisonment or transportation measured thus by months or years, Captain Maconochie recommends sentences to an amount of labour, measured by a given number of marks, to be placed to the debit of the convict, in books to be kept for the purpose; this debit to be from time to time further augmented by charges made in the same currency for all supplies of food and clothing, and by any fines that may be imposed for misconduct. The duration of his sentence will thus be made to depend on three circumstances: first, the gravity of the original offence, or the estimate made by the judge of the amount of discipline which the criminal ought to undergo before he is restored to liberty. This regulates the amount of the original debit. Second, the zeal, industry, and effectiveness of his labour in the works allotted to him, which furnishes him with the means of payment, or of adding from time to time to the credit side of his account. And third, his conduct in confinement. If well conducted, he will avoid fines, and if economical in food and such other gratifications as he is permitted to purchase with his marks, he will keep down the amount of his debits.

‘3. By these means Captain Maconochie contends that a term of imprisonment may be brought to bear a close resemblance to adversity in ordinary life, which being deeply felt is carefully shunned, but which, nevertheless, when encountered in a manful spirit, improves and elevates the character. All the objects of punishment will be thus attained. There will be continued destitution unless relief is sought by exertion, and hence there will be labour and suffering; but with exertion there will not only be the hope, but the certainty of recovery, whence there will be improvement in good habits and right thinking. And the motives put into operation to produce effort and economy being also of the same character with those existing in ordinary life, will advantageously prepare the prisoner for their wholesome action on him after his discharge.

‘4. . . . After the prisoner has passed through a term of probation, to be measured, not by lapse of time, but by his conduct as indicated by the state of his account, he shall be advanced from separate confinement into a social state. For this purpose he shall become a member of a small class of six or eight [associated by mutual consent]; these classes being capable of being separated from each other just as individuals are separated from individuals during the earlier stage. The members of each class to have a common interest; the marks earned or lost by each to count to the gain or loss of his party, not of himself exclusively. By this means Captain Maconochie thinks prisoners will be rescued from the simply *gregarious* state of existence, which is, in truth, a selfish one, now incident to imprisonment in those gaols to which the separate system is not applied, and will be raised into a *social* existence. Captain Maconochie is convinced, by observation, that much good feeling will be elicited among them in consequence of this change. Indolence and vice, which either prevent the prisoner from earning, or compel him to forfeit his marks, will become unpopular in the community, and industry and good conduct, as enabling him to acquire and preserve them, will, on the contrary, obtain for him its approbation. On much experience he asserts that no portion of his *modus operandi* is more effective than this,\* by which even in the depraved community of Norfolk Island, he succeeded, in a wonderfully short time, in giving an upward direction to the public opinion of the class of prisoners themselves.†

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\* Sir George Gipps, in 1839, tried it with his road-parties near Sydney with complete success; and last year Mr. Foster, late Comptroller-General of Convicts, in Van Diemen's Land, who was otherwise strongly opposed to the system, tried it to the letter, even to distributing the men in detached huts, and giving them the choice of their associates, in one of his districts, with the same results. The Rev. Mr. Ewing, a clergyman recently returned from Van Diemen's Land, who furnishes this statement, himself inspected the parties so managed, and testifies to their superior conduct.

† ‘Crime and Punishment.’

The Committee then proceeds to consider the various objections which from time to time had been urged against the Mark System, as the Captain entitled his plan. These it satisfactorily answers, and concludes by urging its adoption as an experiment.

One change of opinion, frankly avowed by Captain Maconochie, and of great importance as a testimony to the soundness of the doctrine that the sole object of the punisher must be the reformation of the punished, we must specially note. Before he went to Norfolk Island, he regarded the primary stage of his system—namely, separate confinement, under conditions of much severity—as punishment for the past; while probation, or training for the future, commenced with the second or associate stage. His experience there, however, convinced him ‘that there ought to be no vindictive punishment at all; but the stricter coercion in the beginning, and the lighter coercion in the end, should be, not two processes with different objects, but two parts of one process, sliding imperceptibly into each other, and having only one common object, the reform of the individuals under treatment.’\*

This may appear a mere verbal difference, since the discipline to be pursued remains the same. But it, in fact, involves a fundamental principle, disregard of which may cause the administrator to drift as far from the right path as would the ship whose helmsman neglected to use his compass.

Before proceeding further let us disclaim, as Captain Maconochie earnestly disclaimed himself, originality in the principles he advanced. But for the promulgation of those principles, in season and out of season, for the beautifully devised system he founded upon them, and for the practical testimony to its efficiency his administration of it afforded, our gratitude is due to his genius and perseverance, his Christian philanthropy and entire self-devotion.

Regarding punishment as a benevolent means instead of a vindictive end, Captain Maconochie, in his earliest treatise, defined vice to be a disease, and penal science to be moral surgery. In prison discipline, as in medical treatment, the cure of the patient is the end to be attained; and while, on the one hand, no genial influence which can accelerate that process should be wanting, neither, on the other, must any remedy, however painful, if essential to recovery, be withheld. The moral effect of looking upon punishment from this point of view he considered most beneficial.

\* ‘The situation of a gaoler, or other minister of penal law, is considered at present searing to the feelings; and the interior of a prison is believed to exhibit little but the severe infliction of restraint and suffering, on the one hand, and their patient endurance on the other. It is not so with the practice of surgery, or the interior of an hospital. In these, extreme suffering is often inflicted

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\* MS. Memorandum, by Captain Maconochie, of his experience at Norfolk Island.

and endured, yet it neither sears nor irritates the feelings of either party concerned, but, on the contrary, frequently refines and elevates them. And the nearer we can make the *benevolent intention* of the one set of acts as obvious, both to actor and sufferer, as that of the other, the nearer we shall bring the results to resemble also.\* And elsewhere he says: 'The tone and spirit in which criminals are now received and treated in prison should be greatly modified. This is at present supercilious, and, in many cases, even contemptuous, and habitually denunciatory; and it should, instead, be rather that in which patients are received into an hospital. The hatefulness of the crime that has been committed, or the contempt excited by it, should be indeed freely expressed; on this head there should be no compromise: but the criminal should be studiously regarded apart from it as an object of compassion, now sadly fallen indeed, but yet recoverable, and sent to be recovered. A tone of hopefulness for his case should thus be maintained, and of confidence that when put in the right way, he will be manly enough to abide in it. This idea of manliness, as attached to virtue, and of weakness and pusillanimity, as exhibited in yielding to vice, should be especially insisted on.† I have seen the greatest benefit derived from it in dealing with rough and fallen natures.'†

It has been a common error, among superficial inquirers into Captain Maconochie's system, to regard its lenient features alone, ignoring its sterner characteristics. Yet an integral portion of his scheme demands that the prisoner should be required to earn by hard labour, combined with good conduct, not only every privilege he is allowed to enjoy, but every necessary of life, food included; even—in accordance with the law of nature, which Captain Maconochie sedulously copied—to the extent of leaving him to starve if he would not work,—a contingency, however, it must be owned, barely possible under the influence of the moral as well as physical incentives to exertion which the same scheme brings into operation. Disapproving of rations under any circumstances, he especially deplored those rules of the English convict prisons which insure to the inmates, without effort on their part, an ample supply of food, far superior in quality to that which the honest labourer can procure by the hardest toil. True, this abundance of nourishment is found necessary to keep the convicts in health. Indeed, notwithstanding such support, they not unfrequently lose strength and weight; but it is to the mental and moral depression resulting from a coercive system that this physical deterioration is owing. 'Give me a crust and *liberty*,' was a petition based on the soundest physiological principles; and very frugal fare, combined with such liberty of choice as Captain Maconochie's system accords, suffices, it is well known, to maintain the prisoner in vigorous health.

Having thus indicated his plan of criminal discipline as fully as our limits will allow, though compelled to omit many minor points of deep interest which we hope our readers will study for themselves in his various publications, we must hasten to show what results have been attained by his theory when reduced to practice, both under his own administration, and more recently, in Ireland,

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\* 'The Social System of Convict Management.'

† 'Penal Discipline.'

by Captain Walter Crofton, who, while further developing, and in some respects modifying the plan pursued at Norfolk Island, has avowedly based his noble scheme of criminal reformation upon the principles contended for by Captain Maconochie. With reference to one feature of the system, we may quote the following passage from Captain Crofton's recent pamphlet, to which we shall have occasion to return: 'The manner in which a criminal works himself into different stages of progress is by means of marks, which simply and intelligibly note and measure his improvement. A system of marks was originally devised by the late Captain Maconochie, of which the Irish system is but a faint copy; and although it answers its purpose, it is very far from being as complete as the originator would no doubt himself have made it.'\* Time and not labour, it must, however, be observed, still defines the limit of imprisonment, remaining the bane at once of the prisoner, the community, and the enlightened administrator of justice; but this is an evil which the Legislature alone can redress.

While awaiting a reply to his report to the Home Government, Captain Maconochie received favourable opinions of his views on convict discipline, which he had meanwhile published, from many residents of high position in the colony, among whom were the Governor of New South Wales, Sir Richard Bourke, and Messrs. James Backhouse and George Walker, members of the Society of Friends, who visited Australia solely to examine into its moral state, and devoted several years to this investigation.

At length an answer arrived in the form of permission to try his system as Superintendent of Norfolk Island, then the receptacle of doubly-convicted transports, undergoing sentences for offences committed in the colonies, and who were regarded as the very refuse of mankind; with whom were now to be combined new prisoners, sent direct from England, specially to be experimented upon by Captain Maconochie.

The inexpediency of this arrangement, the general unsuitability of Norfolk Island to his plan, and the fitness of certain other localities, was ably demonstrated by him in a series of letters to Sir George Gipps (Sir R. Bourke's successor), which we hope may one day be published. Remonstrances, however, were unavailing; and, anxious to interpose no avoidable obstacle to the commencement of a happier era in the treatment of criminals, he consented to proceed to Norfolk Island, and arrived there in February 1840. Its exquisite beauty and delicious climate made it appear a very paradise; but it was a paradise inhabited by demons—by men at least sunk as far in the 'lower deep,' as early error, aggravated by repeated crimes too often caused by the ignorance, selfishness, and

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\* 'The Immunity of Habitual Criminals.'

tyranny of their fellow-men could plunge them. The moral abasement in which he found them, the energy and skill, the patient sagacity and unwearied benevolence, above all, the faith which never flagged, by which he sought to raise them, have been elsewhere narrated.\* We must content ourselves with a few anecdotes and some statistics indicating the results he obtained, pausing only to remark, what cannot be too earnestly impressed upon all who seek to elevate human nature—that while rejecting none of the more potent agencies within his reach, though the simpler their form, the better they approved themselves to his judgment, no means were in his estimation too humble to be employed for the attainment of his end. ‘Condemned to use only common instruments in their common way, and to advance, at only their common pace,’ he wrote, ‘the framer of a system of moral influence, unlike the contriver of a mere fabric of coercive violence (which delights generally in striking details), is minute, patient, inventive, persevering, and steadily hopeful, even under many discouragements.’† Thus in his sedulous efforts to raise again the convicts’ self-respect, so fearfully outraged—especially at Norfolk Island, where they had been treated rather as brutes than human beings—permission to use knives and pannikins (previously they had torn their food with their hands and teeth, and drunk from buckets), a plot of garden to cultivate for their own benefit, and for the first-class men, clothes somewhat better than the ordinary gaol dress, were found potent means in influencing them for good.

Captain Maconochie remained four years on the island. He found it a hell; he left it a well-ordered community. Before he arrived, the prisoners had worked heavily ironed, and even then the Superintendent dared to approach them only when guarded by two armed orderlies. He speedily removed their chains, and alone or with his wife went unarmed among them from the first, while men, women, and children soon traversed the island singly and without fear. The amount of work performed by the convicts was increased, while offences rapidly diminished. But the true test of his success lay in the conduct of the men when no longer under his influence. The reconvictions up to July 1845, of men discharged by him were under 3 per cent., while during the same period, of those discharged in Van Diemen’s Land they amounted to 9 per cent. Upwards of four-fifths of his men were in private service, or otherwise earning a respectable livelihood, while the proportion of Van Diemen’s Land men thus conducting themselves was under three-fifths.‡ Yet two-thirds of his prisoners had been under colonial sentences, and regarded as the offscourings of the earth. Nobly did these men redeem their pledge, when a Govern-

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\* ‘Our Exemplars.’

† ‘Thoughts on Convict Management.’

‡ ‘Crime and Punishment.’

ment decree deprived them of the benefit of the Mark System, that they would yet do the Captain credit.

'Captain Maconochie,' wrote the author of 'Settlers and Convicts,' after a residence of many years in New South Wales, 'did more for the reformation of these unhappy wretches, and in amelioration of their physical circumstances, than the most sanguine practical mind could beforehand have ventured even to hope. It is greatly to be regretted that his views were not carried out to their fullest extent, in the most cordial spirit. My knowledge of the convicts' character warrants my saying expressly that they offer the only approximation that has ever yet been made to a correct penal theory. The Imperial Government, with the results of the experiment already made of these principles in their hands, are ill executing the trust which the nation and which God has reposed in them, so long as Captain Maconochie shall continue uninvested with full power to repeat his process on a scale of extent equal to the materials themselves.'

A few anecdotes in illustration of the class of men he had to deal with, and the effect he wrought, we cannot forbear inserting, want of space compelling us to refrain from quoting at greater length from the touching revelations the history of his sojourn at Norfolk Island contains.

'An unhappy prisoner, one of a most unhappy family, of whom the mother, two brothers, and a sister, had all been executed for different acts of violence, and who was himself little better than a wild beast, was tried for his life on the island for stabbing the gaoler; and the line of defence that he took was to plead insanity and act accordingly. Being an ignorant, coarse-minded man, his only idea of this was to address volleys of obscenity to the Court and all concerned with it on trial, and this he maintained for a considerable time. At length he ceased, and was found guilty and sentenced to death; and when led away, being asked how he came to falter in his purpose, he replied, "Didn't you see Master A— come in? I couldn't go on that way before him." This was one of my sons, then a boy of fifteen, who, even at that age, had taken much to the object of reforming the prisoners, and used frequently to attend the gaol, and read the Bible with them; and this wretched man so much respected his youth and innocence that he compromised what he must have considered his only chance of life rather than pollute his ears with his previous abominations.\*

The following is from a letter by Mrs. Maconochie, quoted from an article in the 'Scotsman,' of September 29th, 1841.

'Soon after arriving, Captain Maconochie and myself walked down to a quarry: there were three men working in chains. They looked as if they wished to speak to us. We went forward. They entreated Captain M. to relieve them of their chains, which he said he would do, provided they would answer for each other. One of them, Docherty, a fine young man of eight-and-twenty, hesitated, saying he had a very passionate temper, and when the overseers were saucy and overbearing he could not answer for himself [not] knocking them down, and he would bear any punishment himself, but could not think of bringing his companions into any risk. Captain M. pointed out to him this would be a strong motive for commanding his temper. "Oh, sir, when my blood gets up it is just impossible, and it is such a comfort to get it out." There was a struggle of generosity among them; at last he was prevailed upon to try. This man had originally been in the Guards, sent out to Sydney for some insubordination towards his sergeant, and sent here for endeavouring to escape; a man, Burns, had been with him in all his troubles here, and their attachment was quite extraordinary. These men had each, in eighteen months [received] 2,200 lashes, twelve months in prison on bread and water alternate months, and chained in a damp cell. Poor Docherty, [after five months' steady good behaviour, attempted to hang himself; he was fortunately cut down and recovered, but though very weak, would not stay

\* 'Reformatory Discipline in County and Borough Gaols.'

in the hospital for fear they should say he was malingering. He continued very weak: he would work, though not very able for it. The medical man told me his digestive organs were quite deranged, and it would require care and time to recover him. I sent for him, and told him that we wished to get his health reinstated, and that I would have him to work in my garden to do as much or as little as he liked, and that the food proper for him should be sent from the house to him. He appeared most grateful, but moped for want of Burns, and he used to carry some of his good things to his friend. We brought Burns to work with him. We often talked to him, while the tears would rush to his eyes, and he became gentle, even to timidity. But he gradually sank into low spirits, and one morning flew to the guards begging they would kill him. [The physical and mental sufferings the prisoners at Norfolk Island had undergone consigned fearful numbers to the lunatic asylum or a premature grave.] For some days he continued very vehement; the paroxysm subsided, and he returned to his garden, with Burns to take charge of him. But he gradually got worse, and at last was forced to be confined, first in the hospital and then in the prison, Burns tending on him night and day. Captain M. went often to see him; and one day, when sensible, he said: "Oh, sir, when I used to be in trouble, and did not care what I did, I was quite well; but now that I see my bad ways, and wish to turn to my Maker, and you are all kind to me, I can't bear my own thoughts, and this heavy trouble comes over me." His fear and anxiety was, that he should do any harm in the attacks; urging upon Burns to kill him rather than run any risk. These men were considered wild beasts, and on our arrival, we heard one officer boast of his courage in having gone near where they were standing! Kindness had come too late. Yet it did what no harshness could have done. Poor Docherty literally sank under the weight of it. One time, on recovering a little, he wanted to walk in the bush; the authorities would not hear of it, saying he wanted to be after mischief. Burns came to Captain Maconochie, and offered to be chained by the leg with him to satisfy those who were afraid; but this Captain Maconochie would not allow, and as he had no fear ordered them to be permitted [to go.] There are few friends would have asked for such a thing, merely to gratify the craving of an insane man. The insanity became confirmed, and he is now gone to the Sydney Asylum. Burns is now free.

Of the 1,400 colonial convicts Captain Maconochie found in Norfolk Island nearly a hundred were murderers, whose sentence to capital punishment had been commuted to imprisonment for life in an ultra-penal settlement, a far worse doom. The following is the history of one of them:—

'Charles Anderson was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne. His father, a sailor, was drowned, leaving a widow and two little sons. She soon died, and her children, helpless and friendless, were sent to the workhouse. There, untaught and uncared for, they remained until old enough to go to sea. At nine years of age, Charles was apprenticed to a collier, where he was knocked and buffeted about, and weathered many a storm. His apprenticeship over, he joined a man-of-war, and was in the battle of Navarino, where he was severely wounded in the head. He recovered, but ever afterwards irritation or drink would bring on violent fits of excitement. In a seaport in Devonshire a street-row arose among a party of drunken sailors, in which Anderson engaged. Some shops were broken into, and he, no doubt violent enough, was arrested, tried, and sentenced to seven years' transportation for burglary. With no one to interpose in his behalf, the sentence was fulfilled, and at the age of eighteen he was sent to New South Wales. Doomed to a punishment involving the deepest degradation for a crime of the committal of which he was not conscious, the bitterest hostility against his kind took possession of his breast. Utterly ignorant, both mentally and morally, he had little idea of patient submission, which, indeed, physical disease rendered impossible. No wonder, then, that violence created violence. His floggings were almost innumerable; but sturdy and staunch for good or evil, punishment had no effect upon him. His was no spirit to give in to harshness, and kindness was never dreamt of.

' Upon

‘Upon his arrival in the colony he was sent to Goat Island (an insulated rock), in Sydney harbour, famous in the records of convict discipline, as an English or first-convicted prisoner. He remained there about two months under treatment so severe that, to escape it, he absconded. Apprehended and taken to Sydney Barracks, he there received 100 lashes for this offence; and upon being returned to Goat Island he received 100 more lashes, and was to wear irons for twelve months, in addition to his original sentence. Before completing it he had received 1,200 lashes for trivial offences, such as looking round from his work, or at a steamer in the river, &c. He again absconded, was reapprehended, taken back to the island, and received 200 lashes; afterwards he was tried for the same offence and was sentenced to 100 lashes more, and to be chained to a rock for two years with barely a rag to cover him. He was fastened by his waist to the rock with a chain twenty-six feet long and with trumpet irons on his legs. A hollow scooped out in the rock large enough to admit his body, served for his bed, and his only shelter was a wooden lid perforated with holes, which was placed over him and locked in that position at night, being removed in the morning. He was fed by means of a pole with which the vessel containing his food was pushed towards him. None of his fellow-prisoners were permitted to approach or speak to him under penalty of 100 lashes, which his former mess-mate underwent in consequence of giving him a piece of tobacco. Regarded as a wild beast, people passing in boats would throw him bits of bread or biscuit. Exposed to all weathers, and without clothing on his back and shoulders, which were covered with sores from repeated floggings, the maggots rapidly engendered in a hot climate feeding upon his flesh, he was denied even water to bathe his wounds, such denial being not an unusual portion of the punishment to which he had been condemned; and when rain fell, or by any other means he could obtain liquid, he would lie and roll in it in agony.

‘Several weeks had thus been passed in torture, when Sir Richard Bourke hearing of him repaired at once to the spot. He asked Anderson if he would work, but he answered he would not; adding, that if he worked, he would be punished, and if he did not work, he would be punished the same. His Excellency then sent him to Macquarrie for life. There he was set to labour in irons, his occupation being to carry lime in baskets on his back, from the kilns to barges in the Government service lying off the settlement. His overseer, Anthony, a Frenchman, used to threaten that the lime and salt water should burn the flesh off his back, and in effect it did burn off the skin, causing excruciating agony. Again the unhappy man absconded, and travelling several hundred miles, joined the aborigines. His native associates having attacked and killed some settlers, were pursued by the police, who, falling in with Anderson, seized and carried him back to Macquarrie, where he received 200 lashes, and was returned to his gang. Three months afterwards a fellow convict and he agreed to kill Anthony, and Anderson declaring himself tired of life, said he would do the deed, and be hanged for it. Accordingly, next morning he felled Anthony to the ground with his spade, and death ensued. The soldiers on guard stabbed Anderson in five places, and when seized, he had to be conveyed to the hospital. His wounds being cured, he was tried at Sydney and sentenced to death, but was respited and sent to Norfolk Island to work in chains for life. When Captain Maconochie subsequently arrived there, the offences on the island recorded against Anderson were—ten times violent assault, and three times scheming to avoid labour, besides charges of insolence and insubordination. Though then only twenty-four, he looked forty years old. The captain was told he was “cranky,” and he found that his fellow-prisoners amused themselves with teasing and making him vicious. This was at once forbidden. Anderson being one of the colonial convicts, the prohibition from Government to place that class under the mark system, precluded him from its influence. Casting about, therefore, for any means of reclaiming the unhappy creature now sunk deep in wickedness, Captain Maconochie thought some unruly bullocks which had to be kept in bounds, would usefully exercise his superfluous energies, and would, besides, separate him for a time from his fellows. Many thought “Bony,” as he was nicknamed, and his bullocks would come to grief. But strict orders were given that none should interfere with him, and very soon a marked change was apparent in the man. He became less wild, felt himself of some value, and won praise for his good conduct and successful manage-

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ment of his bullocks. He and they grew tractable together. He knew instinctively that high and strong tempers will not bend to the lash; and often were the anxious watchers of the experiment amused by the just insight into criminal discipline which Anderson displayed in the treatment of his charge. The cattle-training served its purpose well for a time, but as his mind improved, sailor-like, he hankered for his own old work. His physical liability to excitement continuing, Captain Maconochie feared collisions if he associated with the other men; moreover, his constitution was so shattered as to unfit him for hard work; and it occurring to the captain that a signal-station on Mount Pitt (the highest point on the island) would be an advantage, he resolved to erect one, and place Anderson in charge. His delight was extreme, for he now felt himself a man again; and dressed in sailor costume, he soon regained the bearing of a man-of-war's man. The top of Mount Pitt was cleared, a hut built, and a flag-staff, provided with a code of signals, was raised. The smallest boat could there be seen, and the settlement at once knew if anything were in sight. Anderson's patch of garden was his great delight; the gift of a new flower was highly prized, and the best potatoes on the island grew there. Of these it was his special pride to bring a freshly dug basketful, to be served at the captain's dinner table.

'Sir George Gipps visited the island three years after Captain Maconochie's arrival, and while driving through its beautiful scenery, Anderson was seen tripping along in his trim sailor dress, full of importance, with his telescope under his arm. "What little smart fellow may that be?" asked Sir George. "Who do you suppose? That is the man who was chained to the rock in Sydney Harbour." "Bless my soul, you do not mean to say so!" was the astonished rejoinder.

'As he regained his self-respect, Anderson revealed a noble, generous heart, and a gay and sociable disposition; but his excitability eventually became madness, and not long after the benefactor who had restored him, and hundreds like him, to the feelings and the duties of humanity was peremptorily recalled from the scene of his philanthropic labours, Anderson was seen in a lunatic asylum by one whom he had known as a friend of the captain at Norfolk Island. The poor fellow recognized his visitor, and spoke of nothing but Captain Maconochie and his family.'

The early portion of this narrative was taken chiefly from Anderson's own lips at Norfolk Island, and cannot, therefore, be wholly relied upon for accuracy; but the terrible incident of his being chained to a rock was well known in the colony, and Captain Maconochie had heard it spoken of long before he saw the man; while the other events in his career were but too common to need corroboration. We have given it as a specimen of those revealed to the captain by his prisoners, and by no means as an exceptional or rare instance of the sufferings and crimes engendered by the system to which they had been subjected.

More than one moral may this fearful history serve to point. In the neglect of his orphan childhood, when the workhouse taught him nothing, and turned him adrift, at nine years old, without one friend in the wide world; in the license granted by Government for the sale of that poison which, acting upon a brain permanently injured in fighting for his country,\* converted Anderson into an irresponsible

\* Bearing Anderson's fate in mind let us recall the words of Campbell in his 'Stanzas on the Battle of Navarino.'

'Hearts of oak that have bravely delivered the brave,

And uplifted old Greece from the brink of the grave,

'Twas the helpless to help, and the hopeless to save,

That your thunderbolts swept o'er the brine:

And long as your sun shall look down on the wave,

The light of your glory shall shine.

'Prouder

irresponsible madman; and in the system of vindictive punishment, to which he was then consigned, we mark how 'hardened offenders' are made. Bitter will always be the reproach, while human nature retains its characteristics, cast by society upon him who continues to sin against light; and regarding our criminal discipline as 'light,' those whom it failed to reform, have, in consequence, incurred the heaviest opprobrium. But what if, instead of light, it was darkness we shed around upon ourselves and our criminals alike! And what if, when the light really came, they repented and tried to mend their ways, while we wilfully shut our eyes to the beneficent ray, and blundered on as before! Which in this case is the 'hardened offender'? Is it the poor wretch thrust into an abyss of misery and crime, who, when the path of redemption was pointed out to him, strove to climb it, steep and stony as it was, and succeeded; or is it society, who, when shown by what means crime is produced, and taught by what means criminals may be reclaimed, still countenances the one, still rejects the other? That England has incurred this fearful responsibility, the general distrust excited by the humiliating results of her convict management, even professedly improved as it has been of late years, may raise a just suspicion; but suspicion is changed to certainty as we peruse the important pamphlet issued by Mr. Measor, since we began to write these pages. Had any surprise mingled with our regret at the recent mutiny among the convicts at Chatham prison it would have been dispelled by this unreserved revelation from the Deputy-Governor of that establishment of the influences, moral and physical, to which they are subject. His testimony is the more valuable as having been given prior to the most serious of the outbreaks (those of Feb. 8th and 11th), which have thus in their turn yielded 'damning proof' of the justice of his deductions. While dissenting from some of Mr. Measor's views of prison discipline, we heartily concur with him in the main, and regard his pamphlet as a very valuable contribution to the literature of this subject. Indeed, the improvements he recommends are identical with the leading features of Captain Maconochie's plan; and in showing what mischief has been wrought by neglecting them, Mr. Measor pays as marked a tribute to the value of that system, as do the Irish Convict Prison Reports, crowned by Captain Crofton's late pamphlet, in demonstrating the success consequent upon its adoption.

Before this is in the hands of our readers, a full and authentic

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'Prouder scene never hallowed war's pomp to the mind,  
Than when Christendom's pennons woo'd social the wind;  
And the flower of her brave for the combat combined,  
Their watchword humanity's vow:  
Not a sea-boy that fought in that cause but mankind  
Owes a garland to honour his brow!'

narrative

narrative of the Chatham revolt will probably have been demanded by the public, and a brief *resumé* of the facts gleaned from the documents within our reach—the public journals—will therefore suffice here. It commenced early in January, as Sir G. C. Lewis stated in the House of Commons in answer to a question from Mr. Alderman Salomons, with the attempt of six convicts to make their escape.\* They failed, but their endeavour became known to their comrades, who, testifying their sympathy by a general and continued uproar in both cells and chapel, proved the public feeling of the prison to be on the side of wrong.† After the lapse of several days order was restored, and no further outbreak occurred until Friday, February 8th. Upon that day when dinner was served to the men on St. Mary's Island several—

'Began complaining that the food was not "good enough" for them, and that the soup was "poor." Mr. Burton, the principal warder, promised that their complaint should be inquired into, when he was answered with an oath, and the contents of one of the soup tins dashed in his face. This was the signal agreed upon for the commencement of the outbreak; and immediately afterwards the contents of innumerable tins of soup were thrown over Mr. Burton, who was quickly drenched to the skin. The greatest uproar now ensued, the convicts yelling, hooting, and swearing, hurling their dinner utensils about, smashing the windows, throwing the remainder of their dinner at the warders, and commencing to tear up the tables and other articles of furniture. . . . The more desperate characters likewise commenced pulling down the spouting round the building, with which they armed themselves, while others endeavoured for this purpose to force away the iron bars of the windows." Subsequently, most of the convicts returned to their work, but on the arrival of a strong body of warders a large number were marched heavily ironed to the punishment cells, where, throughout the following Saturday and Sunday, they "created the greatest disturbances by kicking the doors, hooting, and yelling."‡ This proved, however, but the precursor of an outbreak "of a far more terrible character than any which has yet taken place at this prison, spreading the utmost terror, not only amongst the prison officials, but also throughout the whole town, when the fearful excesses which were being enacted at the prison became known. When it is stated that the whole 1,100 convicts succeeded in overpowering the keepers, and obtaining complete possession of the establishment, which they held for some time, actually setting fire to the prison, some idea of the alarming nature of the outbreak yesterday may be imagined. . . . The keepers on duty, about 150 in number, were all driven from the prison yard with threats that they would all be murdered if they did not make their escape. . . . The wildest uproar now ensued, and the scene which at this time presented itself in the interior of the prison is described by the officials as baffling description. . . . On hearing of the outbreak, Captain Gambier and Captain Powell (the Governor), together with the Deputy-Governor, and the other principal officers of the establishment, were immediately in the prison yard with the hope of restoring order and inducing the prisoners to return to their cells. With some hundreds of infuriated ruffians to deal with, their efforts were of course useless; and there is no doubt that had they remained among the convicts their lives would have been sacrificed." A large number of the convicts rushing into the chief-warder's office, "commenced destroying the books and papers, and every other available article on which they could lay their hands—desks, tables, chairs, and everything which could be broken up being quickly destroyed. They then endeavoured to set the prison on fire, and the building was actually fired in two or three places, from which the flames began to pour forth." A thousand troops were now summoned from the garrison, and

\* 'Times,' Feb. 16, 1861.

† 'Western Daily Press,' Jan. 21, 1861.

‡ 'Times,' Feb. 11, 1861.

700, who "were received by the convicts with the most dreadful yells," charging the prisoners, with the assistance of the warders "using their truncheons with the utmost freedom," drove them back into their cells.\*

Involuntarily we contrast this and the similar employment of military force to quell the outbreak at Portland Convict Prison some time ago, with the scene on Norfolk Island, when Captain Macnochie, six months after his arrival, employed the prisoners themselves to dismount the cannon which, until then, had always guarded the Superintendent's house, never afterwards to be used during his stay but to fire a complimentary salvo. The amount of damage done in Chatham prison has been estimated at 1,000*l*.† Sir G. C. Lewis, however, stated that 'the convicts broke some windows and upset some stores. That was, he believed, pretty nearly the extent of the mischief they did;‡ and he limited the number engaged in the revolt to 'about 850.' It is certainly a striking circumstance that although the prison authorities were for a time completely at the mercy of the convicts, none, as Sir G. C. Lewis stated, suffered personal injury. Concerning the cause of the mutiny—

'He had investigated the matter with some care, but was unable to give any very clear explanation of the affair, nor could the officers of the prison satisfactorily account for it. The general cause, however, which certainly operated to a very large extent, was, that the refuse of the hulks was transferred to Chatham prison on its first opening, and tainted the prison population, and some even of the inferior officers.(!) Hence strict discipline could not be enforced without creating discontent, and the discipline at Chatham was strict compared with that which prevailed in the old hulks.'§

Of the strictness of the discipline the readers of Mr. Measor's pamphlet will judge. That it involves much physical coercion, however, is but too true; and this having failed, the *degree*, not the *nature* of the treatment is supposed to be in fault, and a stronger dose is administered.

'Nearly the whole day' [Wednesday, February 13th], we read in the 'Times,' 'was occupied in flogging those convicts who were examined yesterday by Sir Joshua Jebb and Captain Gambier, and who were proved to have been the ring-leaders in the revolt on Monday afternoon. The convicts flogged were brought from the cells one at a time, and having been stripped, were fastened up to the halberds, when each man received three dozen lashes, laid on with terrible effect. Many of the convicts received their punishment with scarcely a cry; but as stroke after stroke fell on the backs of some of the most ruffianly characters, who particularly distinguished themselves in the recent outbreak, they set up piercing shrieks, mingled with frightful oaths and threats. Several of the men, on being released from the triangles, behaved with the greatest bravado, notwithstanding the intense pain they were enduring, and frequent threats were made that the "business was not yet done," and that on the first opportunity murder would be committed.'||

The complaint made by the convicts of their food, drew forth a letter from Mr. Measor, published in the 'Times' of February 15th, in which he says: 'As to the quality of their diet, I can answer

\* 'Morning Star and Dial,' Feb. 13, 1861.

† Ibid.

‡ 'Times,' Feb. 16, 1861.

§ Ibid.

'Times,' Feb. 14, 1861.

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for it from daily inspection, that it has been undeniable ;' and in the same newspaper for February 19th, a paragraph at once informs us what is the quantity of that food, and enables us to compare it with the amount supplied to the inmates of Chatham workhouse.

'The amount of food given to each convict weekly at the Chatham establishment is as follows :—189 oz. of bread, 42 oz. of cooked meat, free from bone, &c., 7 pints of tea, 5½ pints of good soup, 7 pints of cocoa or gruel, and 7 pounds of vegetables; in addition to which, certain of the convicts are allowed cheese and porter on Sundays. The weekly quantity of food supplied to each pauper in the Chatham workhouse is 112 oz. of bread, 16 oz. of meat, pudding and vegetables, 4 oz. of cheese, 7 oz. of butter, and 1 oz. of tea.'

Porter, we thus learn, is supplied to our convicts at home. Grog is regularly served to them in Gibraltar and Bermuda, where one of their most common offences, according to the official record, is 'drunkenness.\*' Medical men are agreed in the opinion that fermented liquors are unnecessary to the maintenance of health, while universal experience proves that when abstaining from intoxicants, men are far more capable of hard labour and every other form of physical endurance than when taking them; and yet we find that, heavy as are our taxes, our burden must be augmented that our worst criminals may be confirmed in the use or rather abuse of intoxicating drinks, indulgence in which is proverbially acknowledged to be the source of nine-tenths of the crime which afflicts our land! Swelled by such items of expense, and by the gratuities of from 10*l.* to 20*l.* and upwards to convicts upon discharge obtained by no personal sacrifice, and by the very mildest effort of prison virtue and diligence, we must not be surprised to find that our convicts cost us at least 35*l.* a year each,† excepting the value of their labour, which, however, Mr. Measor shows to be a lamentably trifling amount. And this sum, involving a total outlay of nearly half a million for our English and colonial convict establishments alone (and exclusive of our county and borough gaols, costing upwards of half a million more), is lavished upon a system whose failure as a means of curing our criminal fellow-subjects is flagrantly demonstrated in the increasing number of their reconvictions,‡ by the same Government which has lowered its grant in aid of ragged schools to the miserable pittance of 5,000*l.* in the teeth of overflowing and irrefragable evidence to the potency of those institutions in preventing its lieges from ever becoming criminal at all!§

We gladly turn from facts so humiliating to the hope of 'a better time coming' held out to us by Captain Crofton.

At the request of many persons, both in the United Kingdom

\* 'Our Convict Service.'

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

§ Mr. Samuel Redgrave has estimated the total annual cost of our criminals to the country at ten millions!—*Judicial Statistics*, 1858, p. xxxiv.

and on the Continent, where the advocacy of the most distinguished criminal jurists has excited a deep and favourable interest in the course of discipline pursued in the Irish convict prisons, Captain Crofton has recently published his views upon 'Secondary Punishments,' to which his experience gives the greatest possible weight. Notwithstanding the success which has attended his efforts in Ireland, a class of 'habitual criminals' still exists there who cannot be reclaimed under the prevailing system of short sentences; while in England this is 'a dominant and aggressive' class, amounting to many thousands who 'prey upon society ostensibly and nearly as openly as honest men ply their vocations.' When we find that 22,024 known thieves and 51,563 suspicious characters, exclusive of those returned as 'prostitutes,' 'vagrants,' or 'drunkards,' were proceeded against summarily, or by indictment in 1859, 'it is not possible to ignore the conviction that the criminal vocation is a profitable one, and that it is carried on with comparative, and an alarming, impunity. We are bound also to conclude, from the evidence so constantly given by the police, that liberated convicts are very deeply concerned, both as principals and accessories in carrying on this vocation.\*

Amendments in our system of dealing with criminals have rendered it, however imperfectly, still in principle reformatory; but while its faithful administration in Ireland exhibits that system as a beneficent reality, with us it has remained a practical sham. To effect, then, a reduction in the number of English offenders proportionate to that arrived at in Ireland, we, too, must adopt the means which have there won success; and among these we would specially note subdivision of the period of imprisonment into numerous stages,† the last of which should be passed in Captain Crofton's admirably devised 'Intermediate Prison.' This, besides preparing the convict for liberty, renders easy that 'individualization,' the importance of which Captain Maconochie demonstrated and Mr. Measor implies,‡ and which the Directors of Irish convict prisons consider 'the basis of the success of any system of reformation.'§

But a large class of offenders will yet remain, to deal successfully with whom a considerable extension of the terms of punishment to which they are now usually adjudged is absolutely necessary. Such extension Captain Crofton strenuously urges; and combined with due police supervision, and the consequent means of proving all former convictions, together with a well-regulated

\* 'Immunity of Habitual Criminals,' pp. 17, 18.

† Mr. Measor shows that practically at Chatham there are but two.—*Our Convict Service*.

‡ Ibid.

§ 'Notes on Colonel Jebb's Report on Intermediate Prisons,' by Captain Crofton. Dublin, 1858.

system of emigration for a certain portion of the provisionally liberated, to Western Australia, and special treatment for prisoners under 'life sentences,' will, he confidently believes, while reforming the offender, deter others from offence, by rendering crime an unprofitable pursuit.

With the following triumphant figures we must close our article.

On January 1st, 1854, Ireland had in her convict prisons 3,933 convicts, besides 345 under detention in county gaols, and several hundreds in Bermuda and Gibraltar, subsequently discharged in Ireland. These numbers have steadily declined, until on January 1st, 1861, there were only 1,492 in the convict prisons, none in the county gaols, and but 30 in Bermuda and Gibraltar.\* Of 1,462 tickets of leave issued during the last five years, under 7 per cent. have been revoked, although the conditions of the licences are stringently enforced. Of the whole 89 revoked, 30 were for irregularities not criminal, and many of the holders have again been conditionally released. Only 114 persons who had ever been convicts were sentenced in Ireland during 1860; and of these, some had been discharged eight or ten years before, and consequently had never undergone the new treatment.

With such testimony to its success patent to all, can we marvel to learn that the government of Oldenburg has made the Irish convict system the law of the land; that an association of eminent foreign jurists having started a weekly paper at Leipzig for promulgating sound views on prison reform, give a prominent place to that system; that the venerable Professor Mittermaier, at Heidelberg, has for years past made its principles familiar to his students and readers; that Baron von Holzendorff (Professor of Law at the Berlin University), lecturing upon it at Hamburg, was received with enthusiasm; and that a meeting (not the first) to consider it, held lately at Berlin, has resulted in its adoption in the Prussian prison of Moabit? No; we reserve our wonder for the apathy of England, who, abandoning her post in the van of social improvement, leaves the prison discipline of Ireland to find imitators abroad, while her thousands of unreclaimed criminals reproach her civilization—while their crimes spread alarm through the land, and augment her fiscal burden by millions!

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\* The term *convict*, as used in blue books, differs from the legal meaning of the word. In the language of official men a convict is a criminal sentenced to transportation or penal servitude; but in legal acceptance every person is a convict who is adjudged by a court of criminal jurisdiction guilty of any offence known to the law. It is hardly necessary to explain that when it is said that there are no convicts in the Irish county gaols, it is not meant to state that these contain no convicted prisoners of any kind, but merely that all sentenced to transportation or penal servitude have been removed to the government prisons, where they are under the control of the Board over which Captain Crofton presides.

ART. II.—*On the Present State of Education amongst the Working Classes of Leeds, and how it can be best improved.* By James Hole, Hon. Sec. of the Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes.

THE return of the parliamentary session regularly and naturally reintroduces us to an agitation upon the subject of primary instruction as the basis of national education. This is at once the most important and the most difficult of the social questions with which we have to deal; and whilst its importance forbids us to let it sleep, its inherent difficulties, requiring most serious thought and searching inquiry, ought to prevent dogmatism and uncharitableness as to the proper mode of dealing with it on all sides.

Forty years ago the only schools existing in this country for the children of the working classes were a few Lancasterian schools, attended principally by the children of Nonconformists, a few national (Established Church) schools, and the now almost extinct dame schools. The public school buildings were generally either rooms in buildings erected for other purposes, or the merest brick and mortar shells, open at the roofs to the slates; with brick floors, occasionally covered with sawdust in winter, a few desks fastened to the walls and supplied with shallow beds of sand to teach writing in, the tip of the first finger serving the purpose of pen or pencil.

The teachers were too often men who had failed at other occupations, 'who could not work and to beg were ashamed,' and so took to teaching, not because they were fit for the task, but because they could very well do with the pay. Even these schools met with much opposition. It was feared that to teach working-class children to read and write, would unfit them for their worldly duties; and it came within our own experience to hear a national schoolmaster rebuked by a trustee for attempting to teach the meanings of words, and rudely reminded that if he taught the children to read their Bibles and to write their names he would do quite enough. The Bible was the only reading-book in national, and selections therefrom the chief one in Lancasterian schools. It is a fact, 'that in the nineteenth century a manual of arithmetic was published by a learned divine, an excellent person, for the use of national schools; in which, in order to give children a reverence for sacred things, the sums set were drawn from historical statements of numbers in the Holy Scriptures.' 'There were twelve patriarchs, twelve apostles, and four evangelists; add the patriarchs and the evangelists together; subtract the apostles; what is the remainder?' 'Solomon had so many wives and so many concubines; add the concubines to the wives and state the result.'

Subjected to the opposition of rich obstructives, and with such teachers and such materials for teaching, no very brilliant result could

could have been hoped for, even if the teachers had been freed from all anxiety except in connection with their proper work. But the school pence (where any were charged) had to be eked out by 'voluntary' contributions, which had often to be collected by the teacher himself, who was obliged frequently either to leave his pupils to be taught entirely by monitors no older than themselves, or else to turn out and beg the bread at night, in the form of subscriptions, which he had earned during the day. Of the dame-schools perhaps the less said the better: the children were intended to be kept out of harm's way, and if they got no injury it was well; but when twenty-five or thirty tender infants were crammed into a brick-floor kitchen constructed for three or four persons only, and at the time of life when frequent change and motion were most requisite, were forced to sit still for three hours at a stretch, it is impossible not to see that a large amount of infant mortality is thus accounted for. Our infant-schools of the present day are nurseries and playgrounds; the dame-schools of the past were prisons and places of torment; and it was a common sight, in working-class neighbourhoods, for children of three or four years of age to be dragged along or beaten to school, much as the worst members of society are now dragged by policemen to prison. True, there were not many old towns or cities without 'grammar-schools,' founded by good and pious souls for the benefit of poor students; but most of these date from a time when all learning was included in the 'dead languages,' and, alas for human frailty! they had dwindled, through generations of self-appointed trustees, till many schools existed only in name; and where any life remained, education in one of these 'free schools,' besides being valueless for commercial purposes, generally cost more than it would have done if paid for elsewhere. We recollect one such school where a head master and a second master, with good salaries, had, for a considerable number of years, only one pupil; whilst since the appointment of the Charity Trustees' Commissioners, the same school, having added English and commercial instruction, now suffices for hundreds of boys.

But the education spirit was abroad; earnest men were at the work; and about twenty-seven years ago, the late James Simpson, of Edinburgh, and Thomas Wyse, M.P. for Waterford (now her Majesty's ambassador at the court of Greece), traversed the country lecturing and holding public meetings in favour of national education. This movement was supported principally by the non-conformist bodies, and by persons who were unattached to any religious denomination; and many petitions to Parliament for 'national unsectarian education' were adopted and presented. The partisans of the Established Church held counter meetings, and petitioned to the effect, that if any national scheme were adopted

adopted it should be in accordance with the principles and forms of the Church as by law established. This agitation was continued with more or less vigour until 1839, when the Government, unable to see its way to the adoption of any comprehensive scheme, established a Committee of the Privy Council, to which, after the adoption of certain 'Minutes' or rules, was confided a grant of 20,000*l.* for distribution in aid of the voluntary efforts of the various sects of religionists who were willing to comply with the terms of the 'Minutes.' Of course so important a measure met with much opposition, principally from the Nonconformist body, which, either from a clearer perception of its own principles, or from some other cause, had begun to change its tactics, and to announce that education was out of the range of governmental duties. This opposition exhibited its greatest strength when Sir James Graham, in 1843, introduced into Parliament the Factories Education Bill, obliging all factory owners, who employed children under thirteen years of age, to provide for their instruction during a certain number of hours per week, thus originating the system of half-time working. This Bill was denounced, not only as introducing the Government into a department which belonged to parents alone, but also as an unwarrantable interference with the laws of political economy and with the rights of property. Nevertheless, the Bill became law, and it is doubtful if its greatest opponents are not now thankful for their defeat; for although many factory schools have been but sorry shams, yet there have been and are noble exceptions, and many thousands of persons owe what instruction they have obtained to this system; and those factory owners whose schools are well conducted freely admit, that the conduct of the children who pass through the schools to the mill, as compared with others who are above the school age, and whose education has been neglected, well repays them for any inconvenience occasioned by the operation of the law.

The parliamentary grants, commencing with 20,000*l.*, went on annually increasing, notwithstanding the objections of the dissenting bodies, who said to the Government: 'You tax us for the support of schools in which doctrines are taught of which we do not approve—which are, in our estimation, false; you thus violate our consciences and take away the means which ought to and which would otherwise be devoted to our own schools; you put a premium upon false teaching, and you pay that premium with our money.'

The reply of the Committee of Council was: 'You also can get aid on the same terms as others; if you choose to submit to the conditions here is money for you,' not, apparently, seeing that two wrongs cannot make one right; and that, if it was wrong to take the money of the Nonconformist to teach doctrines, which, in the estimation of the contributor, were false, so it would be equally wrong  
for

for the said contributor to accept money extorted from a religious opponent to teach his own creed with. Many other objections were urged against the plan of the Committee of Council, some of which were against 'State education' *in toto*, and others against the details of 'the Minutes.' The bodies already spoken of repeated that Government ought to have nothing to do with religion; that it was a question for the parents of children alone, thus assuming that education must be essentially dogmatically religious. They also sympathized with the political objection, that, to subsidize teachers throughout the country was to teach dependence on Government instead of 'self-help;' was to raise up a grand system of centralization which might end in a system of espionage or a cruel despotism. On the other hand, the recipients of the grant advocated its extension and improvement, for they agreed with the opponents, that, to aid voluntary effort by a money measure only, was to give most help where it was least needed, and to give none where it was most necessary; an argument which induced an alteration and increased the discretionary power of the Committee of Council over the grants.

The growing importance of the education question, and the many difficulties surrounding it, induced Mr. Samuel Lucas, of Manchester (now of London), to put forth, about 1847-8, a scheme for 'secular instruction,' to be supported by local rates, and managed by local authorities elected by the ratepayers.

The secular instruction was to be given in 'free schools' during the regular school hours, but times were to be set apart during which the various ministers of religion might assemble such as would voluntarily attend for doctrinal religious instruction. This scheme was adopted by many leading men, and an association, called 'The Lancashire Public School Association,' was formed, and afterwards transformed, at the request of adherents from various parts of the country, into 'The National Public School Association.' When a considerable amount of popularity had been gained, another organization was started by supporters of the Minutes called 'The Manchester and Salford Committee on Education.' The plan of this Committee was to take 'the Minutes' for a basis, and to levy local rates in aid instead of depending wholly on children's pence and the aid of the Government. In common with the National Public School Association, they wished to generalize education, but on the religious or rather on the various religious bases instead of on the secular. The advocates of national education 'at any price,' amongst whom was the late Joseph Brotherton, M.P., tried to effect a compromise between the two schemes; but not succeeding, the rivals made their appearance in Parliament in the session of 1852, and were sent to the same Select Committee, which Committee was reappointed in 1853, and  
not

not agreeing upon a report, published only the evidence in two blue books.

The advocates of the religious and those of the secular scheme, agreed, that in Manchester and Salford, there were about 30,000 children of the school age, viz., from 3 to 14 years, who were neither at school nor at work, and 23,000 between 3 and 10 in the same predicament. One of the witnesses for the secular scheme (Dr. Watts) gave the result of an inquiry into 3,520 families, having 973 children between 13 and 14 years of age, whose amount of day-school instruction is shown, in the following table, viz.:—

Never been to day-school . . . .	289
Had been for less than 1 year . . . .	32
"    "    2 " . . . .	53
"    "    3 " . . . .	70
"    "    4 " . . . .	93
"    "    5 " . . . .	99
"    "    6 " . . . .	85
"    "    7 " . . . .	76
"    "    8 " . . . .	73
"    "    9 " . . . .	51
"    "   10 " . . . .	33
Upwards of 10 " . . . .	19
Total . . . .	973

The Rev. Canon Richson, who appeared on behalf of the religious scheme, showed the results of an inquiry into the circumstances of persons whose children attended 23 schools, partly supported by voluntary contributions, to be as follows, viz.:—  
 $19\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of them resided in houses assessed at less than 5*l.* ;  
 $57\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. from 5*l.* to 10*l.* ; 17 per cent. from 10*l.* to 18*l.* ;  
 $5\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. from 18*l.* to 50*l.* ; and  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. above 50*l.*

He showed, further, that in 48 Church schools, the removals in a single year were equal to 77 per cent. of the whole attendance; and that in 17,426 families visited there were 36,527 children from 3 to 14 years of age, 14,197 of whom were at school, 5,153 at work, and 12,067 kept at home on the ground of poverty.

The Rev. Dr. McKerrow (who supported the secular scheme) had made inquiries from extensive pawnbrokers: he found 168 pawnbrokers in Manchester and Salford, and was advised, that, upon an average, each of these would take in 700 pledges per week; and allowing 6 pledges to each customer, there would be 19,600 persons regularly resorting to the pawnbroker. Returns of the Manchester Statistical Society showed that in 1834-5 there were in attendance at day-schools 1 in  $10\frac{1}{2}$  of the population, whilst in 1857, according to the census returns, they had fallen to 1 in  $13\frac{1}{2}$ .

In opposition to this evidence, the late Mr. Joseph Adshead (on behalf of the voluntaries) showed, that of 6,066 persons employed in 12 mills, there were 2,051 who attended Sunday-schools, and 3,714 who had formerly attended, making together 95 per cent. who

who were then or had been formerly under Sunday-school instruction; that out of 116,281 persons employed in 42 mills in 1844, no less than 82 per cent. could read; that of 1,000 families visited by missionaries, and containing 3,204 children, there were 1,353 attending Sunday-schools, 671 attending day or evening schools, 1,789 were in employment, and 1,401 were at home.

Mr. Baines (now M.P. for Leeds) thought a smaller proportion of pupils must be expected in Manchester than elsewhere, in consequence of the greater demand for juvenile labour. In 1833 the per-centage of day scholars to population in Lincolnshire was 12, whilst in Lancashire it was only  $7\frac{1}{3}$  per cent. On the other hand, the Sunday scholars were in Lincolnshire 10 and in Lancashire 15 per cent. He thought the indifference rather than the inability of parents was the cause of want of education. At the same time, the day-school attendance of working-class children throughout the country had increased from 1 in  $10\frac{3}{4}$  in 1818 to 1 in  $2\frac{1}{3}$  in 1846.

He thought it important that the religious should be blended with secular instruction; but it was unfair to tax all for the benefit of a part. Education, like industry, would be best off when left to shift for itself. The amount of government aid was insignificant when compared to the whole cost of education.

Making allowance for differences of opinion, it appears therefore to have been made out that in 1852 there were in Manchester and Salford from 20,000 to 30,000 children of from 3 to 14 years of age who were neither at school nor at work; and if we may trust the accuracy of the table put in by Dr. Watts, 1 child in every  $3\frac{2}{9}$  in the working-class districts is escaping the schoolmaster altogether, growing up and passing into the world without any efficient instruction to fit them for the duties required of them. If Manchester be, as Mr. Baines thinks, exceptional in its character, it is of less importance than if it be a fair sample of our large towns and cities; and it seems to us a great misfortune that the coming census will not enable us to settle that point.

In this Committee the religious and the secular national educationists agreed that there was a great deficiency of education, and that it was useless to expect that voluntary effort or willingness (as Mr. Miall calls it) would in any reasonable time make it up. They were agreed as to the desirableness of local taxation and control, combined with government inspection; but the advocates of the religious system would have retained whilst the others would have abolished the Committee of Privy Council. The former would have applied government and local aid to all efficient schools where the Scriptures were daily read, and would have left the internal management of the schools intact. The latter, whilst not excluding the Scriptures, where the reading was not offensive, would have excluded distinctive doctrinal teaching from the regular

regular school hours, and have provided special times for it; leaving the performance of the duty, however, to voluntary effort: and they would have put all schools under the management of a general committee chosen by the ratepayers. The objections against the first scheme were by the voluntaries and the advocates of the secular plan, that they were setting up a great centralized power, and giving it to Government as a duty to subsidize the teachers of youth throughout the country, a power which might easily be very much abused. Second, that by endowing the schools of all sects, they were, in effect, endowing all forms of religion, and thus practically teaching that there was nothing to choose between truth and error; and that by enforcing payment of taxes for this purpose, they would violate the religious conscience. The reply was, that the principle was already adopted and acted upon with parliamentary sanction under the Minutes; and that if every parent had the choice of a school for his child, the religious conscience was sufficiently protected.

To the secular plan the objections were by the voluntaries, that it included the same political errors as the other plan, and jointly with the religious educationists, that it proposed to completely upset existing arrangements, to take education out of the hands of those who had fostered, and at present had charge of it, and to give it to others who were not used to the work, and whose interest could not be so great; and second, that in excluding religion from the ordinary teaching, it violated the religious conscience. The reply was, that if the public paid for the teaching, the public ought to have the control of the schools, and would doubtless choose proper persons for the office; and to the second objection, it was replied that secular and moral instruction were matters about the communication of which there was no important difference of opinion; that it was equally for the good of all, and might very safely be provided for by taxation; but that religion was a matter between each individual man and his Maker; that the religious conscience could not be violated by the teaching of subjects upon which all men were agreed; and that whilst it was admitted that the conscience of the religious man required religious teaching, he could not require it at the cost of those who differed from him, for that would be to violate the consciences of other men for his convenience; but that the adoption of the secular plan would lead to arrangements between parents and the officials of the various religious sects to occupy the times set apart, and thus to supplement the ordinary teaching by efficient religious instruction. Amongst these differing parties the parliamentary committee could not decide, so neither of the bills became law, and except for the progress of the annual votes under the Minutes, the subject of national education went again to sleep.

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The following is a summary of the conditions of the parliamentary grant as published in April 1860:

The Committee of Privy Council on Education affords aid towards primary education, out of the parliamentary grant for the erection of schools, in amounts not exceeding one half of the whole cost in cases where a necessity for the school is shown, and the trust-deeds and plans are approved; but the school must either belong to some recognized religious denomination, or it must be a school in which, besides secular instruction, the Scriptures are read daily in the authorized version. The remainder of the cost may be supplied by subscriptions from persons within four miles of the proposed school, or by collections in churches or chapels within the same radius, or may be the proceeds of the sale of old materials (deducting the allowance of any former grant), or the value of a site given without any valuable consideration; and may include the value of any gratuitous cartage certified by the parochial surveyor of the roads. Aid is also given towards the purchase of books, maps, diagrams, and scientific apparatus. The books must be chosen from an approved list of works, purporting to convey secular information in the form of class-books for children or text-books for teachers, and the maps and diagrams must be upon a large scale. This grant will not exceed twenty pence per scholar in average attendance, nor will it exceed one-third of the whole cost of the books, and the order must be for not less than three pounds in value. This grant may be renewed every third year, or oftener in cases where the scholars have increased in the meantime 25 per cent. This grant is extended to evening classes in places where the population is sparse, and it is also available to 'schoolmasters' associations,' to the extent of ten shillings per member, on condition of an equal amount being subscribed. The grants in aid of scientific apparatus are in the proportion of two-thirds of the whole cost to schools where the master has given satisfactory proof of his ability to use the instruments to advantage. This grant is also occasionally available to schoolmasters' associations. One-half of the original proportion is again available after three years, in order to replace any instruments spoiled by use; and on the original conditions for instruments, for a branch of science not included in the original grant. Grants are also made in augmentation of the salaries of teachers who have undergone examination, and received certificates of competency, provided they be paid by the managers of the schools 60*l.* per annum at least, and provided also that 30*l.* of this be raised by voluntary contributions, exclusive of any endowment. In such cases the Committee of Council will add 30*l.* to the annual salary. Teachers who have not obtained certificates may yet be registered as competent, and may, in common with the certified teachers in some cases, have pupil teachers apprenticed to them, in the ratio  
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of one for every forty scholars, but not more than four in any one school. The grant for one pupil teacher is 5*l.*; for two, 9*l.*; for three, 12*l.*; and for four, 15*l.* per annum to the principal teacher. The Committee of Council also provides for the annual stipend of the pupil teacher; for his first year, 10*l.*; second, 12*l.* 10*s.*; third, 15*l.*; and fourth, 17*l.* 10*s.* A special augmentation grant is given to teachers of drawing: for free-hand drawing, 2*l.*; for linear geometry, 1*l.*; for linear perspective, 1*l.*; and for model and object drawing, 1*l.* per annum.

Special augmentation grants exist also for schools in which the Welsh or Gaelic languages have to be spoken.

Capitation grants are made towards the general expenses of schools where the pupils pay not less than 3*s.*, nor more than 16*s.* per head per annum. These grants are in boys' schools, where the pupils are under fifty, 6*s.*, and for girls, 5*s.* per head per annum. Where the pupils are from fifty to one hundred—boys, 5*s.*; girls, 4*s.* per head. Where the pupils are above one hundred—boys, 4*s.*; girls, 3*s.* per head per annum.

Annual sums of 1,000*l.* to the National (Established Church) School Society, 750*l.* to the British and Foreign School Society, and 500*l.* to the Education Committee of the General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, are allowed for the support of normal schools for the training of teachers. Grants for books, maps, and diagrams, equal to 10*s.* per student to each 20*s.* subscribed, are also available for these schools; and for scientific apparatus, equal to two-thirds of the whole cost, but not exceeding 100*l.* in one grant. To certificated assistants in these schools, grants equal to one-third of their salary are made. For lecturers, in the proportion of one lecturer to thirty students; but to not more than three lecturers in one school. The grants are 100*l.* per annum to 150*l.* of salary.

'Queen's scholarships' of 23*l.* for males, and 17*l.* for females, with a further allowance for personal and travelling expenses, are connected with these normal schools, and may extend to ten per cent. of the students, provided so many pass the examinations satisfactorily. There are also grants towards the general management of these schools, according to the number of students who pass the annual examinations.

For the first year's residence the allowance towards management expenses is from 13*l.* to 20*l.*, according to proficiency; second year from 16*l.* to 24*l.*; and for the third year, from 16*l.* to 24*l.* per student.

The Committee of Council has also at its command the sum of 6,500*l.* per annum, in 20 pensions of 30*l.* each, 100 of 25*l.* each, and 150 of 20*l.* each; with donations or special gratuities to make up the remaining 400*l.* These are intended for teachers who have become incapacitated for the efficient conduct of a school. The pensioner

pensioner must have conducted a school for fifteen years, during seven of which it must have been under inspection, and the applicant must be recommended by the inspector, and by the trustees and managers of the school.

For ragged or industrial schools there are special grants in addition to those which are common to other schools. They consist of one half the rent of the premises in which industrial instruction is carried on, one-third of the cost of tools and raw materials for labour, and 5s. per annum per scholar for the average number under instruction. All these grants of course subject the schools to inspection by her Majesty's inspectors. Where grants are made for building purposes, the schools must be permanently open to inspection; where aid is given for books, maps, or diagrams, the right of inspection lasts for seven years thereafter. But if the grant is annual, the visit of the inspector may at any time be declined when the grant is given up.

Under these various regulations the Committee of Council last year distributed 723,115*l.*, and since the commencement of their operations in 1839, they have distributed 4,378,183*l.*

Of course progress is every year making both in the diffusion and in the quality of instruction given in working-class schools; and an effort was made (without success) by the Right Hon. C. B. Adderly last year to pass a bill, the effect of which would have been to extend the provisions of the Factory Education Act to all employments, and thus to oblige all employers to provide for the instruction of all children under thirteen years of age whilst in their service.

We learn that it is proposed to reintroduce the bill this session.

The advocates of the secular plan, in order to dispel the fears of the religious world, set up a model school in Manchester in 1844, and have since that period been educating upwards of 300 boys. The annual reports show that the qualification for admission is 'honest poverty,' and the regularity of attendance by the pupils is certainly wonderful; it averages 93 per cent. of those on the books. There is no religious teaching in the ordinary sense, not even the reading of the Bible, but 96 per cent. of the pupils attend Sunday schools.

What progress education has made in Manchester since 1852 we have no means of showing; but Mr. Hole's book comes in opportunely to show the condition of Leeds, which is, in many respects, similarly circumstanced.

The population of Leeds increased between 1839 and 1851 from 82,121 to 172,270 persons; and the attendants at day-schools from 1 in 12·15 to 1 in 7·89. Mr. Hole asserts that the improvement in the quality of instruction between these periods was much more remarkable than the increase in quantity, and he attributes the



for employment, and the extension of the Factory Schools Bill to all employments, so as to oblige all children who are at work, under thirteen years of age, to spend half-time at school; and the pleasing fact is again put forth, that half-timers in the best factory schools make almost as much progress as those who spend their whole time at school. To show how effectively such a law would work, Mr. Baker, factory inspector, is quoted as follows—

‘ Having had occasion to request certain certifying surgeons to test the educational powers of the children and young persons of between eight and sixteen years of age who presented themselves for surgical certificates, and a supposition getting abroad that shortly no child would be allowed to work in the mills that could not read;—from that moment the applications for admission to the schools were so great in the district that within a fortnight all the schools were filled.’

The number of evening pupils in Leeds in 1858, was 3,582; one-third of whom were in the hands of the Established Church, one-third of other religious denominations, and the remainder in mechanics’ and other secular institutes. Those in the hands of the religious sects were free scholars. The number of pupils in the School of Art in Leeds and immediate neighbourhood is 1,949.

Speaking of crime, our author tells us that of 1,993 offenders in 1858 and 1859 only 26 were returned as well educated; whilst 1,001 had received no instruction at all, and the remainder very little. Out of 847 prisoners committed in one year 512 had been committed before, and the total number of committals for these 847 persons was about 2,400, or an average of nearly three committals each.

To show the value of reformatories, statistics are given, to the effect that, since their establishment in this country, the committals of youths under sixteen years of age have rapidly decreased from 13,981 in 1856, to 8,913 in 1859.

The pecuniary saving to the country from the action of these institutions must have been immense, to say nothing of the moral results. An adult thief cannot exist at less than 100*l.* per annum loss to society, independent of the cost of prosecutions and convictions. If, therefore, we save 5,000 youths from a life of theft, we have saved for society half a million sterling per annum.

But there is no disagreement about the duty of Government in regard to convicted felons, nor in regard to the children of paupers; in both these cases the Government is admitted to stand *in loco parentis*, and therefore entitled to give any instruction which it may deem proper.

It is argued that if it be right for Government to punish, it is also right for it to prevent, crime; and the conclusion is drawn that education is the best if not the only preventive. And undoubtedly, according to the constitution of England, any duty which does not violate the religious conscience and oblige a man to resist the operation of the law on the ground that he ought to obey

obey God rather than man may be delegated to the Government, central or local.

But then come the political and religious difficulties which we have already set forth. The voluntaries, led by the author of 'Social Statics,' by Mr. Baines, and Mr. Edward Miall, desire to confine the operations of Government within the narrowest possible limits; whilst the religious educationists, composed chiefly of adherents of the Established Church and the Wesleyans, would enlarge the sphere of government influence; and the advocates of the secular scheme seek a medium in local government. Sir James Kay Shuttleworth, who supported the religious scheme started in Manchester (and who was the first Secretary to the Committee of Privy Council), speaking on this subject, says:—

'We are now spending in Great Britain at least two millions annually on the support of elementary schools. The annual local cost (without accounting for the expense of training colleges, of inspection, and of administration) for each elementary day scholar in an efficient school in Great Britain, in 1859, was 1*l.* 7*s.* 1½*d.* or at the rate of 6¾*d.* per week for 48 weeks in the year for 748,164 scholars, who, on the average, were in the inspected and aided schools. Of this, the parents pay weekly rather more than 1¾*d.* The private contributions, endowments, and the sums derived from other sources, amount to rather more than 2¼*d.* per week; and the Government at present provide towards pupil teachers, for the augmentation of teachers' salaries, and for other objects contemplated by the Minutes of 1846 and 1853, the remaining 2¾*d.* per week. This was the proportion in 1859 for Great Britain. The two millions, which is the lowest estimate of what is annually spent in Great Britain on elementary education, include the cost of day schools receiving no aid from the Government, as well as of night schools and mechanics' institutions. The sum actually expended by the Committee of Council in the support of the inspected elementary day schools in Great Britain, in the year ending December 31, 1859, was 413,673*l.*, and of night schools only 1,321*l.*; whereas, in the same inspected schools, 341,614*l.* 19*s.* 11*d.* was derived from private contributions and endowments, while 259,394*l.* 13*s.* 1*d.* was derived solely from school pence; so that the whole income of the inspected schools thus aided by Government was 1,014,682*l.* The second million which, besides the foregoing, I estimate to be at the least annually expended on elementary education, is solely derived from voluntary subscriptions or from school pence; so that 1,600,000*l.* are now annually raised from private sources. In the schools which derive no aid from Government, the proportions of the school pence to the subscriptions probably exceed those of the elementary schools inspected and aided. They would, I think, amount to one half of this million. If that estimate be accurate, the Government pay 413,673*l.* annually, the middle class and upper classes, by subscriptions and endowments, 841,614*l.*; and the working classes, 759,394*l.*, towards the local support of elementary day and evening schools. When 1,601,008*l.* is annually derived from subscriptions, endowments, and school pence, and of this sum 759,394*l.* is paid directly from earnings of working men towards the support of schools, any Government which should, in a spirit of short-sighted economy, determine to stint the application of the public revenues to education, must be indifferent to its highest obligations.'

Here, then, is our question:—There are now, in all probability, in England and Wales nearly a million of children of school age, who are neither at school nor at work: out of this class come most of our paupers and criminals. Shall we leave it to voluntary benevolence to impress the parents of these and future generations of children with the value of education; or shall we, by a national effort,

effort, provide at once for their mental and moral development? And if we go to work nationally, what system or combination of systems shall we adopt? Or shall we leave the matter in the hands of the Government, and see the annual vote increased to one and a half million sterling; putting the working-class schoolmasters entirely in the hands of the national executive for the time being, and extinguishing the schools of all who conscientiously object to share the grants? We believe that the present Government would be glad to have the matter taken out of their hands, for its management involves immense labour and responsibility; but without either the inauguration of a national scheme, or the absorption of the neglected by voluntary means, the Government cannot now give up.

To these questions we ask the serious attention of our readers, with the conviction that, whether an Education Bill be or be not passed, great practical good will result.

ART. III.—1. *Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice, and the Physiology of Digestion.* By William Beaumont, M.D., Surgeon in the United States Army. Plattsburgh: 1833.

2. *An Experimental Inquiry concerning the Presence of Alcohol in the Ventricles of the Brain, after Poisoning by that Liquid; with Experiments illustrative of the Physiological Action of Alcohol; for which a Gold Medal was awarded by the Medical Faculty of the University of Edinburgh.* By John Percy, M.D. Nottingham: 1839.

3. *Digestion; the Influence of Alcoholic Fluids on that Function.* By Robert Dundas Thomson, M.D. London: 1841.

4. *Scientific Teetotalism; exhibiting a view of the accordance of Teetotalism with Organic Chemistry, and explaining the modus operandi of Alcohol, firstly, on the function of Respiration, and, secondly, in the formation of Fat.* By Dr. F. R. Lees. March, 1843.

5. *Über das Verhalten des Alkohols im Thierischen Organismus.* Von Dr. Duchek. 1853.

6. *Du Rôle de l'Alcool et des Anesthésiques dans l'Organisme.* Recherches Expérimentales par Ludger Lallemand et Maurice Perrin, Médecins-Majors, Professeurs agrégés à l'École Impériale de Médecine et de Pharmacie Militaires, et J. L. P. Duroy, Membre de la Société de Pharmacie de Paris. Paris: 1860.

THE discussions of the last thirty years on the doctrine of temperance, in its chemical, physiological, and critical relations, have illustrated an old and consoling truth; namely, that

that Providence is perpetually preparing for the progressive development of science, and constantly educing permanent and universal good out of temporary and partial evil. Not that we are prepared to justify the perverse way in which men shut their eyes to the dawn of evidence—the attitude of hostility assumed against the beginnings of truth—the prejudice which intercepts the straight path of light—much less the authoritative tone and acrid disposition in which the earliest developments of temperance doctrine have been combated by reputed chemists, physiologists, and divines. But while we must concede and lament the frequent absence of a conscientious, truth-seeking mood in the writers against temperance, we can now clearly perceive that the very intensity and virulence of this opposition, by compelling to minute and exhaustive investigation, has necessarily resulted in a wider grasp of the entire subject, and stimulated to that series of varied and luminous experiments which now for ever displace the few and faint illustrations which constituted our original knowledge of the *modus operandi* of alcohol upon the living body. This fact, surely, furnishes an additional incentive to patience and toleration under controversial antagonism, so that, while avoiding what is unbecoming in the manner and motive of gainsayers, we may accept opposition as the best opportunity for promoting that truth which benefits and blesses in common the entire family of man.

The movement which has now become known as teetotalism, originated amongst the working classes of Lancashire in the year 1832; and the zealous missionary labours of its earliest advocates—especially of James Teare, Joseph Livesey, Thomas Swindlehurst, Henry Anderton, and Edward Grubb—quickly disciplined many thousands of the hard-working men of the North to this new scheme of redemption from the thralldom and degradation of drink. Several important physical truths became manifest as the result of this grand practical induction: namely, that hard work could be done with greater ease, and with less subsequent fatigue, on the abandonment of alcoholic liquors; that the extremes of heat and cold could be better sustained; that body and temper were both improved; and that teetotalers enjoyed a comparative immunity from the pain and expense of sickness, to which, as limited drinkers, they had been strangers.

Earnestly commending these truths of experience to the working classes, the first apostles of temperance were soon obstructed by the mischievous authority of medical men, an authority which chimed in at once with interest and appetite; and the question before the public assumed the shape of alleged Science *versus* Popular Reform. This compelled the temperance advocate to formulize his doctrine, to study chemistry and physiology, so that

he might challenge the opposer upon his own ground. Whether it was owing to this antagonism, or to the circumstance that the continental teachers of physiology were far better instructed in organic chemistry than the English doctors, the fact is certain, that while the profession abroad have generally treated the question of abstinence from alcohol in a respectful and philosophical spirit, the great body of medical men at home have dealt with it in so crude, dogmatic, and insolent a manner, as to call down upon themselves the most severe but merited exposures.\* The rôle of the controversy has somewhat changed since then, but the temper of the profession is as intolerant as ever. The 'Medical Gazette,' in reviewing the French experiments, pronounces them all the more valuable, 'seeing that they are not contaminated with teetotal fanaticism.' Now since their philosophical conclusions coincide precisely with the original basis of the temperance doctrine, we must infer that the 'fanaticism' consists in contending for the practical application of the philosophy! The 'British Medical Journal' recently declares that 'the subject of the use of alcohol is daily becoming one of more importance. The question of its influence on the body in health, is being daily canvassed by the chemist and physiologist; and as far as their lights reach; it would seem that not only is alcohol not of service to the body, but is actually injurious.'

While vituperating teetotalers in the style just exhibited, the faculty, we learn, are preparing to abandon their untenable position in the field of 'science,' and to occupy the 'vantage-ground upon which the 'fanatics' themselves have stood so firmly and so long. 'We are certainly not disposed,' says the Medical Journal, 'to allow the chemist or the physiologist to settle a question of this kind, for there is one great authority, Experience, which is greater than theirs.' Whether they will fare any better in their new position, we may safely leave to the issues of time; but the declaration itself is a remarkable example of the tenacity of prejudice.

The formula of the teetotalers in 1832, and subsequently, was this: That alcohol is essentially an irritant and narcotic poison. That this brain poison is the intoxicating element alike of the fermented and distilled liquors used by the people, so productive of physical disease, social disorder, popular degradation, and premature death. That it is injurious in proportion to the frequency and amount of its consumption. That it enters the body as alcohol, excites violent reaction in every part of the circulation

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\* Vide 'Fallacies of the Faculty' in works of Dr. Lees (vol. i. and iii.), where an analysis of 230 pages will be found of the strangest blunders ever put forth by an educated faculty, including such men as Drs. Paris, Lankester, Barclay, and Chambers.

from the heart to the brain, and is eliminated as alcohol, in some measure from the breath and skin, and plentifully from the kidneys. Hence, therefore, as wanting in the two essential marks of innocency of action and capacity of assimilation, alcohol could not be ranked in the category of food.

The American Temperance Society was formed in the year 1826. Prior to that event, the remarkable accident to Alexis St. Martin had happened, of which the particulars are given in the first work named at the head of this article. Whilst the philanthropists were busy with their social and moral reformation, a physician in the Far West was experimenting upon a living man, into whose stomach an opening had been made, whereby, as through a window, could be seen, even when not felt, the irritating and disturbing action of alcoholics. When, in Britain, in 1833, the principle of abstinence from spirits was developed into teetotalism, and the absurd objection put forth that alcohol in wine was different from alcohol distilled out, Dr. Beaumont's book was received in the nick of time for confuting the distinction. 'The whole class of alcoholic liquors, whether simply fermented or distilled, may be considered as narcotics, producing very little difference in their ultimate effects on the system.' (P. 50.) It was also shown that 'the free use of any intoxicating liquors, when continued for some days, has invariably produced morbid changes in the stomach, visible to the naked eye.' (P. 239.)

This case greatly aided the temperance movement, and was used with vigour and skill in popular advocacy. In December, 1841, Mr. E. C. Delavan, of Albany, published, and circulated with a princely liberality, the 'Enquirer,' No. 1, containing Professor Sewall's 'Pathology of Drunkenness,' illustrated with coloured plates of the stomach, exhibiting the inflammatory action of strong drinks. These plates, with additional matter and drawings, were afterwards reproduced in England by Dr. Lees, in connection with his 'History of Alcohol.' In that work, and the 'Standard Temperance Library,' published in 1841, are to be found collected most of the facts and experiments then known concerning the behaviour of alcohol within the organism; but while very significant, they were unquestionably fragmentary.

In 1679, M. Courten, of Montpellier, injected two drachms of spirits of wine into the crural vein of a dog, which died in a very little time. The blood was concreted into a great many hard clots in the cava and right ventricle of the heart. Three drachms made another dog apoplectic, as if he were half dead. He grew giddy, reeled, and fell down. His eyes were red and fiery, his sight so dull that he did not seem to notice anything. In four hours' time he grew better. 'We injected into the crural vein of a dog five ounces of strong white wine, which made him very drunk,

drunk, and little different from what a less quantity of spirits of wine would have done.\*

In Dr. Beddoes' '*Hygeia*' (1802) some curious experiments of Mr. Pilger and of the great surgeon, John Hunter, are recorded, but they cast no light on the course of alcohol in the body. The experiments of Dr. (now Sir B.) Brodie in 1811,† and of Orfila, which simply confirm M. Courten's, and those of M. Flourens,‡ which show that alcohol disorders the action of walking or flying by its specific influence on the '*cerebellum*,'—pretty nearly exhaust our information on this topic up to 1830. In that year Dr. Kirk, of Greenock, in his address to the Leven Temperance Society, details his examination of the brains of some men who had died after drinking, from which he had obtained by distillation a quantity of alcohol, still retaining the smell of whisky, and burning with a blue flame for several seconds. Dr. Ogston, of Aberdeen, confirmed this startling fact, by the examination of the brains of persons who had died under similar conditions.

These last experiments seem to have suggested the subject for Dr. Percy's prize thesis in 1839; which is certainly one of the most important and satisfactory contributions ever made to our knowledge of the action of alcohol, and which has long been employed as a text-book by the few leading advocates of temperance who have taken the pains to study this question, as a barricade against the inroad of foreign theories which our medical and literary men have accepted in so servile a spirit, partly because they felt their own want of mastery of the subject, and partly because they fancied they had discovered an argument against the temperance reformers of their own country.

Dr. Percy established the following truths in that essay, beyond all reasonable cavil and contradiction:—

1. That the distillation of the blood of dogs and men, after the injection of alcohol by the stomach, yielded a liquid, which dissolved camphor, and burnt with a blue flame.

2. That after the use of alcohol to the point of common intoxication, the substance of the brain yielded a larger measure of alcohol than a much greater weight of blood. "Indeed, it would almost seem that a kind of affinity existed between alcohol and the cerebral matter." (P. 104.)

3. "The rapidity with which alcohol may, under favourable circumstances, be absorbed from the stomach and conveyed to the brain, is remarkable."

4. "That alcohol may be detected in the blood, the urine, &c. It may be separated with great facility from the bile and liver." . . . "I obtained the urine of a man who was in a state of intoxication—he had taken in all about a bottle of whisky. [Half a pint of alcohol.] The urine was clear and of a pale straw colour. I subjected five ounces to distillation, and drew over one drachm, which was put into a test-tube, containing sub-carbonate of potass: instantly on agitation, a perfectly colourless stratum appeared, which dissolved camphor, and burnt with a blue flame."

5. Experiment viii., "illustrates the intensely irritant action of alcohol. The

\* '*Philosophical Transactions*,' 1712.

† *Ibid.*, 1811.

‡ '*Recherches sur les Fonctions du Système Nerveux*,' 1824.

dog vomited frothy matter, strongly tinged with blood. The lungs were slightly congested. Dark blood was contained in all the cavities of the heart. The stomach bore the marks of the most intense inflammation. Solid viscera healthy." (P. 73.)

6. That alcohol can destroy life by shock upon the nervous centres. In experiment vi., "a full-grown spaniel dog was killed before the injection of less than two and a half ounces of alcohol into the stomach was completed. Never did I see every spark of vitality more effectually and more instantaneously extinguished." (P. 60.)

7. "On opening the chest, a decidedly alcoholic smell was perceived, as evidenced by Mr. Wright, my brother (who was ignorant of the experiment), and myself. Not only must alcohol have been conveyed to the brain, in the course of two minutes, but a quantity must have passed into the circulation, for the actual quantity yielded by the brain in this instance, equalled what I have in general obtained when the poison has been allowed much longer time for absorption. The blood furnished an abundant quantity. . . . The empty condition of the stomach may serve to explain the extraordinary rapidity with which the alcohol produced its effects." (P. 62.)

Notwithstanding these experiments, we shortly after find Liebig and the French and German chemists and physiologists affirming, with a single exception,\* that alcohol is never eliminated by the secreting organs. This opinion was first given by Tiedemann and Gmelin,† repeated by Wöhler as a fact, afterwards echoed by a flock of writers on the Continent, and finally proclaimed as science by amateur physiologists in England. Certainly, error sometimes takes a good deal of killing.

Professor Schultz, in his work on 'The Rejuvenescence of Man' (Berlin, 1842), records some experiments which excited considerable attention, and led to others elsewhere. He states that 'alcohol stimulates the blood vesicles to an increased and unnatural contraction, which hurries them on to the last stage of development—that is, induces their premature death. The colouring matter is dissolved out of them, and the pale discs lose all vitality; whence less oxygen can be absorbed, and less carbon carried out. While congestion happens in the capillaries, irritation is present in the secreting organs, resulting in disordered function.' The later experiments of Böcker with spirits, wine, and beer (the results attested by the microscope), agree with these; and Dr. Virchow, the celebrated pathologist, concurs in the opinion that alcohol poisons the blood, and arrests the development, as well as hastens the decay, of the red vesicles.§

After this period, a numerous band of experimenters are found, all over Europe, busily endeavouring to determine the problem of the action of alcohol, amongst whom we may name as most successful,

\* 'A l'exception de Klenke, qui a trouvé de l'alcool dans l'urine et dans la bile, les physiologistes avaient avancé que les organes sécréteurs, les reins en particulier, n'éliminent pas l'alcool.'—Lallemand, p. 73.

† 'Journal des Progrès,' 1827, ii. 109.

‡ See Dr. Barclay's assertion cited in Dr. Lees' works, i. p. clxv.

§ An abstract of these will be found in the works of Dr. Lees, vol. i. p. cciii. (1854).

Otto, Huss, Vierordt, Nasse, Moleschott, Rösch, Böcker, Lehmann, Buckheim, Royer-Collard, Klenke, Duméril, and Demarquay.

The second stage of this discussion, which we may call the Chemical Epoch, opened with the year 1843, by the publication of Liebig's famous book on 'Animal Chemistry,' followed by his no less celebrated 'Letters.' In these works he advocates, with much brilliancy and plausibility, that luminous distinction of Foods into Elements of Nutrition, which chiefly take part in the composition of the frame, and Elements of Respiration, which mainly act as fuel for the production of animal heat. As regards the first class, it became at once apparent, that alcohol, as a liquid entirely destitute of the nitrogenous and mineral elements of the structures, had no title to be regarded as nourishment. This Dr. Liebig at once admitted. 'Beer, wine, spirits, etc., furnish no element capable of entering into the composition of blood, muscular fibre, or any part which is the seat of the vital principle.\* But if alcohol could not claim to rank with albumen as plastic, histogenetic food, might it not, like oil, starch, or sugar, be included amongst the elements of respiration, which, uniting with oxygen, jointly 'conveyed by the circulation of the blood to every part of the body, is the source of animal heat?' Liebig looked at this theory with the favour and fondness of a doting parent. He considered that there was in the body a constant condition of eremacausis or decay, promotive of gradual combustion, a perpetual supply of oxygen to act upon the volatile alcohol circulating in the blood, and, greatest delusion of all, theorizing in the belief that alcohol, when taken in moderate doses, was never eliminated, he naturally concluded, and stoutly asserted, that it must be decomposed.

'If (an) individual adds to his (adequate) daily ration, a certain amount of alcohol, of which we know that its elements, in the circumstances under which they are exposed to the action of oxygen in the system, possess a far stronger attraction for oxygen than, for example, fat; then it is obvious that the elements of the alcohol, and not those of the fat, will combine with the oxygen.' If the amount of oxygen taken up remain the same (*i. e.* exercise), then fat will be deposited in the body, or it will go to increase the amount of fat in the blood, or it must be expelled (as waste) through the intestinal canal.† In the same way, by the presence of alcohol, the change of matter itself [which is life], in so far as the oxygen conveyed by the blood has a share in it, or the conversion of the products of the change of matter into oxydized compounds must be impeded or altered in its form,—in plain English, the normal processes of health will be arrested. 'Besides the usual products, there must be formed nitrogenized or sulphurized compounds of another kind; or, if the normal action of the canal do not suffice, and be not excited by stimulants [aperients], then, by their presence in the blood, the vital processes must undergo a change, which must make itself known in some one of the functions of the body.'

How any one who understands this theory can deem it favourable to the use of alcoholics, we are at a loss to comprehend; but

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\* 'Letters on Chemistry,' p. 57. 1844.

† 'Animal Chemistry,' 3rd edit., 1846, p. 147.

there is still another pregnant passage immediately following: 'On the other hand, if the elements of respiration be diminished by a corresponding amount, or the supply of oxygen increased, then the use of alcoholics, without any reference to the effect of alcohol on the nervous system,\* will exert no unfavourable influence on the normal processes of the organism.' This is simply saying, that when quantitative obstruction is not created, only qualitative injury remains! These extracts, however, as will be seen in the sequel, are purely the expression of a hypothesis, and have no solid basis of fact. The opinion ought to have been tested at the time, but, instead, was elevated, by the concurrent faith of continental savans and British doctors, to the very pinnacle of science!

The theory of Liebig, however, was speedily seized upon by the superficial teachers of science, as a weapon against teetotalism; and by some very clever writers, of whom, in general, we must speak with a certain respect. Even Dr. Pereira said, 'The teetotal societies have quite overlooked this use of spirit! It cannot be doubted that it undergoes some change in the animal economy, and probably may be made some use of.' Nevertheless the fact was doubted. In a discussion in March, 1843, Dr. Lees boldly took the hypothesis by the horns, in the following words:—

'I am told that alcohol is an element of respiration. I will show you what the theory itself is worth; at present it is purely a question of opinion. I have frequently exhibited the true relations of alcohol to the respiratory process, which are not exactly what Dr. Pereira and Mr. Jeaffreson imagine. All that Liebig's theory would prove is this, that after a portion of spirit had acted as a poison on the stomach, the tissues, the liver, the heart, the lungs, and the brain, some portion of the poison is then made to answer the same purpose as sugar. . . . The wisdom of nature is displayed in this—that in the healthy operations of the animal machine, those elements of food which stand related to the process of nutrition do not disturb the function of respiration, nor, on the other hand, do the elements of respiration disturb the vital and nutritive functions, or, like alcohol, impair the nervous system. Professor Liebig supposes that alcohol is an element of respiration—"that the elements of alcohol combine with oxygen in the body; that its carbon and hydrogen are given off as carbonic acid and water"†—but granting that some portion of this alcohol may become decomposed in the blood, the question arises, Does this take place without injury to other functions of the system? If not, its use must be as indefensible as ever. I question, however, whether alcohol is so easily decomposed in the system as Liebig represents, and I contend that many physiological experiments, of which he does not seem to have had any cognizance, support the position, that this irritating and most indigestible substance, as regards the great bulk of it taken at any time, passes off from the system, through the skin and lungs, unchanged and undecomposed.‡

Dr. Paris, the President of the College of Physicians, went further astray than Dr. Pereira. 'The teetotalers,' he says,

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\* At p. 41, Liebig himself remarks that 'every disturbance of the nervous system, or of the nerves of digestion, reacts visibly on the process of respiration.' This explains the susceptibility of drinkers to death by exposure to cold. Liebig elsewhere allows that the excitement of alcohol must end in the 'inevitable bankruptcy' of the vital force.

† 'Animal Chemistry,' 1st edit. p. 239.

‡ 'History of Alcohol,' Appendix A, p. xii. 1843.

'are the more to be wondered at, considering the light which modern chemistry has thrown on the subject.\*' He says that Liebig has 'proved' that alcohol is burnt up in the system! The 'Medical Review,' edited by Dr. John Forbes, physician to Her Majesty's household, in reviewing Dr. Paris's book, plunges into the most astounding blunders, affirming that modern researches fully prove that alcohol is capable of assimilation, its carbon being available either to the support of certain tissues, or to respiration! Dr. Lankester, in 1851, partly propagated the same doctrine, which received its perfect development in Johnstone's 'Chemistry of Common Life,' and G. H. Lewes's pretentious article in the 'Westminster Review,' for July, 1855, the fallacies and falsities of which Professor Carpenter and Dr. Lees publicly exposed in Exeter Hall.† The temperance leaders, however, could hardly stem this scientific *stumpede*, under the influence of which common sense and cool philosophy were for a while powerless; and they had to reason upon the supposition of Liebig's theory being true. Dr. Lees protested, and then showed that, if alcohol 'robbed the blood of oxygen,' that fact rather established than overturned their platform. Professor Carpenter, in the 5th edition of his 'Physiology,' admitted that alcohol was fuel in considerable quantities, and, as such, gave it a place as food in fever. Professor Miller, in his 'Alcohol,' and later still, in his 'Nephalism,' followed the pernicious example. But the seeds of revolution were germinating in the minds of many. A decade wanes away, and men learn first to doubt, and then to investigate; a second decade elapses, and, with evidence infinitely stronger than the hypothesis could ever boast, they begin boldly to refute.

Scientific men in vain attempted to fill up the vacant spaces in the theory of Liebig. Starting with the supposition that alcohol, in part at least, is oxydized in the circulation, they tested the blood for the products of alcoholic combustion—such as aldehyde and acetic acid.‡ In 1847, Bouchardat and Sandras, in the 'Annales

\* 'Pharmacologia,' 9th edit. 1843.

† It is but justice to the conductors of the 'Westminster Review' to record, that in the January number, 1861, the old opinions are thus referred to:—'Since the date of our former article, scientific research has brought to light important facts which necessarily modify the opinions we then expressed concerning the rôle of alcohol in the animal body. Faithful to the revelations of science, rather than mindful of consistency, we hasten to lay before our readers the last results of a long and laborious series of experiments bearing on the subject in question.' Nevertheless, in 1855, all the facts known were as much opposed to the article as are those of like kind now published. Mr. Lewes's article was a piece of special pleading based entirely on fictions which he boldly proclaimed as facts.

‡ Alcohol C 4, H 6, O 2. If 2 equivalents of oxygen unite with 2 of the hydrogen of alcohol, forming water, we get  
Aldehyde C 4, H 4, O 2. In a second process of oxydation, 2 H is replaced by 2 O, making  
Acetic acid C 4, H 4, O 4.

de Chimie,' strove to sustain the theory that alcohol, by its affinity for the oxygen of the blood, asphyxiated animals poisoned by it. They denied that alcohol reaches the renal secretion! and detecting alcohol in the blood of the jugular vein in the first hour, but not in the second, they inferred that it was changed into acetic acid. One can hardly conceive of a poorer proof.

In 1853, Duchek, in a plausible paper, contended for the transformation of alcohol within the body, first into aldehyde; second, into vinegar; thirdly, into oxalic acid; and, finally, into carbonic acid and water. But his premises needed corroboration, and Buckheim, in the '*Lehrbuch der Arzneimittellehre*,' speedily pointed out the hastiness of his conclusions. Whilst this chemist could find neither acetic nor oxalic acid, he confirmed the experiments of Dr. Percy as to the presence of alcohol in vapour of respiration and in urine, both in dogs and men.

A large number of additional facts had now gradually accumulated, tending to throw doubt on the theory that alcohol was an element of respiration; while some of its advocates, such as Dr. T. K. Chambers, in the '*Medico-Chirurgical Review*,' for October 1854, in contending for its use as 'extra diet,' set up the incompatible pleas, that it is burnt as fuel, and also acts as a conservator of the tissues. In 1813, some experiments were instituted by Drs. Fyfe and Prout, of Aberdeen, respecting the action of alcohol on the function of respiration, and the excretion of carbonic acid.\* These were for long, in conjunction with Percy's, the main evidence by which temperance advocates resisted the theory of Liebig. Dr. Copland, in 1828, in editing Richerand's '*Physiology*,' well expressed the results: 'Grief, fear, and fatigue, and, in short, whatever diminished the powers of life, appeared to have the effect of diminishing the quantity of the carbonic acid expelled; but the greatest decrease experienced was from the use of alcohol and vinous liquors.'

'The use of alcoholic liquors,' says Liebig, 'causes a considerable diminution in the amount of carbonic acid given out.'† These experiments, however, were not made, like some shortly to be noticed, on an empty stomach; and the results, therefore, are rather dietetic, than strictly pathological, in their teachings. Nasse, Vierordt, Böcker, and Lehmann in Germany, Dr. John Davy in England, and Dr. Hammond in America,‡ have confirmed the results of Fyfe and Prout. Dr. Davy, by the test of the mercury, demonstrated that the temperature of the body is lowered by the use of wine.

\* '*Annals of Philosophy*,' ii, 328; iv, 331.

† Vide '*Works of Dr. Lees*,' iii, p. cc.

‡ '*Animal Chemistry*,' 3rd edit., p. 27.

§ Dr. Lees' *Works*, iii, p. 56, note, vol. iv. Sequel, p. 42.

A very unanimous conclusion has been gradually reached by the most reliable of the authorities both at home and abroad, on one point. Professor Moleschott, in his 'Theory of Nutrition,' while absurdly designating alcohol as a 'saving's box for the tissues,' admits that 'it does not deserve the name of an alimentary principle.' Professor Lehmann, in his 'Physiological Chemistry,' after an elaborate examination of the facts, says: 'We cannot believe that alcohol, theine, etc., which produce such powerful reactions on the nervous system, belong to the class of substances capable of contributing towards the maintenance of the vital functions.' Dr. Edward Smith, F.R.S., from a series of careful experiments on alcohol, tea, etc., arrives at conclusions differing in some respects from the preceding, but concedes that it is absurd to call alcohol 'food,' and speaks strongly as to its disturbing action upon the brain. In brief, no experimenter has ever denied the momentous fact, that whether alcohol is ever wisely usable as a drug, it is unquestionably a brain poison. This is equivalent to the statement, that it is a perverter of the intelligence of men, that faculty which is the basis alike of all good conduct and just government; and this fact, therefore, brings the question of the sale of alcohol most legitimately and logically within the scope of social legislation.

Dr. Smith\* says that 'Hammond and all others found that alcohol lessened the quantity of carbonic acid expired, but no one pointed out the inconsistency of this statement with the chemical view to which all these observers have given their adhesion.' Now this is incorrect, since Dr. Lees, from the first, used the fact as a presumption against the theory. He also opposed the baseless hypothesis of Moleschott, as reproduced by Dr. Chambers in 1854, that alcohol specifically arrested metamorphosis of tissue, arguing that the facts simply proved that effete matter was retained, which dulled or deadened the processes constituting life. Here, as in other instances, while the scientific advocates of teetotalism are coarsely denounced as 'noisy, shallow quacks,' † it will in truth be found that science tardily treads in the footsteps of the temperance schoolmaster.

Dr. Hammond's experiments, ‡ like Prout's, Vierordt's, and

\* On the mode of action of alcohol in the treatment of disease. 'Lancet,' Feb. 9, 1861.

† Vide G. H. Lewes, in 'Blackwood,' 'Westminster,' and 'Physiology of Common Life.'

‡ 'American Journal of the Medical Sciences,' October, 1856. Dr. Hammond shows, in common with all observers, that alcohol greatly lessens the excretion of urea, which phenomena was accompanied by indications of disease. 'The healthy action of my system was much disordered. My appetite was capricious. I think I should have been seriously ill if I had continued the investigation longer.' With liberal fare, in short, he was ill fed; with lessened transformation of food less urea was excreted. There was, as Liebig indicated in a previous passage, but for a different reason, an accumulation of fæces, which finally passed off in a violent diarrhœa. But Dr. Hammond's conclusion, that alcohol saved tissue, is

Böcker's,

Böcker's, are exposed to several objections, which materially detract from their conclusiveness. The pulmonary exhalation was collected only for one minute three times a day; the respiration was regulated by the will, and through a volume of solution of baryta, which could not fail to impede the normal play of the function; and the influence of natural elements of food was erroneously assumed to be the same from day to day, and at the three particular minutes at which the carbonic acid was collected. Still, if not with scientific precision, Dr. Hammond does practically show that alcohol, taken with ordinary diet, has the same injurious effect as the excessive use of food; in other words, that its use is qualitative abuse, as really as gluttony is quantitative intemperance. On the other hand, if the food be deficient, the results are different; whence he infers, we think hastily, that alcohol 'cannot be exclusively condemned.' Why not? Alcohol, by thickening the circulating stream and retarding excretion, may arrest hunger and make the present supply of food last longer, but some of its present and ultimate results must be evil. If this be not so, then we may suppose that an attack of bile, supervening on a previously sound condition, inflicts no injury, and is as good as health! All false and abnormal action is bad. For our part, we cannot believe that any medicine (even if necessary) can be taken without corresponding injury. It appears to us a truism that, while the occasional use of alcohol may have some countervailing advantage, the continual employment of it must be an unmitigated mischief. That experiments lasting only for a few hours or days may not, owing to the peculiar conditions of the organism, always have perceptibly bad results, is readily conceivable. Sympathetic or vicarious functions, for instance, might, for a while, ward off mischief; but in course of time this would cease, and the organism would palpably register its own injury. This, in fact, agrees with a broad experience, and the most extended observation, in regard both to the benefits of abstinence and the evils of drinking. That alcohol should also contribute to the fattening process, under certain conditions, and produce in 'drinkers' the 'fatty degeneration of the blood,' follows as a matter of course; since, on the one hand, we have an agent that retains waste matter, by lowering the nutritive and excretory functions, and on the other, a direct poisoner of the vesicles of the vital stream.

Dr. Smith's experiments are far more satisfactory, the conditions

not warranted. He gained a fraction of a pound, he thinks, in his weight of 226 lb. How absurd! In five days he increased .16 lb. on the average. But his figures show that the daily retention of urine during that time was .74 oz., that of the feces .24 oz. = 4.9 oz., from which he ought in five days to have gained more than .16 lb. Now, as these excretions were subsequently expelled, the plain inference is, that the increased weight was entirely due to the retention of waste matter.

being

being well considered, and the apparatus perfect.\* He collected the carbonic acid every quarter of an hour, and for five or ten minutes together, with the breathing quite free; he maintained an uniform state of rest, taking one moderate dose of alcohol at each experiment, and this in the absence of food, or any other recognized cause of disturbance; and his experiments, moreover, exceeded in number any previously recorded. We will now give, in Dr. Edward Smith's own words, the chief results of his various trials:—

'Alcohol, in every dose up to the usual one in taking spirits and water, increased the amount of carbonic acid evolved, but not with the uniformity of a food, nor to a greater average extent than  $\frac{1}{10}$ th to  $\frac{1}{2}$  a grain per minute. Rum increased it somewhat more, and on some occasions much more. It is a spirit coloured with burnt sugar, and we have proved that sugar very largely increases the evolution of carbonic acid.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  oz. of cane sugar gave an increase of about 2 grains of carbonic acid per minute, in less than half an hour.

'Tea and coffee are powerful respiratory excitants, producing an increase of from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 grains of carbonic acid per minute.

'Brandy and gin lessened the quantity of carbonic acid evolved to a moderate extent generally, but sometimes gin (unsweetened) caused great depression. The duration of this action was from one to two hours.

'The volatile oils and ethers, which give character to the various wines and spirits, always, when inhaled, lessened the quantity of carbonic acid and vapour exhaled; and this was the greatest when the aromas were the best, viz., in old and fine wines and spirits.

'Ales always increased the amount of carbonic acid evolved to the average degree of  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 1 gr. per minute. They contain, besides alcohol, sugar, nitrogenous matters, and volatile aromas. Rum and milk had a very similar, but greater and more sustained action.

'We are led to the following summary of the mode of action of alcohol:

'1. The action of the heart is reinforced, and by it the fulness and freeness of the circulation are maintained.

'2. The action of the skin is lessened, whereby the loss of heat is reduced, the urgent necessity for food and vital transformation is lessened,† and the sensation of warmth increased.

'3. Alcohol is probably not transformed, and does not increase the production of heat by its own chemical action, but indirectly by a general temporary increase in the vital functions.

'4. It interferes with alimentation, causes the retention of water, and thereby lessens the excretion of urea; and if it lessens muscular waste, which it has not been proved to do, it must be by lessening vital action. Its power to lessen the salivary secretion must impede the due digestion of starch.

'5. It greatly lessens muscular tone and power, and diminishes the production of certain secretions.

'6. There is no evidence that it increases nervous influence, whilst there is much evidence that it lessens the nervous power, as shown by the mind and the muscles.‡

'7. It varies the [normal] balance of the circulation at the centres and the superficies, and interferes with the production of heat.

'8. There are three actions due to alcohols. [As there is but one alcohol, the better term would be "alcoholics."] The general stimulating and disturbing one of alcohol itself, the conservative one of the aromas, and the digestive one of gluten and sugar.

'9. The dose influences the phenomena, but only in degree, although it is

\* Vide 'Philosophical Transactions,' 1859.

† This is very different from that absurdity—'food-replaced.' It is, in reality, life-suppressed.

‡ Our readers will contrast with this, Mr. G. H. Lewes's triple dogma, definition, and dialectic—'Food is force; alcohol is force; therefore, alcohol is food!'

common

common to consider the action to differ in doses which are called "moderate" and "excessive" respectively. So far as the direct action upon the mind and muscles is concerned, we could not perceive any difference. For all medicinal and dietetic purposes, I venture to affirm that the dose only affects the degree, and not the direction of the influence.

'10. Alcohol is not a true food, and it neither warms nor sustains the body by the elements of which it is composed.

'11. Although alcohols are not foods, and cannot supply the place of foods, they cannot be dispensed with (?), but should be prescribed medicinally, and as carefully as any other poisonous agent.

'12. Psychological actions. In from three to seven minutes the mind was disturbed (by a moderate dose, diluted). Consciousness, the power of fixing the attention, the perception of light, and we believe of sound also, and the power of directing and co-ordinating the muscles, were lessened; whilst there was a very marked, peculiar, continuous thrilling, not unpleasant sensation, passing downwards through the whole system, during thirty minutes. After this period the effect diminished, as shown by increased consciousness and the perception of light, as if a veil had fallen from the eyes; nevertheless, the last power to be completely regained was consciousness.

'Spirits made us very hilarious and talkative in ten minutes, and during twenty to twenty-five; so much so, that my friend was altogether a king. But as minutes flew away, so did our joyousness, and little by little we lessened our garrulity, and felt less happy, until at length, having gone down by degrees, we remained silent, almost morose, and extremely miserable. Then, indeed, we felt the horrors and the sorrows of the drunkard's lot, and saw, with a clearness which can only be perceived by such experience, how certain it is that he must again drain the intoxicating cup. Never were the extremes of happiness and misery brought so vividly before us, or seemed to be in such close proximity, as on those occasions; and never did we so deeply commiserate the slavish, miserable, and almost hopeless condition of the poor wretch who had become a victim to strong drink.

'In addition, every mental perception was darkened, and the dreaminess, which is not an unpleasant feature of it, is a condition in which neither thought nor imagination acquires power. We suspect very greatly the statements of those who profess that "fancy" is then on her most airy wing, or that thoughts spring forth without the efforts of parturition; and our most charitable reply to such statements would be, that it is all a dream!'

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\* Dr. Smith having 'established the facts,' proceeds to apply them to 'the views of the late Dr. Todd on the Therapeutic Action of Alcohols,'† including the following speculative extravagancies—which, however, were not too extravagant to be greedily imbibed (and, what is worse, acted upon) by the ruck of the medical profession: 'That alcohol, like other hydro-carbons, has great affinity for the nervous system;—that when alcohol acts beneficially, there is no smell in the breath, when injuriously, there is;—that there is no true secondary depression, but when carefully taken, it upholds the calorifying process, and prevents oxydation of the tissues;—that it acts more quickly and certainly as a hydro-carbon than oil;—that it does not produce inflammation of the lungs and liver;—that the dose should be from a quarter ounce to two ounces, repeated with food, and as frequently;—that the general use of alcohols shows an instinct in man for them;—that it is very dangerous to withdraw the alcohol, and that coma and delirium from excess indicate that more alcohol should be given.' As Dr. Smith remarks, most of these inferences lose all value when it is shown that no transformation of alcohol in the system occurs, which is 'almost, if not quite, certain;' at any rate, it is demonstrable that Dr. Todd's repeated 2 oz. doses are not transformed. Whether any part of them is smelt in the breath will depend upon the fact of their being absorbed, and Cl. Bernard has shown that in many diseases 'the process of absorption is suspended.' In cholera ingestions find an escape from the bowels. It is astounding to find a clever physician like Dr. Todd arguing that men have a natural instinct for an element that does not exist in nature; and which, after being invented by art and introduced into the kingdom of life,

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† 'The Lancet,' March 2, 1861, p. 212.

We now approach the admirable French work, 'On the Rôle of Alcohol and the Anesthetics in the Organism,' which is destined to complete the revolution of opinion so long before begun.

The laborious and careful experiments detailed in this volume show, in all essential biological respects, a perfect analogy between the behaviour of alcohol and that of chloroform in the body; so that we are shut up to the conclusion that, if alcohol be aliment, replacing food, so is chloroform; or, if chloroform be 'poison,' not less so is its analogue, alcohol. There is no solitary loophole of physiological difference in their actions through which the quibbler can creep out from this conclusion of joint condemnation or joint eulogy. Both substances are evidently regarded by the vital sentinels of the Temple as intruders, and are, as expeditiously and emphatically as the conditions permit, literally eliminated—kicked to the door,—for the organism never rests until the last atom is expelled. Both agents possess the same

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excites a rebellious action in every part, which no force can suppress until the alleged 'object' of the 'natural instinct' is expatriated in company with the filth and excretions of the vital system! That alcohol should create an increasing appetite for itself, and that frail and sinful beings like men should be tempted to seek for pleasure in the exciting cup, no more argues a natural instinct for it, than similar results following the use of other narcotics argues a natural instinct for chewing or smoking opium, bang, and tobacco, or, as in Madagascar and New York fashion, for eating snuff. Much less can the general, or even universal practice of this or that sin prove that 'Whatever is, is right.'

Dr. Smith sees 'no ground whatever for the statement that hydro-carbons have an affinity for nervous matter; neither has it been shown that alcohols improve the nutrition of the nerve cell and fibre in any special way—indeed, nutrition is a general, not a local act. All the phenomena of alcohols, when taken in quantities which render their effects noticeable, evince great nervous disturbance; and I cannot but believe that, whilst the nervous system is principally affected, it is *by the opposite of a healthy and nutrient action.*' This is an old temperance argument placed emphatically in italics as a physiological canon. (Works of Dr. Lees, vol. i. p. lxxxvii.) Alcohol arrests the function of the skin and kidneys, and thus accumulates water in the system. Now, Dr. Todd's alcoholic prescriptions were often accompanied by acetate of ammonia, which has a contrary effect; and by quinine, which would clearly counteract the depressing influence. In short, his treatment was complex, and, as statistics show, frightfully fatal; it killed others, and at last himself. Dr. Smith testifies to having seen cases of inflamed lungs after alcoholic treatment, when the action of the skin was depressed; but holds 'that a feeble pulse and an active skin are the clear indications of the requirement of alcohol.' Dr. Smith invests alcohol with no mysterious or superstitious potency. It is to its poisonous or disturbing action that he ascribes any medical virtues it may have; and his sole plea for it is that of a stimulant of one part of the system, and a depressor of another. 'The essential and direct actions of alcohols, as remedial agents, are—the increase of the force of the heart's action, the local stimulation of the stomach, and the diminution in the function of the skin; whilst the most dependent (secondary) actions are, the retention of urea and fæces, diminution of certain secretions, and derangement of the assimilative process.' Being perfectly persuaded that the dietetic use of alcohol is frequently either the proximate or ultimate cause of the disorders in which a general stimulant is indicated as the temporary cure, we are not disposed to dispute its intelligent, careful, and conscientious prescription; but in our character of moralists as well as physiologists, we must earnestly warn the patient against its dangers and its seductions.

fatal

fatal affinity for the substance of the liver and brain ; both tend to disturb the perceptions and obliterate the consciousness of the soul.

The experiments of Drs. Lallemand and Perrin on alcohol are, in fact, the sequel to a series which they have been instituting for some years past as to the peculiar operation of anesthetic agents in general. They had discovered a new and more certain method of detecting chloroform in the blood and tissues, whereby they establish the fact that, when this agent is in-breathed, it is received in substance into the blood, and conveyed to the brain, from which it may be extracted after death ; but whenever inhalation was suspended, the chloroform was quickly exhaled by the breath, never oxydized. Turning to alcohol, they proved its absorption into the blood, and its subsequent passage to the nervous-centres. Next, they sought for it in the breath, making two men, to whom they administered brandy, breathe through an apparatus for condensing the vapour of the lungs, and then distilling the liquor. Not a trace of alcohol was detected by this method ; and yet alcohol was there ; which evinces the small value of that mere negative evidence upon which Liebig and his school have built so much. By a lucky, or rather providential circumstance, a tube holding a solution of bichromate of potash in sulphuric acid had been placed at the end of the apparatus.\* This is a red liquor, which, by the action of certain organic compounds, will change to an emerald green, the chromic acid becoming green oxide of chromium. Now, it was noted that the expired air, after the condensing of the vapour, quickly turned the red liquor into green, as it passed along the tube.

What was the value of this new test ? They proceeded to question nature, and soon found that the breath of people who had recently taken no alcohol, left the solution unaffected in its colour. The inference was plain—that the alteration was due either to alcohol, or its derivatives, in the breath.

They next carefully analyzed the blood of animals to which alcohol had been given, in order to detect the presence of aldehyde : not a trace could be found, however, but only a trifle of acetic acid in the stomach, which is often generated by the action of the ferment in the gastric juice, even when no alcohol is present.

They subjected the blood and brain of animals poisoned by alcohol to the chromic test, and the results coincided with the proofs furnished by the distillation of alcohol itself from those portions of the body.

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\* The test is prepared by carefully dissolving one part of bichromate of potash in 300 parts of pure sulphuric acid, and it is used by passing the breath through about a drachm of it placed at the bottom of a tube, six or eight inches long. If alcohol be in the breath, the cherry-red fluid will change to 'green,' a curious kind of symbolical truth of nature, indicating the character of the action of drinking alcohol.

Having thus satisfied themselves of the trustworthiness of the new test, and, indeed, as compared with distillation, of its superior sensitiveness, they proceeded to inquire 'What becomes of alcohol in the body?'

The solution was again prepared, of definite strength, and a given quantity was put into a glass tube of a certain diameter. When the breath, charged with alcohol, passed through the liquor, it changed from red to green, thus furnishing a fixed standard of comparison. Quickly as the conversion of colour was complete, one tube was exchanged for another, until no further change could be perceived. Thus, in one experiment, where a man concludes at 10.30 his breakfast, with a litre of red wine ( $1\frac{1}{10}$ th French pint), of ten per cent. of alcohol, his breath at 12 and 1 o'clock P.M. converts a centimètre\* of the test liquid in two minutes; at 2 P.M. in four minutes; at 4 o'clock in ten minutes; at 5 P.M. in fifteen minutes; whilst at 6 but a partial change is visible; at 7, none at all. This evinces how gradually, but surely, the poison was cast out of the system.

The urine being subjected to the same test, at the same periods, sixty grammes at noon yield alcoholic vapour sufficient to transmute the colour of sixteen cubic centimètres of the solution; at 2 o'clock the same quantity changed the colour of fifteen cubic centimètres; at 4 P.M. twelve; at 6 P.M. ten; at 8 o'clock four; at 10 P.M. one. At midnight the reaction was hardly perceptible. After the use of even a bottle of weak wine, the kidneys would secrete alcohol for the long period of fourteen hours.

The skin is also proved to be an organ for the elimination of the poison. Even an intoxicated dog (an animal not remarkable for the activity of its perspiration) was found to exhale alcohol, when placed in a glass case, with its head out.

Other tissues and organs of the body likewise yielded alcohol, especially the liver and the brain; though, as might be expected, in very different proportions when the alcohol was directly injected into the blood, and when absorbed into the stomach.

Flesh yielded a less ratio of alcohol than blood.

In the case of a strong man, who died thirty-two hours after drinking a pint of brandy, and notwithstanding that emetics brought back part of the half-pint of alcohol, the spirit was detected in abundance, not only in brain and liver, but in the blood.

Under the head of 'Applications to Physiology,' our authors ask, 'What is the mode of action of an aliment?' (P. 132.) Citing the experiment in which, after the use of thirty grammes of alcohol, the poison was found in the breath after eight hours, and

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\* A centimètre is the 0.39371 of an English inch. A cubic centimètre is .06102 cubic inch. A gramme is 15.44579 grains troy.

in the urine after fourteen, they say: 'No aliment, plastic or respiratory, ingested, except in excess, escapes a normal transformation; it is never found unchanged in the products of excretion, being either completely metamorphosed in the organism, or partially converted into fatty matter.' Our authors completely vindicate the old definitions of food and poison given by the Temperance teachers. They show most lucidly, for example, that moderate excitement is simply a *lower degree of the same kind of abnormal stimulation* which is known as inebriation, and that alcohol never *gives* force, but merely *calls it out*.

'Facts establish, from a physiological point of view, a *line of demarcation between alcohol and foods*. These latter *restore* the forces, without the organism betraying, by disturbed functions or by outward agitation, the labour of reparation, *which is accomplished silently in the woof of the tissues*. Alcohol, on the other hand, immediately *provokes*, even in a moderate dose, an excitement which extends through the entire economy.'

At p. 142 they endorse the following description of Michel Levy, given in his treatise on 'Hygiène' (Paris, 1857), as to the essential action of the poison:—

'The influence of alcohol upon the nervous system, and particularly upon the brain, is manifest by a *progressive but constant series of symptoms*, which, in different degrees of intensity, are reproduced in *all* individuals. These constitute a *true poisoning* (intoxication), and this morbid state is exhibited under three phases—(1) SUR-EXCITATION, (2) PERTURBATION, (3) ABOLITION of the cerebro-spinal functions.'

Pleasure secured by such methods may be more or less philosophical or brutish, according to the degree of action; but surely in a moral and Christian point of view, the *sur-excitation* is not less really illicit because it is more refined and more seductive?

MM. Lallemand, Perrin, and Duroy, at page 229, give the following *résumé* of their results, which may be called 'The Alcoholic Alphabet':—

- A.—Alcohol, ingested into the stomach, applied to the skin, or introduced as vapour into the lungs, is absorbed by the veins, and carried by the blood into all the tissues.
- B.—The injection of alcohol produces upon animals an intoxication that is marked by a progressive series of functional disturbances and alterations, the intensity of which corresponds with the quantity of alcohol absorbed.
- C.—It manifests itself at first by a general excitement; but by-and-by the respiration and circulation are relaxed and the temperature lowered.
- D.—The muscular power is weakened and extinguished; always beginning at the extremities.
- E.—The insensibility gradually extends to the centres (as in dead drunkenness).
- F.—The heart is the last to die (*ultimum moriens*).
- G.—The time that elapses between the beginning of intoxication and death varies from forty-five minutes to three hours.
- H.—When the dose is not sufficient to induce death, the excitability of the nervous system returns after a time, varying with circumstances.

- I.—The arterial blood remains rutilant, and preserves all its apparent qualities nearly up to the moment of death.
- J.—Alcoholized blood contains, during life and after death, a great number of free fatty globules, visible even to the naked eye.
- K.—The pathological alterations are : very vivid inflammation of the mucous membrane of the stomach ; the accumulation of blood in the right chamber of the heart and the large veins ; congestion of the *meninges*, and especially of the lungs.
- L.—All solids or liquids in union with alcohol are easily separated by distillation, or proportionally, by the method of volumes.
- M.—Alcohol, taken by the stomach, accumulates in the liver and the substance of the brain ; if in the blood it is represented as 1·0, in the brain it is 1·34, in the liver 1·48.
- N.—Diluted alcohol produces the same effect when introduced by injection into the veins as when taken into the stomach, but operates more rapidly. The animal succumbs in less than twenty minutes.
- O.—Alcohol, injected into the veins, spreads to all the tissues, but accumulates most largely in the brain ; being in the liver, 1·75 ; in the cerebral matter, 3.
- P.—Death by alcoholic poisoning is due primarily to its special action upon the nervous centres.
- Q.—After the ingestion of a small dose of brandy (25 grammes=360 grains), the blood continues to manifest the presence of alcohol by chemical reactions for many hours.
- R.—We never found, in either the blood or tissues, any of the derivatives of alcohol (such as aldehyde or acetic acid).
- S.—Only in the stomach was found a trace of acetic acid, generated from alcohol by the ferment of the gastric juice.
- T.—Alcohol is rejected from the vital economy by divers systems of elimination, by the lungs, the skin, and the kidneys.
- U.—These organs are found to eliminate alcohol after the ingestion of doses very small (*plus petites*).
- V.—The elimination lasts many hours, even after an ingestion very moderate. The kidneys continue longest to reject it.
- X.—Aldehyde (a derivative of alcohol) introduced into the stomach is readily found in the blood.
- Y.—The aldehyde is, in great part, eliminated ; in part transformed into acetic acid.
- Z.—Alcohol has the same action, and produces the same effects, upon men and upon the lower animals.

These statements tempt to comment, but space forbids, and we must hasten to translate the ‘Conclusions,’ to which these experimenters have been conducted ; and which may fairly be called ‘The Seven Pillars of Temperance :’—

1. Alcohol is not food.
2. Alcohol is a special modifier of the nervous system. It acts, in a feeble dose, as an excitant ; in a larger, as a stupefiant.
3. Alcohol is never transformed, never destroyed, in the organism.
4. Alcohol accumulates, by a sort of elective affinity, in the brain, and in the liver.
5. Alcohol is eliminated from the organism in totality and in nature. The channels of elimination are : the Lungs, the Skin, and, above all, the Kidneys.
6. Alcohol has a pathogenetic influence, material and direct, upon the development of many functional disturbances and organic alterations of the brain, the liver, and the kidneys.
7. Spirituous drinks owe to the alcohol they contain their common properties and the speciality of their effects. The use of fermented and distilled liquors is often noxious : it should be always very restrained ; it should never be tolerated except in exceptional circumstances. (P. 233.)

Our authors, nevertheless, are not teetotalers ; they go for light wines,

wines, on the principle, we suppose, that a minim of evil is a modicum of good! Their experiments, however, are none the worse that their practice lags behind their theory, which is no uncommon event in this disjointed world of human nature. We rejoice, once more, that Science has been made again to confirm the decisions of Experience. In this manner, during the last thirty years, Providence has compelled Science to lay successive offerings upon the altar of Temperance; and often, as in the present instance, through the medium of the reluctant hands and unsubmissive wills of a disobedient priesthood.

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ART. IV.—1. *The Coal-fields of Great Britain; their History, Structure, and Duration. With Notices of the Coal-fields of other parts of the World.* By Edward Hull, B.A., F.G.S. London: Stanford, 1861.

2. *History of Coal, Coke, and Coal-fields.* By. W. Fordyce. London: 1860.

IN the year 1306, a great alarm was felt in England respecting the use of coal as fuel, and the probable injury to public health from the smoke which issued from it into the atmosphere. The City of London petitioned the Parliament, and both Houses, sharing in the panic, respectfully addressed the king, Edward I., urging the prohibition of the common use of coal, and the destruction of all furnaces and kilns where any person should continue to burn it. The royal prerogative was exercised against the mineral; but King, Lords, and Commons failed to arrest the progress of the grand English innovator, to whose agency we are indebted for very much of our manufacturing and commercial greatness. Coal had not been much used as an article of common fuel prior to the period referred to. It is not accurately ascertained when it was first employed. Before the Christian era it is scarcely mentioned by any writer except Theophrastus, who lived 238 B.C. From the brief account which he gives of it, there is some reason to believe that its properties were known, and that it was sometimes used by smiths. The first thousand years of our era witnessed very few attempts to excavate the treasures of fossil fuel. Some have supposed that the ancient Britons had a faint idea of its uses, and that the Romans in Britain tried their hand at mining. In Roman remains discovered at Manchester, a few cinders have been seen, and near Wigan there is a fragment of a coal mine referable to the same period. In the Chronicles of Anglo-Saxon monks, there is satisfactory evidence that coal was then, to a small extent, employed for household fires. The Normans did not reckon the black mineral 'a pot of money' in the rich England which they conquered.

quered. It is not until the year 1259 that we read of any law affecting this great treasure. In that year Henry III. granted a privilege to certain of his subjects in Newcastle-on-Tyne to dig coals. Seven years afterwards, they began to be exported. But when tried in domestic fires, and in public manufactories, the smoke had well-nigh proscribed the use of this valuable production of the earth. Utility at last disarmed prejudice; and we find that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, several mines were wrought, and in the early part of the eighteenth century it was employed in the manufacture of iron both at Coalbrooke Dale and in Scotland. The consumption was for a time very small. In the year 1670, only 200,000 chaldrons were used in England, and nearly one hundred years later, there were only some 500,000 chaldrons consumed. So ignorant were scientific men, at that time, of the stores in the earth beneath their feet in this island, that apprehensions were entertained lest the supply should be very soon exhausted. The author of a 'Political Survey of Great Britain,' published in 1774, sought to allay the fears of his countrymen by assuring them that the mines then wrought would last for a series of years.

The science of geology has opened up the coal measures, and the invention of steam engines by Watt necessitated extensive mining; while the invention of the safety lamps, by Stephenson\* and Davy respectively, rendered working in mines safe to the colliers employed. The production of coal in Great Britain and Ireland is now upwards of 70,000,000 tons annually, of which about six millions of tons are shipped to foreign ports. All the others are consumed at home.

The practical sagacity of George Stephenson suggested the probable origin of coal. Standing, on one occasion, with the eminent geologist, Dr. Buckland, a railway train whizzed past. 'What drives that train, think you?' said Stephenson. The doctor replied that it was very likely one of his host's own engines. But the thoughts of the father of railways had gone much farther back, and he stated that it was the rays of the sun, absorbed by the trees of bygone ages, and now burning as fuel, that gave, through a bucket of water, the greatest power on earth. This has been beautifully rendered by his illustrious son, Robert Stephenson, in the following words: 'We are living in an age when the pent-up rays of that sun which shone upon the great carboniferous forests of past ages are being liberated to set in motion our mills and factories, to carry us with great rapidity over the earth's surface, and to propel our fleets, regardless of wind and tide, with unerring regularity over the ocean.'

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\* Stephenson's safety lamp, though long ignored, is now recommended as more safe than Sir Humphry Davy's. See report on the late awful explosion at Risca.

The vegetable origin of coal is established by the most satisfactory evidence. Its structure, as observed by a powerful microscope, the numerous fossil plants found within it, its combustible properties, and its position in the crust of earth demonstrate this. There have been, however, two different theories regarding its formation.

‘The first, which would assign its origin to the drifting of vegetable matter by rivers and floods into estuaries and shallow seas, where, becoming water-logged, it formed a bed or stratum along the bottom, and was entombed by the overspread of sediment; the second, which refers its origin to the growth of successive forests in the positions, and over the areas now occupied by the seams of coal themselves.’\*

We shall not, in these pages, enter into this controversy, which would be comparatively unintelligible to many of our readers. There is no doubt that the second view is largely susceptible of proof from our British coal-fields. Sir William Logan, in the course of his survey of the South Wales district of coal, found invariably that there was a bed of clay under every coal-seam, and the same has been observed in every other coal-field in Britain. The conclusion to which scientific men came from these observations, was, that the ‘plants of which coal is formed grew on the spot where we now find them mineralized, and that the underclays were the soil from whence they sprang.’ Two other conclusions follow from facts disclosed in the geologic appearance of the coal-measures: that the sea-bed must have greatly changed, for the strata contain evidence of marine origin; and, secondly, that an enormous time must have elapsed ere the seams of coal could have been formed.

‘Recollecting,’ says Mr. Hull, ‘that every bed of true coal represents a land surface, when we find, as in the case of the coal-field of South Wales or of Nova Scotia, strata with coal-beds through a thickness of 10,000 or 14,000 feet, it is evident that this is a measure of the actual sinking of the sea-bed for this one geological period; or, to take an example:—the height of Mont Blanc is about 15,000 feet; now the vertical displacement which the South Wales coal-field underwent, was nearly sufficient to have brought the summit of the Alps to the sea-level. Of the lapse of time in the formation of our coal-fields we cannot have the faintest conception: it is only measured by Him with whom a thousand years are as one day. But the magnitude of the time is not surpassed by the boundlessness of the providential care which laid up these terrestrial treasures in store for his children, whom He was afterwards to call into being. Let me dismiss this profitless subject with one illustration. Mr. Maclaren, by a happy train of reasoning, for which I must refer the reader to his ‘Geology of Fife,’ arrives at the conclusion that it would require a thousand years to form a bed of coal one yard thick. Now in the South Wales coal-field there is a thickness of coal of more than thirty yards, which would have required a period of 30,000 years for its formation. If we now assume that the 15,000 feet of sedimentary materials was deposited at the average rate of two feet in a century, corresponding to the rate of subsidence, it would have required 3,807,000 years to produce this coal-field.’†

Though the subject is called ‘profitless’ by the author just quoted, it nevertheless gives us one of the most striking views that

\* Hull, p. 26.

† Ibid., pp. 44, 45.

we can receive of the immensity of the past in which the great Creator was pursuing His intelligent and glorious purposes. It opens up to us the vastness of that eternity, which, in relation to the past, as of the future, is an attribute of godhead. It is a view on which one of the recent preachers before the University of Oxford thought proper to dilate, in philosophic and eloquent terms. After stating how much modern science has expanded our ideas of the attributes of God, and instancing astronomy as stretching our conceptions of the present, he uses the following words :—

‘ It used to be considered, that about six thousand years ago the earth and the whole material universe were spoken into existence in a moment of time. We now understand that the Scripture account, which was supposed to imply this, can only relate to the preparation of this earth for the habitation of man, not to its original creation. For science has proved, by irrefragable evidence, that the first act of creation must be deferred to a period indefinitely but immensely remote ; and that successive ages have passed over this globe, during which it has been the seat of numerous systems of organic life, differing from one another, yet all linked into a great system by a most perfect unity. The revolution of thought which reduced the world to its true position in the universe of space, did not more immeasurably enlarge our ideas of the Divine Being than this has, which has reduced the human history to its true position in the immensity of time.\*’

It is refreshing to meet with such thoughts in a volume of sermons, and it indicates that there are not wanting those who can fully appreciate all evidence of a past antiquity of the earth, and who can, at the same time, maintain a reverence for the record of Scripture ; who see in science and Scripture, ‘ not conflicting but conspiring forces,’ to elevate and bless mankind—both originating from the same God, and marked by a similar Divine benevolence. There is no need to discredit the testimony of the *word* while crediting the testimony of the *rocks*. Schemes of reconciliation may not, as yet, fully satisfy us. But if we establish, as it has been established, a common authorship in nature and revelation ; time and study, a sounder philosophy, and a more correct exegesis will eventually secure their harmony.

The great coal-fields of the world have, by a singular arrangement of Providence, been allocated to those nations where there are most freedom of thought, greatest manufacturing skill, and the most enterprising commerce. Taylor, in his ‘ Statistics of Coal,’ informs us that in the United States there are no fewer than 132,132 square miles of bituminous coal ; but the more recent researches of Professor Rogers, published in his ‘ Geology of Pennsylvania,’ states that there is a total area of 196,863 square miles. This great tract is divided into five fields :—

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\* ‘ Science in Theology.’ Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, by Adam S. Farrar, M.A., F.G.S., F.R.A.S., p. 29.

	Square Miles.
' The Appalachian basin—length, 875 miles, average breadth, 180 . . . . .	Area 55,500
The Illinois, Indiana, and Kentucky basins—length, 370, breadth, 200 . . . . .	51,100
The Missouri and Arkansas basins—length, 550, breadth, 200 . . . . .	73,913
The Michigan basin—length, 160, breadth, 125 . . . . .	13,350
The Texas basin—length, 170 . . . . .	3,000
Total area . . . . .	196,863

Some of these seams have a thickness bearing some proportion to their vast extent. Sir Charles Lyell mentions one in the Bear Mountains, 40 feet in thickness, which he calculates must have required vegetable matter from 200 to 300 feet in thickness, to be condensed to form it. When we consider that this vast field is at present yielding only five millions of tons annually, what a grand future does the supply of coal open up before the enterprise and industry of the American people! Were the produce equal to that of the smaller area of Great Britain, they ought to raise at least 450 millions of tons every year—a quantity sufficient to supply the grand development of ingenuity; commerce, and traffic in the population of a millennial age so often foretold by prophets, when science and mechanism, as well as religion, shall realize perfection.

British America contains 18,000 square miles of bituminous coal; but none of it is in Canada. All the coal-fields lie south of the St. Lawrence. In Newfoundland there is a field of 100 square miles in area. In Cape Breton there is an area of 200 square miles; in Pictou, 350 square miles; in Cumberland, 200; and in New Brunswick, 6,689 square miles. On the opposite coast, and in British possession, is the coal-field of Vancouver's Island, now being extensively worked for the steam navigation of the Pacific. In the United Kingdom there is an area of 11,859 square miles, of which 3,720 are anthracite and culm, and 8,139 bituminous coal. In other parts of the world the coal measures are thinly distributed. France has 1,719 square miles; Spain has 3,408 square miles; Belgium, 518 square miles; the Rhenish Provinces, 960; other parts of Germany about 4,000; while Russia, in its vast territory, has about 11,000 square miles, chiefly near the Ural Mountains, and not very workable.

The vast proportion of coal is in the hands of the Anglo-Saxon race. To this is associated the twin possession of iron. On these two depend, not only the industrial and mechanical greatness of a country, but also its capabilities of becoming an extensive blessing to mankind. Just as a steamer about to undertake a long voyage must possess a supply of fuel adequate to meet its great requirements, so has it pleased the Almighty Creator to supply that  
people

people whom He destined to be the greatest benefactors of the world, with the means of their philanthropic missions to all quarters of the globe. Next to the blessings of our religion and education, an open Bible and liberty of conscience, may be ranked the supply of coal and iron. 'England, indeed, was great and happy long before this element of her power had been in any considerable measure developed, and it might continue so, even were it now deprived of it; but it would exist in entirely a different character. It would be the England of Alfred or the Edwards, not of Victoria; a quiet, leisurely, thinly-peopled, agricultural country, with its neat little country towns and tiny seaports, the seats of a provincial civilization, but not the teeming, stirring, roaring workshop of busy life and untold wealth we now behold. We might have had our Canterburys, and our Winchesters and Chesters, these venerable fossils of the real old England, just as now; but our Manchesters, Birminghams, and Liverpools, and Glasgows, not to speak of imperial London, never could have existed.' We might have planted civilization and religion in heathen lands in some degree, as other countries have done; but the Protestant faith and British commerce have received from the possession of coal and iron, a marvellous means of development, now only beginning to be properly used, for the improvement and christianization of man. Coal is Anglo-Saxon, and coal is Protestant. Vast are the capabilities, and mighty the responsibilities, of our race and our faith by its potent and ubiquitous agency.

The English coal-fields are thus distributed over the country. South Wales contains the largest area, and with the exception of Nova Scotia, possesses a greater vertical thickness than any coal-field in the world, amounting to upwards of 10,000 feet. It extends from the shores of the Atlantic in St. Bride's Bay on the west, to Pontypool, in Monmouthshire, on the east; the latter distance fifty-six miles without a break, and the former, after crossing Caermarthen Bay, a distance of seventeen miles more to the east. Its greatest breadth is at Neath, in Glamorganshire, being sixteen miles. There is a vast supply in this district. It has been computed that this alone could, if it can be all wrought, 'supply the whole consumption of Britain for nearly 5,000 years.' But if it be possible to go no further down than 4,000 feet, which is the limit assigned by Mr. Hull, in the volume noticed above, there is a supply, at the present quantity of consumption, which is eight millions of tons annually, capable of extending over 2,000 years!

The Bristol and Somersetshire coal-field extends from Gloucestershire to Dorsetshire. Its length from Cromhall on the north to the Mendip Hills on the south is about twenty-five miles. There is a total thickness of strata of 5,128 feet, separated into divisions by hard massive sandstones. This latter circumstance, and the distorted

distorted state of many of the strata, make the field less productive than otherwise it would be. At present it yields about 620,000 tons annually, and is calculated to suffice, at the same rate of consumption, during 3,225 years.

The Forest of Dean has the most 'perfect basin of any coal-field in England, as the strata everywhere dip from the margin towards the centre, except at one part of the western side, where the oval outline is interrupted for a short distance.' It rests as a lake on banks of millstone grit and carboniferous limestone, and in a scenery rich and varied. Its area is thirty-four square miles, with thirty-one seams of coal. As in South Wales, there is abundance of iron, which produces upwards of 23,000 tons annually. The production of coal is 500,000 tons per annum, and at the present rate of consumption, it has been calculated by Mr. Brough, the Government Inspector of Mines, to last 1,120 years. The Forest of Dean possesses a singular but very interesting history, of which an entertaining narrative was recently published.\*

Passing over the district of the Forest of Wyre, in Worcestershire, and the Clee Hills in Salop, where there are small beds of inferior coal, we come to the Coalbrooke Dale coal-field in Shropshire, which has been well investigated. It is rich in organic remains, which are found chiefly in the ironstone, so very abundant in the district. The coal-field extends over twenty-eight square miles, but will be quite exhausted in the course of twenty years. There are twenty-seven blast furnaces on it, which yield upwards of 100,000 tons of pig-iron annually.

In North Wales 'an uninterrupted tract of coal measures extends from the northern slopes of the valley of the Severn, south of Oswestry, to the mouth of the estuary of the river Dec, in Flintshire, crossing the river at the entrance to the vale of Llangollen.' They rest on the same bed as the Forest of Dean, and form, in a range of hills, the boundary between England and Wales. In Denbighshire, the field is eighteen miles long and about four broad, in which are beds of ironstone, and many remains of fish. The coals produced average 527,000 tons annually, and the estimated supply is for 930 years to come. In Flintshire, the area of the coal-field is thirty-five square miles, which yields 515,000 tons a year; but if the present rate of consumption continue, the produce will cease in the course of the next half-century. In Anglesea there is also a coal tract which contains five collieries, and produces about 4,500 tons annually.

Staffordshire is very rich in coal and iron. In an area of ninety-three square miles there are 425 collieries and 147 blast furnaces. The former yield about five millions of tons of coal, and the latter

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\* 'The Forest of Dean.' By the Rev. H. G. Nicholls.

one million of tons of ironstone. The consumption here is very great, and cannot continue longer than two hundred years. But what vast riches have been already gathered out of this portion of the black country! In North Staffordshire there is an area of seventy-five square miles of coal measures. Iron also abounds, and in this district 'are situated the Potteries, a group of populous towns, from which all parts of the world are supplied with china-ware, rivalling that of Dresden, with vases and various kinds of vessels modelled after Etruscan patterns, but adorned with paintings after natural models, executed with a perfection of colouring and outline to which the Etruscans never attained. Here also are produced those tessellated pavements which adorn so many of our churches and public buildings.'\* There have been collected from this field many fossil remains, including ichthyolites, mollusca, and plants of the carboniferous genera. There are 123 collieries over the district, which produce 1,295,000 tons of coal, and will last 1,270 years.

Lancashire has a coal-field covering an area of 217 square miles. In 1857 there were 8,565,500 tons raised, and at the same rate there yet remains about the depth of 4,000 feet, as much as will last for 445 years. There are 390 collieries, including 31 in Cheshire, in this extensive district. At Pendleton there is a colliery 536 yards deep, and at Dukinfield, in Cheshire, one 686 yards, beyond which it is scarcely possible to work the mines in this field, owing to the insufficient thickness of the lower coal-seams. Geologists have had many rewards of their observation in the fossil remains with which the Lancashire field abounds. There are valuable notes of these published in the 'Transactions of the Geological Society of Manchester.'

Following the course of Mr. Hull's book, which presents an able and very readable summary of the coal-fields of Great Britain, we proceed to the north, and arrive next at the Cumberland coal-field. It extends about twenty miles in length, and [about five in breadth, making an area of twenty-five square miles. There is little probability of the present rate of production (809,546 tons), being available beyond one hundred years.

Having thus reached the northern limit, Mr. Hull takes his readers back to the south, and enters the Warwickshire field, where there is an area of thirty square miles, yielding 335,000 tons a year, and calculated to continue to do the same for 1,244 years.

In the Valley of the Trent the Leicestershire coal-field stretches over an area of fifteen square miles. Fourteen collieries send forth a supply of nearly 700,000 tons of valuable coal; but they are expected to do so for 215 years more. The next field extends over Derbyshire and Yorkshire, and is the largest in England, though

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\* Hull, p. 94.

not so extensive as that in South Wales. Its area of 760 square miles, had 541 collieries in the year 1857, and produced twelve millions and a half tons of coals. There are also 50 blast furnaces producing about 200,000 tons of pig-iron every year. The coals will last 700 years.

Durham and Northumberland contain also a large field on an area of 460 square miles. There are 268 collieries, yielding 15,826,525 tons of coal, and 69 furnaces, producing 347,750 tons of iron. It will last for 466 years at the present rate of consumption.

Mr. Hull presents us with the following table, showing the results of his investigations regarding the various fields :—

Name of Coal Field.	Area, Square Miles.	Quantity of Coal to a depth of 4,000 Feet.	Under known formations to a depth of 4,000 Feet.	
			Area, Square Miles.	Quantity to a depth of 4,000 Feet.
		<i>Millions of Tons.</i>		<i>Millions of Tons.</i>
1. Anglesea . . . .	9	inconsiderable.		
2. Bristol and Somerset.	45	747	105	1,742
3. Coalbrooke Dale . .	28	28	..	..
4. Cumberland. . . .	25	97	..	..
5. Denbighshire . . .	47	490	20	413
6. Derby and Yorkshire.	760	8,828	400	12,390
7. Durham & Northum- berland . . . . }	460	4,274	uncertain.	..
8. Flintshire . . . .	35	21	..	..
9. Forest of Dean . .	34	561	..	..
10. Forest of Wyre . .		inconsiderable.		
11. Lancashire . . . .	217	4,012	25	500
12. Leicestershire. . .	15	50	30	401
13. North Staffordshire .	75	1,620	20	619
14. South Staffordshire .	93	973	..	..
15. Shrewsbury . . . .		inconsiderable.		
16. South Wales . . . .	906	16,000	..	..
17. Warwickshire . . .	30	418	107	1,767
Total . . . .	2,779	38,119	932	20,990

\* Total area containing coal to a depth of 4,000 feet, 3,711 square miles.

\* Total available quantity of coal within this depth, 59,109 millions of tons.

\* Taking the annual produce of England and Wales at 60 millions of tons (the actual produce is 57 millions, but three millions may well be allowed for the increase of future years) the above supply of coal will last for about 1,000 years.

\* If the above results can only be regarded as approximately accurate—and considering the nature of the inquiry they can scarcely pretend to more—they are at least sufficient to show that for many generations to come, the mineral resources of England are capable of bearing any drain to which they can possibly be subjected either for home or foreign consumption.\*

The consumption of the past year (1860) has exceeded any preceding one. The summer was unusually wet and cold, and the winter remarkably severe. London alone required 563,762 tons

\* Hull, p. 138.

more than in 1859, and the whole country had a proportional increase. Exportation has also required more by 373,576 tons, of which a large share went to China. The total consumption of 1860 has reached the high figure of 75,000,000 of tons, showing an excess of 10 millions of tons over the year 1858, and 40 millions more than in the year 1845. If this increase is to advance as rapidly in succeeding years, and the recent treaty with France is expected to enlarge the demand for coals in that country, we may be sooner exhausted than the thousand years.\*

Considerable latitude may well be given to the calculations made regarding the future. Most of them are based upon the consumption at the time of inquiry. Mr. Fordyce mentions a case:—

‘Mr. Hugh Taylor, in his evidence before a Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1829, based his calculations upon the consumption of coal at 3,500,000 tons per annum, and therefore estimated the duration of the northern coal-field at 1,727 years. This opinion has been adopted by various subsequent writers, who, it would appear, have overlooked the annually increasing demand for the coal of the district. Were Mr. Hugh Taylor giving an opinion at the present time, with a consumption of about 17 million tons per annum instead of 3,500,000, it would only prove his statement to be pretty nearly correct as to the quantity of workable coal in the counties of Durham and Northumberland.’

Mr. Hull and Mr. Fordyce generally state the quantity of workable coal in their calculations, so that we may easily ascertain the probable continuance by a larger divider. The calculations of all, however, show that there is no ground for alarm respecting the supply of English coal for all necessary purposes during several hundred years to come.

Scotland also contains a great coal-field stretching from the Forth of Clyde in Ayrshire on the west to St. Andrew’s Bay on the east; and from Glasgow on the north to Dunbar. ‘The extreme length is 94 miles, and the average breadth 25 miles.’

Its formation belongs to the carboniferous period, and its base rests upon the old red sandstone. Until the geological survey is published, accurate statistics are wanting; but Mr. Hull estimates the area to be 1,720 miles, and the quantity of coal 153,916 millions of tons (though one authority calculates the quantity at 230,874 millions). The supply produced in 1858 was 8,926,429 tons. Regarding Ireland, our author thus writes:—

‘That Ireland was once covered over two-thirds of its extent by coal-beds is a proposition which we may confidently affirm on geological grounds; but the misfortunes of the sister isle began long before the landing of Strongbow, for Old Father Neptune has swept the coal and coal strata clean into his lap, and left little but a bare floor of limestone instead. In plain words, if we examine a geological map of Ireland we shall find that the carboniferous limestone over-spreads its greater part; and as we always find in England that this formation is ultimately surmounted by coal measures, so we may infer there was the same

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\* A French newspaper stated recently that English coal-fields would be exhausted in twenty-five years!!

order of succession here, before the sea, which more than once overwhelmed the country after the carboniferous epoch, remorselessly swept away the most valuable portion of this system of rocks, with the exception of a few isolated tracts.'

The total produce of Irish mines, in 1858, was 120,630 tons.

It is believed that mining can never be carried on at a greater depth than 4,000 feet, on account of the great increase of temperature as we descend, and the great increase of pressure on the human body. Some very valuable observations have been made in the Dukinfield Colliery, Cheshire, during the years 1848-1859, the details of which are published by Mr. Hull. The following table presents a summary which may interest some of our readers:—

TABLE showing the theoretical increase of temperature at several depths, the temperature of no variation being taken at 50·5° Fahr., at a depth of 50 feet from the surface.

Depth in Feet.	Increase of Temperature due to Depth.	Increase of Temperature due to Density of Air.	Resulting Temperature.
1,500	21·42	5·0	76·92
2,000	27·85	6·5	84·85
2,500	35·5	8·5	94·00
3,000	42·14	9·83	102·47
3,500	49·28	11·66	111·44
4,000	56·42	13·16	120·08

Great care should always be taken at these depths to insure a sufficient supply of pure air; but we may hope, as science advances during the intervening years, that much may be done to promote the safe working of the collieries, on which so much of our national greatness and welfare depend. Hitherto far too little has been done to promote the comfort or to insure the safety of the miners. Government inspectors have very frequent complaints to make of the want of attention on the part of masters to their suggestions.\* Social reformers regret to find so little done by the owners to ameliorate the condition of the colliers. It is true that carelessness causes many accidents, and drunkenness much misery to the mining population; but an improved tone of the miners would do a great deal to remove these occasions of death and woe. There cannot be a doubt that fatal accidents have been fearfully numerous during late years. The condition of the people is deplorable. Those who are the sinews of our national wealth ought to receive much of our philanthropic effort, and be provided with proper instructors, and preserved from the temptations to drink which have so long been the scandal of masters and the curse of the men. The recent Act of Parliament forbidding public-houses to be contiguous to the places where wages are paid is an important

\* See 'Meliora,' No. 6, Article on 'Death in Coal-pits.'

gain: but an Act which would permit the miners to abolish the sale of liquors in their localities would be a still greater boon.

The recent tragic explosions at Risca and other places have again aroused attention to the state of colliers; and we sincerely trust that Government will insist on strict and rigorous measures to secure the lives of the lieges employed in mines. During the last five years 856 persons, mostly in the prime of youth, have been killed in coal mines. The lessons of the past should enforce their solemn impressions on the minds of all coal-masters, whose prospects for the future are as bright as in the past, to take a paternal and Christian interest in the physical and moral condition of the men whom they employ. Those seated around the warm fire on a winter's eve, or enjoying the comfortable roast on a dinner table, or illuminated by the glare of gas, should think of the condition of the men who hazard their lives and consume their strength to contribute so largely to the comforts of our English homes. Should not worshippers in church and chapel remember in their prayers the miners whose industry has contributed to their illumination?

ART. V.—*Abraham Lincoln: a Biography.* London: Sampson Low, Son, and Co.

THE present constitution of the United States is now exactly seventy-two years old. During that time there have been eighteen elections for President, and sixteen individuals have occupied the highest office in the great transatlantic republic. The following are the more important clauses in the Constitution which regulate those elections:—

‘The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States; he shall hold office for four years, and, together with the Vice-President chosen for the same term, shall be elected thus:

‘Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding any office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

‘The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those

those voted for as President, the House shall choose immediately by ballot the President.

But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote: a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the 4th day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

Under these provisions twelve southern and six northern Presidents have been elected including the re-election of five of the former. We append

A LIST of the PRESIDENTS of the UNITED STATES, with the Dates of their Entry upon Office.

1. George Washington	Virginia	April 30, 1789.
2. John Adams	Massachusetts	March 4, 1797.
3. Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	March 4, 1801.
4. James Madison	Virginia	March 4, 1809.
5. James Monroe	Virginia	March 4, 1817.
6. John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	March 4, 1825.
7. Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	March 4, 1829.
8. Martin Van Buren	New York	March 4, 1837.
9. Williams H. Harrison	Ohio	March 4, 1841.
10. John Tyler	Virginia	April 4, 1841.
11. James Knox Polk	Tennessee	March 4, 1845.
12. Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	March 4, 1849.
13. Millard Fillmore	New York	July 9, 1850.
14. Franklin Pierce	New Hampshire	March 4, 1853.
15. James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	March 4, 1857.

Of these it will be seen that Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and Jackson were re-elected. Harrison died one month after his inauguration, and was succeeded by the Vice-President as appointed by the Constitution. Taylor inhabited the White House for rather more than a year, died, and was also succeeded by the Vice-President. Of the whole fifteen whose names are given above, every one was either himself a slaveholder or supported by Southerners. Abraham Lincoln, the existing President, is neither the one nor the other. The period of four years,

for which the President holds office, was by the founders of the Constitution believed to be too short. Jefferson strongly contended for a seven years' term without re-election, but ultimately a compromise was agreed to and the present term carried.

During the early presidencies a re-election was the rule, and the exception made in the case of John Adams, of Massachusetts, was intended by the people and was deeply felt by him as a mark of disapproval and disgrace. Gradually re-election has become obsolete; and the struggle for place and power and pay has no sooner been terminated by the election of one President than it recommences in anticipation of the next.

Abraham Lincoln, who was inaugurated on the 4th March President of the United States, was born in Kentucky, but may be regarded as a citizen of Illinois. His father and mother were border settlers, at a time when border life called into existence the highest courage and perseverance. To this early training of necessity may be ascribed much of the native power which has carried forward Mr. Lincoln to political success. Not that he can be regarded as a great man, or even as the greatest man of his party. It is one of the misfortunes of American politics that their great officers are necessarily selected, not as the ablest men, but as the men who will afford to the antagonist the least prospect of successful opposition. Hence, since the time of Quincy Adams, the United States' Presidents have undeniably been men of mediocre ability, and have by no means exhibited the most favourable view of the party which has carried them to power.

The early days of Abraham Lincoln, whether as agriculturist or 'flat boatman,' present but little beyond the average results of a life of honest and courageous toil. His biographer, seeking for incidents with which to gild his youth, is unable to find anything more remarkable than the fact, that 'with the help of John Hawks, a relation of his mother, he in one day *split three thousand rails.*'

Our temperance readers will be interested to know that Mr. Lincoln is a steadfast and thoroughgoing teetotaler and prohibitionist, and that he will not in any way countenance the drinking customs of society.

At the age of twenty-three he entered upon political life, unsuccessfully endeavouring to obtain a seat in the state legislature of Illinois, a position which he, however, gained two years after. He then turned his attention to the study of the law, a profession which appears to be largely conducive to political advancement among our transatlantic brethren. At last, in 1846, Mr. Lincoln entered Congress as a Whig, and speedily assumed an active and prominent position. In the same Congress, Mr. Douglas, who was to be Mr. Lincoln's repeated opponent, also took his seat for the first time. The Congress terminating in 1849, Mr. Lincoln's congressional

congressional career came to an end. But he was, especially in his own State, regarded as the champion of the Whig party; and the 'forty times about' that he had voted for the Wilmot proviso, of which the distinguishing feature was opposition to slavery extension, were forty proofs of the consistency of 'honest old Abe,' as he had come to be called. In 1848, the Whig party became paralyzed, and in 1854, it was dead. But from the ashes of the old parties arose new ones, some of the old associates falling away on one side, some on another.

Lincoln joined the Anti-Nebraskians, afterwards to become the Republicans, but at present consisting of a medley of politicians, whose bond of union was opposition to a repeal of the Missouri compromise.

With the exception of Massachusetts, every original State of the Union has at one time or other been overshadowed by slavery. The Northern States, however, from the days of Washington, have aimed at its ultimate abolition, by means of non-extension; but the influence of the Southern States has been too powerful. The nearest approach to the object contemplated was the Missouri compromise, by which slavery was confined within limits south of latitude  $36^{\circ} 30'$ . The biographer of Mr. Lincoln gives the following brief, and in the main accurate, account of the circumstances attending that measure.

'In 1817, the eastern half of the Mississippi territory became the territory of Alabama. New States were at this time rapidly forming, and on the 14th December, 1819, Alabama became a member of the Union. It was a Slave State. Meanwhile the slave-holding territory Missouri was a candidate for admission, and an angry discussion arose whether she should be admitted as a Free or as a Slave State. Two reasons were urged why Missouri should be a Free State. Since the date of the Constitution, eight new States had been admitted, four Free and four Slave; the last—Alabama—had been Slave: the first reason urged, therefore, was that it was the turn for a Free State; the second reason was based upon the broader principle that "slavery ought not to be permitted in any State or Territory where it could be prohibited." On this question, so hot waxed the strife between North and South, that it provoked from Jefferson the bitter words, "The Missouri question is a breaker on which we lose the Missouri country by revolt, and what more God only knows. From the battle of Bunker's Hill to the Treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question." Presently a new feature is given to the appearance of affairs: Maine separates from Massachusetts and applies to be received as a State. Here, cries the South, is a solution of the difficulty, here is the Free State to set off against Alabama; let Missouri alone with her slaves. But the obvious reply to this was that Maine, being but a division of Massachusetts, brought no accession of strength to the North, and the breach between North and South was wider than ever. At length a compromise was proposed by the North; by it the North yielded the claim to Missouri as a Free State, and the South yielded up the vast region from Missouri to the Pacific. This was in the Senate, where Maine and Missouri had been united in the same bill, without any restriction concerning slavery. But the House of Representatives would admit Missouri only separately from Maine, and under the slavery restriction. Great was the war of words between the two branches of Congress, but, at length, after repeated conferences, both Senate and House agreed upon a bill admitting Missouri (after her constitution should be formed) free of restriction, but prohibiting slavery north of  $36^{\circ} 30'$ . But Missouri adopted a constitution denying the rights

of citizens even to free negroes. And it was not until August 10, 1821, when the legislature of Missouri had solemnly covenanted to guarantee the rights of citizenship to "the citizens of either of the States," that her admission as a State was definitely accomplished.'

An opportunity was found, a few years since, by the Southerners to repeal this compromise, in the fact that a slip of Texas lay north of the line, Mr. Lincoln not only opposing the repeal, but strongly advocating the running still further south of the line of limitation.

In 1849, Mr. Lincoln for a time relinquished political life, and did not reappear until the presidential election of 1852, when his party were defeated, and he again retired to be again roused to an active opposition to Mr. Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska Bill. In 1856 he was ardently supporting Colonel Fremont against Mr. Buchanan, and in 1858 was defeated by Mr. Douglas for a seat in the senate, only to be in his turn the victor in a more important struggle. The republican National Convention of 1860 met at Chicago, and from among seven names presented, it soon became evident that the candidate of the party for President would be either Lincoln of Illinois, or Seward of New York. On the first ballot the votes stood—Lincoln 102, Seward 173; on the second, Lincoln 181, Seward 184; on the third, Lincoln 231, Seward 180: and at last four Ohio delegates voting in favour of Lincoln, he had the required majority of the whole, the total number of votes being 466. The Republican candidate then nominated became elected to the presidency, on the party succeeding in carrying the various States as provided in the Constitution.

Mr. Lincoln's general opinions on the question of slavery may not unfitly be gathered from the following extracts from one of his speeches during his contest with Douglas in 1858:—

'I think I have no prejudice against the southern people,' said he at Peoria; 'they are just what we would be in their situation. If slavery did not now exist among them, they would not introduce it. If it did now exist amongst us, we should not instantly give it up; this I believe of the masses north and south. Doubtless there are individuals on both sides who would not hold slaves under any circumstances, and others who would gladly introduce slavery anew if it were out of existence. We know that some southern men do free their slaves, go north, and become tip-top Abolitionists, whilst some northern ones go south, and become most cruel slave-masters. When southern people tell us they are no more responsible for the origin of slavery than we are, I acknowledge the fact. When it is said that the institution exists, and that it is very difficult to get rid of it in any satisfactory way, I can understand and appreciate the saying. I surely will not blame them for not doing what I should not know how to do myself. If all earthly power were given me I should not know what to do as to the existing institution. My first impulse would be to free all the slaves, and send them to Liberia—to their own native land. But a moment's reflection would convince me, that whatever of high hope (as I think there is) there may be in this in the long run, its sudden execution is impossible. If they were all landed there in a day, they would all perish in the next ten days, and there are not surplus shipping and surplus money enough to carry them there in many times ten days. What then? Free them all, and keep them among us as underlings? Is it quite certain that this betters their condition? I think I would not hold one in slavery, at any rate;

rate; yet the point is not clear enough for me to denounce people upon. What next? Free them, and make them politically and socially our equals? My own feelings will not admit of this; and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of white people will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment, is not the sole question, if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling, whether well or ill founded, cannot be safely disregarded. We cannot, then, make them equals. It does seem to me that systems of gradual emancipation might be adopted, but for their tardiness in this, I will not undertake to judge our brethren of the South. When they remind us of their constitutional rights, I acknowledge them, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly; and I would give them legislation for the reclaiming of their fugitives, which should not in its stringency be more likely to carry a free man into slavery, than our ordinary criminal laws are to hang an innocent man. But all this, to my judgment, furnishes no more excuse for permitting slavery to go into our own free territory, than it would for reviving the African slave trade by law. The law which forbids the bringing of slaves from Africa, and that which has so long forbidden the taking of them into Nebraska, can hardly be distinguished on any moral principle; and the repeal of the former could find quite as plausible excuses as that of the latter.

The remarkable occurrences of the last few months have not been without precedent in the history of the United States. A crisis to all external appearance as threatening as that which has now caused a disruption of the federal government, and the establishment of a southern confederacy, distinguished the presidency of General Jackson. So long ago as 1832 the 'nullification' doctrines of 1798 had been boldly expounded, as involving the right of secession; and the language of Mr. Calhoun, guarded and laboured as it was, amounted to nothing short of a proposition that his State, South Carolina, should 'nullify' a revenue law, which must be universal or nothing. The excitement consequent upon the tariff law of 1828 culminated in the adoption by the State of South Carolina of the celebrated ordinance of November, other Protection for manufactures was the cry of the north; in 1832. words, the tariff enacted that the cotton plantations of the south should pay tribute to the looms of New England. This curious connection of free trade and slavery, protection and personal freedom, distinguishes the republican and democratic parties at the present day.

By the ordinance to which we have referred, the State of South Carolina resolved—

'I. That the tariff law of 1828, and the amendment to the same of 1832, were "null, void, and no law, nor binding upon this State, its officers or citizens." II. No duties enjoined by that law on its amendment shall be paid, or permitted to be paid, in the State of South Carolina, after the 1st day of February, 1833. III. In no case involving the validity of the expected nullifying act of the legislature, shall an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States be permitted. No copy of proceedings shall be allowed to be taken for that purpose. Any attempt to appeal to the Supreme Court "may be dealt with as for a contempt of the Court," from which the appeal is taken. IV. Every office-holder in the State, whether of the civil or the military service, and every person hereafter assuming an office, and every juror, shall take an oath to obey this Ordinance, and all acts of the legislature, in accordance therewith or suggested thereby. V. If the government of the United States shall attempt to enforce the tariff laws, now existing, by means of its army or navy, by closing the ports of the State, or pre-  
venting

venting the egress or ingress of vessels, or shall in any way harass or obstruct the foreign commerce of the State, then South Carolina will no longer consider herself a member of the Federal Union: "the people of this State will thenceforth hold themselves absolved from all further obligation to maintain or preserve their political connection with the people of the other States, and will forthwith proceed to organize a separate government, and do all other acts and things which sovereign and independent States may of right do."

Here was secession with a vengeance. But the President of 1832 was made of different stuff from Mr. Buchanan. Ignorant, self-willed, arrogant, he possessed the dogged firmness needful for the circumstances. Instead of honied words, or suggestions of compromise, General Jackson filled the military posts in South Carolina with federal troops, and issued a proclamation which left no doubt of his intentions. Had he been driven to extremity, he would, as he himself declared years after, have 'hung Calhoun and the nullifiers high as Haman.' The 1st February, 1833, was the day on which the new tariff law was to come into operation, and a collision appeared inevitable. But the vigour of the President had overawed the secessionists. The day passed; no hostile or nullifying act was attempted; the battle was over, and the victory was with the President.

There is much in the history of the American Constitution, and of African slavery in the States, which may be read as explanatory of the present disturbance.

The United States, after the revolution, possessed but a scanty and wide-spread population, but little industry and a heavy debt. Maine, Pennsylvania, Virginia, were still 'forests primeval,' and the plantations of the South constituted a narrow hill of cultivation near the sea-shore. The present Constitution, which was not secured without many struggles and perils, was based on a public opinion which at least regarded slavery as an evil to be deplored, and got rid of as soon as possible. In all the States of the then existing Union, except Massachusetts, slavery existed, as we have already stated. But steps had been taken in several northern States towards abolition. In the convention, Washington, Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Madison were strenuous in opposition to slavery. Virginia headed the Free States as Carolina and Georgia did the Slave States. It was on the proposition of Mr. Jefferson, that it was voted by the Congress at New York that slavery should not exist in the north-west territory ceded to the nation. The Constitution itself carefully avoids the use of the word slave, but it recognizes the institution in three of its provisions: in the article establishing a basis of representation on three-fifths of the slave population; in the clause providing for the prohibition of any restraint on the importation of slaves prior to 1808; and in the clause providing for the surrender of fugitive slaves.

'Three things,' said Mr. Webster in 1850, 'are quite clear as historical truths. One is that there was an expectation that, on the ceasing of the importation of slaves.

slaves from Africa, slavery would begin to run out here. Another is, that, as far as there was any power in Congress to prevent the spread of slavery in the United States, that power was exercised in the most absolute manner and to the fullest extent. . . . The other and third clear historical truth is, that the Convention meant to leave slavery in the States as they found it—entirely under the authority and control of the States themselves.

The policy of the administration both of Washington and Adams was anti-slavery. The annexation of Louisiana was the act of Mr. Jefferson, but in 1806 and 1807 the power to prohibit the importation of slaves after 1808 was exercised.

This prohibition gave to the northern Slave States a monopoly of the southern slave markets, and made it their interest politically to support the planting States.

Between 1810 and 1820, the cotton States of the South added 53 per cent. to their population; New England only 12 per cent. The rapid development of the trade in cotton soon added so largely to the wealth of the South, that a contest with the North was speedily begun. Missouri, Arkansas, Texas, were in succession gains to the southern policy, and at last the ascendancy of the slave power was established. Efforts were made from time to time to check the extension of the evil, and the presidency of General Taylor would probably have been distinguished by a success but for his death. His successor resumed his policy; the compromise measures of 1850 were passed; General Pierce was elected to support them; and they have since been naturally followed by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott claim, and the rebellion of 1860.

We cannot now do more than give this brief outline; we may probably recur to the discussion in our next Number.

‘The American Union,’ says a recent eloquent writer, ‘owes its territorial aggrandisement to slavery, and its commercial strength to freedom. The two systems of labour are not unlike their products. The rude, uncultivated animal labour of the South, worked like a machine, without a will of its own, sows, tills, harvests, and packs in huge bales for market an important vegetable production. Even this is not done without the help of freemen. A kind heaven supplies a rich soil, and sends down the genial sunshine and refreshing rain. Every other aid in the process, except the actual agricultural work, is rendered by freemen. The field tools come from their shops, and the machine which cleans the crop when gathered, and makes it valuable, was invented and is manufactured in the north. At the water’s edge it passes beyond the capacities of slave labour. The intelligence of the freeman is required to design and construct the vessel that is to carry it to the port whence it will be transferred to the manufacturer, to invent and operate the railways that carry it to the mills. What a profuseness of ingenious invention and fertile expedients is exhausted in transforming it into the various fabrics for use! Quick, active, working intellect is demanded at every step. The slave, who can have no home, no wife, no children, no property, no life even that he can call his own, what has he to induce the thought that can alone produce these results? His labour yields only the rough, or, in the strikingly appropriate language of commerce, the raw material. When he has exhausted his rude capacities, the hopeful skill of the freeman takes up the work where he left it, and makes of his well-packed bales fine muslins for rich ladies and coarse clothing for the negroes themselves, common calicoes and beautiful prints, fine spun threads which a spider might envy and the stoutest ropes, beautiful

beautiful fabrics for male attire and canvas for ships; and when it has served its purpose in these several forms, the same ingenuity takes possession of the tattered remains, and converts them into perhaps the very paper on which we write. Whether systems of labour so unlike each other—the one so dead, the other so full of life—can continue to live side by side is a problem which the United States are now attempting to solve for themselves.

## ART. VI.—MASANIELLO THE FISHERMAN.

### I.—MASANIELLO THE FISHERMAN.

THE Gulf of Salerno, a sister bay of Naples, sheltered from rude Boreas by the walls of the Apennines, opens its arms to the soft, warm airs that play on the Mediterranean. Nature there has lavished her chief gifts upon this charming, sunlit water, and has left the shore rude and bare. The mountains send their stony arms into the dancing waves, and leave no room for grove or field. Man there is forced, as much by necessity as inclination, to look outward upon the bay, and not downward on the soil. He calls his home upon that rocky shore, but his daily toil is in the floating craft.

Among the nestling towns amidst those cliffs and crags is Amalfi. Boasting no classic origin, but reared in Christian times, it is of especial interest to us from its Norman connexion. Within ten years after William's conquest of England, a party of Norman knights became masters of the republic of Amalfi, and laid the foundation of that Neapolitan throne which their descendants have retained to our own day. The Spanish Bourbon, Francis II., retains as much Norman right to Naples as the House of Hanover to England. The fortunate Victor Emmanuel and the ill-fated Francis had, strange to say, the same grandfather. So curious are the parallels of history.

Amalfi had been celebrated for its carrying trade, and dared to dispute with Pisa and Genoa the commerce of the Levant. In the crusading times the activity of this little rock-girt port was inferior to few. Its merchants had factories at Jerusalem, Tunis, Alexandria, Bagdad, and Constantinople. The victories of the Infidels ruined the trade of the East, and made bankrupt the marts of Italy. A convulsion of nature swallowed up the harbour, overthrew the defences, and left Amalfi but a fishing village. It retains, however, a name at present from

its possession of the body of St. Andrew the Apostle, said to have been brought from Constantinople, and a devout object of pilgrimage to all good Catholics.

Among the fishermen of Amalfi, in 1647, was Tommaso Angelo Maya. These names were popularly amalgamated, and yet abbreviated, in the appellation of MASANIELLO. Tall in stature, powerful in frame, beautiful in person, intelligent in mind, and energetic in purpose, he was the admired of women and honoured of men. Proud of his profession, which the chief apostle of the Church had sanctified, he carried his fish to the market of Naples, just round the isle of Capri. He had followed the example of his favourite saint, St. Peter, in taking to himself a wife. Impulsive and ardent, virtuous and loving, he endured no long bachelorship, for we find him at the period of our story, at three-and-twenty, the father of a family.

This brother Englishman of ours (for, in truth, his independent soul must have been nurtured by some Norman blood at Amalfi) was not enervated by the luxurious airs of his sunny clime, to become the mere selfish votary of commerce or pleasure. Industrious and earnest, thoughtful and prudent, his trade had prospered, and a secret store of ducats was being gathered for future days. Thus blithely would have passed his life had not his sympathies extended beyond his family circle, and his patriotism absorbed his private interests.

At this epoch of Neapolitan history, a Spanish dynasty was ruling. Viewed simply as a province of the empire, and removed from the seat of government, a viceroy was resident in Naples. Under the vigorous hand of Charles V., the country shared in the glory of victory, but paid for it in blood and treasure. Constant wars withdrew its youth from labour, and increased the burden of its taxation. The revenue rose as the exigencies of state demanded. Donations,

or forced benevolences, were obtained by Charles and his son Philip to an enormous extent. But when the crown of Spain fell into feeble hands, the yoke of oppression grew intolerable, and precipitated a revolution. It is somewhat curious that, in the two countries gained by the Normans, Naples and England, and which had in the interim become so different in religion and manners, the same cause—unjustifiable taxation—should at the same period have excited rebellion. The circumstances which in one place called forth a peaceable citizen into the fields of battle, as Oliver Cromwell, led a humble fisherman to assume the reins of power by the Bay of Naples.

The viceroys had successively increased the burdens of the unhappy Neapolitans, especially in the *Gabelles*, or taxes upon articles of common consumption. This had brought the labouring classes into extreme misery. The nobles and gentry had long groaned beneath the neglect of their country, and the foreign absorption of its resources; but the decline of trade, together with the high price of provisions, drove the working community to desperation. Still one article was free from the obnoxious gabelle; and fruit, thus exempted, became almost the only food of the poor. When, then, the Duke d'Arcos laid the impost upon that also, the spirit of the nation was broken. As if to gall the people further, there lay then in the harbour a galleon richly freighted with three years' collection of taxes, ready to convey it to Spain. One night the ship was discovered to be in flames, and was burnt before adequate aid could be procured. The act was deemed that of an incendiary, and the discontented Neapolitan nobles were charged with inciting the people to this outrage. Two princes were seized on suspicion, and were imprisoned in the tower.

Masaniello became a victim of tyranny. His wife had accompanied him to Naples one day, and, to assist in the family, took a quantity of fruit to sell in the market. She shared in the general feeling of hatred to the gabelle, and had been stirred in her spirit by the indignant expressions of her liberty-loving husband. She secretly resolved, a feeble young woman as she was, to offer a passive resistance to the obnoxious law. She would not pay the tax. Approaching the barriers, therefore, she

made no halt, but proceeded onward without paying toll. For this she was seized and thrown into prison. An example must be made; and who so likely to be taken as one connected so dearly with the fisherman of Amalfi? Already had he made himself known and feared—known to his own order, feared by the tyrants. He was skilled in rude speech, and prompt in his denunciation of the tax. The wife of Masaniello was in a dungeon, and her husband was sentenced to pay a fine for her of one hundred ducats. The secret hoard was dragged forth—the saving of years of toil; his home was sold, and with the proceeds of both the fine was paid, and the heroic woman delivered. Beggared, but not spirit-crushed, the fisherman of Amalfi became the tenant of a wretched hovel in Naples, and dwelt with the *lazzaroni* of the bay. With these wretchedly poor and homeless loiterers and fishermen of the city, he was esteemed at once a martyr and a leader. Stung with a sense of his private wrongs, and burning with indignation at his country's sufferings, it is not surprising that the young fisherman became a conspirator and a rebel.

## II.—MASANIELLO A REBEL.

Our hero of Neapolitan freedom was aroused one day from his moodiness in his miserable hut by the visit of some comrades. They announced to him that he had been chosen captain of the *lazzaroni* of Naples, in the contest at the *Gran festa*. He was to lead the band for the honour of Our Lady of Carmel.

It was the custom at the festival of the Virgin, called Our Lady of Carmel, for a sort of carnival to take place. One of the games was a sham fight in the *Largo del Mercato*, a large square near the water side. The church and convent of the Carmelites were in the Piazza. The amusement savoured of the times. It was a contest between the city and the Turks. A fortress was erected in the square, and was defended by some hundreds of young men dressed up as orientals, and called the *Alarbes*. The besiegers, representing the Neapolitan people, were, of course, the victors in the assault. Loud laughter, singing, fireworks, and fun ended this bloodless struggle of the triumph of the cross over the crescent.

The

The weapons were canes and reeds, and a conflagration of the captured fortress terminated the conflict. On the present occasion, however, other thoughts entered the minds of the imaginative Neapolitans. The desolating enemies of their country, the hated Spanish dynasty, were to be typified in the Saracenic besieged. Yes; they, the lazzaroni, would assail the mimic fort in the Piazza with the idea of their tyrants being there. Who, then, shall they have for their captain—who but Masaniello? They went to that miserable hut for that personation of the sufferings of the people.

It was in July. Both parties assembled. The Alarbes were under Pione, a youth of eighteen; the Neapolitans were reviewed by Masaniello. It was early as they marched into the Mercato or market-place. The fruit-crers and gardeners from the environs of the city were there with their produce. They came from beyond the grotto of Posilipo, from the Phlegrean fields of volcanic waste, from the graveyard of Pompeii. As often had occurred before, there were angry disputes in the market about the enforcement of the hateful gabelle. Some promise had been held out that the tax upon fruits should be removed, but such had not been fulfilled.

The Largo was crowded. The tradesmen were unusually courageous. They quarrelled more than ever with the officers of the government. In their excitement, the gardeners threw the fruit upon the ground, declaring they would not sell at all, but would give it away rather than pay the duty. The tumult reached the ears of the viceroy. He sent his general of police to disperse the marketers; but the bands of Pione and Masaniello were there. They thronged in around the peasants and sympathized loudly with the oppressed. The tumult became a riot. Masaniello leaped upon the steps of the Carmelite church, raised his tall, handsome form before the assemblage, and in a stern commanding voice exclaimed, 'My people, from this moment there is no gabelle in Naples!'

This voice came upon the Neapolitans like a word from heaven. They rent the air with their cries. They shouted, 'From this moment there is no gabelle in Naples!' They crowded round their leader with 'Viva Masaniello!' In a few minutes thousands

arranged themselves at his order, and followed him to the palace of the viceroy. With no weapons still but the reeds and canes with which they came to the mimic combat, they stood, a firm mass of insurrectionists beneath the windows of the governor, and loudly demanded his presence at the balcony. Like all tyrants, the man was a coward. He sent off his family for safety to the castle. He called his German guards and court around him. He then stood trembling before the fisherman below and his lazzaroni followers. Yes, he would remove the gabelle on fruit. No, he could not promise to abolish the gabelle on flour; but he would certainly moderate its rigour.

Masaniello saw the hesitancy, knew the strength of his present position, relied upon the excited anger of the people, and suddenly called upon them to follow him. In a moment he threw himself amidst the German mercenaries at the gate, forced his way through their armoured ranks, rushed across the courtyard, and seized the palace of the viceroy. The duke, alarmed at the movement, and dismayed at the scattering of his guard, found means by secret passages to retreat to that dread stronghold of despotism, the castle of St. Elmo. There, upon the heights, seated over caverned dungeons of cruelty, he felt himself secure. The lazzaroni were masters of the palace. Poor to starvation, clothed but in rags, they disdained to act the part of banditti, and laid hands upon nothing. Their captain gave orders to collect the gorgeous furniture, the splendid adornments of this luxurious abode, the product of a nation's degradation and poverty. A vast pile was raised, and the torch of Masaniello was applied to the whole.

The people had one friend at court who had long sympathized with their sufferings, but felt impotent to relieve them. This was Cardinal Filomarino, the Archbishop of Naples. As a man of peace, his first thought was to save the shedding of blood. He hastened to St. Elmo. There he not alone sought to propitiate the anger of the viceroy, but he boldly and even tenderly pleaded the cause of the people. Through his entreaties, the haughty Spaniard promised to negotiate with the fisherman. He solemnly engaged to abolish the obnoxious gabelles upon provisions. At the same time he sent a trusty messenger to Masaniello,

Masaniello, offering him a large sum of money, and a patent of nobility, if he would desert the cause of the Neapolitans. It is needless to say that the patriot rejected the offer. It strengthened his purpose to break the chains of the oppressed, to live and die the captain of the poor *lazzaroni*.

The viceroy had now shut himself with his guards in the castle of St. Elmo, and the city became, as it were, the dominion of the young fisherman. The good cardinal was astonished at the developed powers of the democrat. He admired his sagacity, prudence, and firmness. He deeply sympathized with the nobility of his sentiments, the simplicity of his nature, the purity and benevolence of his life. He became at once his counsellor and friend. As dictator, he opened the prisons, and released the vast number there imprisoned for non-payment of taxes, and set free the nobles and others who had been victims of the despotic viceroy. With the trumpet proclamation was made that the *gabelle* had ceased, and that the people might live. The vast herd of officials who had flourished upon the ruin of the country were deprived of their ill-gotten wealth. No injury was done to their persons in this bloodless revolution; but the spoils of their palaces were destroyed. Gems, furniture, dresses, were alike heaped as fuel, and nothing was abstracted by the indigent but faithful *lazzaroni*. Only works of art, as pictures, were preserved. These were sent to the convents. The humble fisherman of Amalfi warred not with genius, nor those works which reflected the glory of his country.

Ever mindful of the preservation of order, he remodelled the police force, purified it of those elements which had disgusted and crushed the people, and made it only subservient to the true interests of society. He did not neglect provision against attack. By garrisoning certain posts, raising batteries in exposed situations, seizing upon the armoury, and drilling the *lazzaroni*, he sought to secure the new liberties of the city. He was no Red Republican. By his gentleness and courtesy, no less than by the justice and vigour of his government, he not only protected the native nobility, but gained their friendship and esteem. Though in rebellion against the viceroy, he deemed himself still a loyal subject of his distant sovereign; and, by displaying the portraits

of majesty in the open squares, gave public testimony of his fidelity. He remembered the traditional glory of Naples, the freedom of its franchise, and the prosperity of its inhabitants; and the hope of his life was the resuscitation of its liberty, and the relief of its starving poor.

There was something sublime in the simplicity of this captain of the people. The real governor of the city, the arbiter of the fate of thousands, the lawgiver and judge, he still preserved the habit of the fisherman, and dwelt with his devoted wife in the hut of the *lazzaroni*. Dressed in the coarse linen trousers that came down to his knees, without stockings or shoes, and with a short tunic of rough linen also, he would issue his commands, to be implicitly obeyed as if he reigned in a palace.

He had a chosen band of counsellors. With these he was accustomed to meet after the excitement and toil of the day, and debate upon the weal of the city. A gloomy tower rose beside the convent of the Carmelites, and commanded the town and the bay. There in the stillness of night did this restless servant of the people confer with a council of nobles, tradesmen, and *lazzaroni*. Among that group was a Neapolitan artist, and a devoted admirer of his countryman. This was Salvator Rosa. This impulsive genius had suddenly left Rome, and the society of the learned and great, to come and pay homage to the liberator of his country. Pre-eminently a lover of nature in her wilder and sterner forms, delighting in rugged solitudes, dwelling amidst romantic fastnesses of mountains, and smiling amidst the crash of storms and the roar of Vesuvius, he had cherished an ardent feeling for freedom, and a contempt for the meanness of tyranny. No plaudits of aristocracy, no seductions of power, no graces of the princes of the church, could ever subdue the impetuosity of his will, or check the flow of his satires. In Masaniello he had met a kindred spirit. In Masaniello he saw the realization of his poetic dreams. In Masaniello he hoped for the emancipation and elevation of his dear fellow-townsmen.

### III.—MASANIELLO THE MARTYR.

The course of Masaniello had thus far been safe and triumphal. No blood had

had been shed. The city was quiet. Reforms were being made. Union was preserved between the nobles and the people. But the viceroy, from his tyrant's den of St. Elmo, while promising a charter of liberty, an amnesty for the past, and all sorts of boons for the future, was secretly meditating the destruction of rising freedom, and the re-rivetting of chains. He secretly gathered foreign troops from a distance, established by barricades his communication with the sea, and prepared for civil war. Yet he relied more upon a perfidious policy. He would speak fairly with treachery, and smile in deceit.

His first object was to estrange the nobles from the people. Spies were sent full-handed to gentlemen and lazzaroni. Despairing of corrupting the fisherman, he sought his assassination. A duke in his custody was bribed by release and tempting offers to endeavour to alienate his order from the banner of the rebel. Another prince was entrapped in this plot against the revolution. The viceroy had promised that an old charter, granted by Charles V., should be placed in the hands of the people. He would send it by the Duke of Matalona, whom he had imprisoned, and who had been recognized as a friend of the cause. When it was produced, it was found to be a base forgery. In their indignation, the lazzaroni believed the noble to have been a party in the deception, and carried him off to their prison. The chiefs of houses, who had hitherto espoused the popular side, felt insulted in this treatment of one of their order, and cooled suddenly in their zeal for freedom.

Still the dictator was unmoved from his determination to effect the removal of the disabilities of his countrymen. Hearing of a mass of foreign troops marching upon Naples, he went out against them with his irregular forces, overawed them with numbers, and compelled them to lay down their arms. Then leading them to the city, he behaved so nobly and generously towards them, that they were constrained to cry 'Viva Masaniello!'

Diplomacy, craft, intrigue had failed. Crime must be tried. A poignard is a sure cure of patriotism. Once delivered from this bold leader, the viceroy doubted not the speedy termination of the revolution. The plot was laid. The

day was appointed. In the church of the Carmelites, the good cardinal was to read from the altar the solemn oath of the Duke d'Arcos to abolish the gabelle and restore the charter. When this announcement was made, the whole city was intoxicated with joy, and waited impatiently for the day of triumph. Strangers flocked into Naples. Among these were some rough-looking, suspicious characters. They were thought to be banditti. Some ventured to hint the very names of some. Masaniello himself was persuaded that they were bandits. But one who was in his confidence, though a paid spy of the court, disabused him of the idea, and represented that they were but mountaineers from the wild Abruzzi, who had come to see the show. But on his way into the church, a shot was fired, and the ball passed close to the head of Masaniello. Immediately upon his exclamation of 'Traitors!' a number of guns were discharged. The astonished populace rushed to the side of their captain, and fell savagely upon the band of assassins, whom they slew on all sides till arrested by the word of their generous leader. One of the dying bandits confessed that they had been hired for this bloody purpose by the viceroy and some nobles.

But the declaration of freedom was pronounced. The people were convinced of the good faith of the government; but Masaniello saw less ground for confidence. He now felt the insecurity of his life, and the hopelessness of his cause. He saw the estrangement of many of his former followers, and the gloom of foreboding evil rested upon his spirit. By sleepless devotion to the cause of his country, he had undermined his health, and his few days of authority had added years to his countenance. He seemed no longer to be the guide of events, but the tool of an inexorable fate.

'A reconciliation must be effected,' said the simple-minded cardinal, 'and Masaniello must be willing.' The viceroy invited the ex-fisherman to a conference. The officers of state came to usher him into the presence. He was habited in his usual lazzaroni garb. This was pronounced unsuitable for the occasion. He defended his dress as that of his class, of his profession, of his triumph. By almost threats of the cardinal, he was induced to robe himself in gaudy attire. The people gathered

thered in multitudes. Before passing the portals of the palace, he addressed the populace, defended his conduct, and exhorted them to faithfulness. Alluding to his dress, he said, 'As soon as the nets which I have cast shall bring that liberty to shore for which I have so long fished in troubled waters, you shall behold me in my old garb, calling, demanding of you, my people, nothing, save that at my last hour you will each and all say an Ave Maria for my soul's peace.' Amidst the tears of the populace, he besought the cardinal to give his blessing upon them all, and then he entered the palace. After a conference, in which the viceroy confirmed his title of Captain of the people, he was reconducted in state to his humble abode.

Six days only had passed since the outbreak of this singular revolution, when he was invited to a court fête at the pretty suburb of Posilipo, that region of olives and vines, amidst which rose the tomb of Virgil. On the way thither, Masaniello, oppressed by the July heat, and fatigued by his many labours, called for some iced water. It was courteously handed to him by a creature of the viceroy's. That man who had hired troops of banditti as murderers would not hesitate at the employment of poison. Immediately after the draught, poor Masaniello, by the wildness of his eyes, the dryness of his skin, the incoherence of his speech, and the waywardness of his acts, gave too certain signs of the success of treachery. All at once he, who had been so calm and reasonable, became impetuous and unjust; he, who had been so gentle and forbearing, became petulant and cruel.

The people, who knew nothing of the cause, soon saw the aberration of his mind, and sent deputations to the viceroy, tendering obedience upon his fulfilment of engagements, and requesting the deposition of Masaniello, and his confinement for safety, with the enjoyment of every comfort which his conduct deserved, and his present sad

condition required. Becoming still more violent, the captain had to be bound with ropes as a restraint. This treatment relieved for a while the pressure upon his brain, and the next day he was allowed to attend the church of the Carmine. There he formally tendered his resignation of office to the cardinal. He had felt the influence of disease, but he had also detected the defection of his lazzaroni. Saddened and trembling, he tore himself from the embrace of his friend, the good archbishop, and tried once more to address the people. Again did the cloud come over his mind, and he was led from the place. Whilst lying upon a bed at the convent, he heard his name called out from the street by his old followers. With affectionate haste he rose to the window, and said feebly, 'Did you want me, my people?' That base and fickle lazzaroni recognized his appeal with the fire of murderers. The hapless leader fell, exclaiming, 'Ungrateful traitors!'

Thus perished, after a reign of ten days, Masaniello, the captain of the people. His head was sent to the viceroy, and the populace permitted his corpse to be dragged through the streets. A sudden fit of penitence, or, rather, the influence of the monks, procured the decent burial of his body.

Since then the memory of the martyr of Neapolitan freedom has been cherished with enthusiastic regard. For two centuries, beneath their heavy yoke, the victims of tyranny have mysteriously muttered 'Masaniello is not dead!' The inmate of prisons, and he who was being led to execution, have said, in their hope for Naples, 'Masaniello is not dead!' The despot himself has felt in his solitude, as he reflected upon his course and his position, that the people might yet rise and prove that 'Masaniello is not dead!' When the shackles fell, the dungeons opened, the tyrants fled, and GARIBALDI stood in Naples, then the people, in their exultant joy, declared 'MASANIELLO IS NOT DEAD!'

## ART. VII.—SOCIAL STATISTICS.

(This will hereafter form a feature in every Number.)

TABLE OF THE NUMBER AND GROSS AMOUNT OF EXCISE DUTIES FOR THIRTY YEARS.

	1830	1831	1832	1833	1834	1835	1836	1837	1838	1839
Advertisements . . .	£. 173,819	£. 172,570	£. 170,649	£. 142,937	£. 91,552	£. 96,909	£. 106,875	£. 110,619	£. 120,810	£. 125,026
Almanacs . . .	28,757	30,841	29,105	27,561	† 58	—	—	—	—	—
Auctions . . .	239,415	230,227	236,081	243,844	256,517	245,776	297,382	276,520	290,714	303,825
Beer . . .	2,390,310	† 229	† 106	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bricks and Tiles . . .	360,505	375,094	333,620	312,015	345,999	404,026	479,925	445,142	426,036	470,244
Candles . . .	489,092	477,459	† 45,088	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cyder and Perry . . .	49,090	† 2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass . . .	736,474	732,454	751,448	828,557	916,822	977,728	903,481	919,045	883,719	859,296
Hackney Carriages . . .	33,136	35,695	32,416	45,208	47,985	47,250	48,644	47,285	48,061	48,471
Hides and Skins . . .	207,879	† 21	† 2	† 2	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hops . . .	121,451	152,296	300,279	241,770	272,894	329,895	409,055	345,957	310,794	298,343
Insurance, Fire . . .	798,077	828,562	836,096	837,439	809,221	844,226	872,162	903,311	935,536	968,476
Insurance, Marine . . .	221,158	225,493	205,585	213,203	203,182	219,427	255,558	227,718	254,721	296,343
Licences . . .	849,834	920,081	898,448	926,766	1,105,126	1,118,036	1,019,170	1,020,239	1,026,361	1,029,628
Malt . . .	4,231,997	5,036,667	4,799,052	5,140,558	5,175,604	5,499,884	5,699,878	5,216,967	5,211,799	5,139,805
Medicine . . .	38,785	39,084	44,379	38,375	31,007	30,516	31,376	30,495	29,417	29,858
Newspapers . . .	534,789	586,634	574,430	541,149	537,156	553,197	425,154	223,425	226,592	244,271
Pamphlets . . .	940	867	1,067	779	† 3	—	—	—	—	—
Paper . . .	732,793	732,247	803,982	854,322	884,377	902,339	841,131	600,153	569,330	663,891
Post Horses . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	266,880	243,044	228,349
*Printed Goods . . .	570,330	† 58,968	† 3,375	† 1,925	† 425	—	—	—	—	—
Railways . . .	—	—	634	6,131	6,852	—	—	—	—	—
Soap . . .	1513,149	1,431,475	1,550,344	1,246,946	938,016	8,693	10,296	16,892	39,570	72,716
Spirits (British) . . .	5,209,599	5,189,661	5,074,854	5,235,513	5,243,430	974,098	968,850	927,249	1,031,703	1,049,258
Stage Carriages . . .	418,604	422,542	414,075	458,028	500,718	5,073,376	5,485,882	5,006,697	5,451,792	5,363,220
Starch . . .	103,100	100,331	112,324	117,500	72,951	509,846	524,451	501,582	474,378	443,167
Stone Bottles . . .	3,188	3,549	4,007	4,202	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sweets and Mead . . .	2,729	2,350	3,852	2,724	3,526	—	—	—	—	—
Vinegar . . .	17,862	19,313	22,577	24,619	24,935	26,502	26,313	21,576	21,450	24,882
Number of Taxes . . .	20,076,862	17,795,512	17,247,875	17,510,073	16,573,209	17,861,624	18,405,583	17,107,752	17,595,897	17,659,069
	27	28	23	23	21	18	18	19	19	19

\* The gross amount was £2,140,238, £1,578,908 being returned as drawback on export; this being therefore an exceptional case, the net amount only is given.

† These small remnants have been omitted in taking the number of the taxes.

TABLE OF THE NUMBER AND GROSS AMOUNT OF EXCISE DUTIES FOR THIRTY YEARS—continued.

	1840	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849
Advertisements	£. 131,589	£. 131,604	£. 136,378	£. 127,831	£. 135,052	£. 157,292	£. 159,963	£. 162,738	£. 157,721	£. 163,211
Almanacs	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Auctions	319,857	314,281	297,782	284,981	308,630	* 86,465	—	—	—	—
Beer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bricks and Tiles	531,779	451,107	400,874	363,201	446,715	568,570	646,893	690,669	462,451	462,765
Candles	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cyder and Perry	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass	952,252	945,558	777,836	764,674	847,160	311,609	—	—	—	—
Hackney Carriages	49,799	52,811	57,380	60,133	62,461	68,358	72,224	76,851	73,018	70,580
Hides and Skins	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hops	349,380	72,411	266,778	310,930	245,668	258,766	290,198	444,396	395,513	208,341
Insurance, Fire	990,786	1,011,635	1,033,189	1,036,021	1,053,293	1,083,122	1,108,559	1,130,262	1,116,810	1,134,421
Insurance, Marine	302,951	287,762	254,336	256,204	194,788	148,720	151,541	182,333	165,419	160,109
Licences	1,054,991	1,037,475	1,015,619	1,021,901	1,036,395	1,071,749	1,087,548	1,092,501	1,004,185	1,115,346
Malt	5,592,508	4,889,248	4,848,572	4,827,951	5,027,062	4,938,032	5,691,272	4,775,692	5,076,238	5,185,223
Medicine	29,492	30,289	30,502	28,936	30,535	32,623	34,544	32,623	32,840	42,263
Newspapers	250,552	252,003	261,161	271,160	287,829	327,682	346,150	343,278	300,286	354,768
Pamphlets	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Paper	627,981	633,519	627,142	676,062	709,319	802,048	836,831	810,944	809,035	859,575
Post Horses	214,540	198,428	177,537	167,024	170,038	180,881	176,392	164,907	151,930	144,194
Printed Goods	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Railways	112,427	159,781	168,957	150,366	177,603	190,195	212,367	199,637	228,304	235,475
Soap	1,079,448	1,078,190	1,060,848	1,132,571	1,190,653	1,219,300	1,193,969	1,114,958	1,210,400	1,244,397
Spirits (British)	5,206,040	5,161,610	5,046,813	4,903,201	5,171,181	5,749,794	5,934,359	5,234,003	5,504,579	5,793,881
Stage Carriages	342,593	313,891	287,672	243,333	242,728	253,668	249,644	246,287	205,176	188,849
Starch	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stone Bottles	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sweets and Mead	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vinegar	26,953	26,106	23,841	25,914	18,202	—	—	—	—	—
	18,167,918	17,047,709	16,763,218	16,652,515	17,355,312	17,448,874	18,183,454	16,702,079	16,953,995	17,363,398
Number of Taxes	19	19	19	19	19	18	16	16	16	16

\* These small remnants have been omitted in taking the number of the taxes.

TABLE OF THE NUMBER AND GROSS AMOUNT OF EXCISE DUTIES FOR THIRTY YEARS—continued.

	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859
Advertisements .	£. 168,162	£. 175,095	£. 181,196	£. 151,519	£. * 110	£. —	£. —	£. —	£. —	£. —
Almanacs . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Auctions . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Beer . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bricks and Tiles .	* 27,883	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Candles . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cyder and Perry .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Glass . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hackney Carriages	82,707	95,444	85,682	74,735	62,351	73,388	74,429	80,153	82,129	86,203
Hides and Skins .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Hops . . . . .	309,444	433,989	239,724	447,552	276,671	935,599	725,769	489,008	416,478	462,881
Insurance, Fire .	1,159,532	1,190,506	1,220,382	1,269,426	1,306,014	1,344,158	1,388,975	1,423,783	1,472,443	1,503,738
Insurance, Marine.	164,121	174,148	193,789	271,542	293,388	324,392	325,689	319,519	287,071	325,708
Licences . . . .	1,138,847	1,161,287	1,183,867	1,244,677	1,413,977	1,401,091	1,409,452	1,425,112	1,436,826	1,464,575
Malt . . . . .	5,045,490	5,261,763	5,543,455	5,703,255	6,556,894	6,976,148	6,710,237	5,492,006	5,592,624	16,852,458
Medicine . . . .	24,721	33,680	37,233	42,072	35,420	40,017	46,416	43,303	43,091	45,624
Newspapers . . .	356,969	403,627	421,812	420,877	288,010	263,034	164,102	158,991	151,190	147,249
Pamphlets . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Paper . . . . .	915,121	993,592	1,000,630	1,148,116	1,145,573	1,123,562	1,244,143	1,244,723	1,281,023	1,451,254
Post Horses . . .	142,038	145,434	150,068	133,720	—	—	—	—	—	—
Printed Goods . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Railways . . . .	251,215	287,332	280,314	303,386	309,194	323,790	334,063	348,611	339,569	359,212
Soap . . . . .	1,309,740	1,295,652	1,397,668	647,235	—	—	—	—	—	—
Spirits (British) .	5,944,182	6,059,210	6,284,864	7,044,478	7,677,982	8,198,016	9,132,601	9,280,963	9,188,842	10,000,191
Stage Carriages . .	195,674	217,063	218,231	202,814	173,601	133,117	114,807	118,588	125,016	127,673
Starch . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Stone Bottles . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Sweets and Mead .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vinegar . . . . .	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Number of Taxes .	17,835,846	17,927,822	18,438,915	19,105,404	19,739,185	20,294,312	21,670,683	20,424,760	20,416,302	22,826,766
	15	15	15	15	12	12	12	12	12	12

\* These small remnants have been omitted in taking the number of the taxes.

† This increase is owing to the shortening of the Malt credit.

(2.) OUR PROGRESS IN NATIONAL WEALTH.

An income-tax return has been issued which shows what progress this kingdom has been making within the last few years, as follows :—

The total amount of income and annual value of property assessed to the income-tax in the United Kingdom has risen from 308,317,656*l.* in 1854 to 335,730,254*l.* in 1860.

The increase of taxable income in England in the six years has been 26,348,685*l.*, and in Ireland 1,701,993*l.*, but in Scotland there has actually been a decrease of 638,080*l.* This decrease has arisen solely from a very large falling off in the returns under Schedule D,—the profits of trades, professions, &c. The income taxed under that schedule in England rose from 76,215,936*l.* in 1854 to 81,921,267*l.* in 1860, and in Ireland from 4,621,069*l.* to 4,891,652*l.*; but in Scotland it fell from 12,185,924*l.* in 1854 to 8,626,144*l.* in 1860; in 1858, after the commercial crisis at the end of 1857, it fell 2,500,000*l.* below the previous year, and has never recovered.

The income assessed under Schedule A, the annual value of lands, houses, &c., has risen greatly in all three kingdoms; in England it was 99,274,309*l.* in 1854 and 112,082,749*l.* in 1860; in Scotland 11,947,791*l.* in the former year, and 13,974,080*l.* in the latter; in Ireland 11,767,810*l.* and 12,893,829*l.* respectively; an increase of almost 16,000,000*l.* in the whole, nearly half of which is from houses, and another quarter from an increase in the profit of railways.

A very large increase has taken place also in Schedule E—(public offices, pensions, and stipends), from 14,445,552*l.* in 1854 to 19,636,220*l.* in 1860.

The total income assessed to the income-tax in 1860 was, in England, 282,718,049*l.*; in Scotland, 29,913,124*l.*; in Ireland, 23,099,081*l.*

(3.) THE CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES.

(From the 'New York Economist'.)

The population returns of the Census Bureau are now published, and present the following statistics of the population of the several States, as compared with the Census of 1850:—

FREE STATES AND TERRITORIES.

	1850	1860	Increase.
Maine . . . . .	583,169	619,958	26,789
New Hampshire . . . . .	317,976	326,072	8,096
Vermont . . . . .	314,120	315,827	1,707
Massachusetts . . . . .	994,514	1,231,494	236,980
Rhode Island . . . . .	147,545	174,621	27,076
Connecticut . . . . .	370,792	460,670	89,878
New York . . . . .	3,697,394	3,851,563	754,169
New Jersey . . . . .	489,333	676,084	187,751
Pennsylvania . . . . .	2,311,786	2,916,013	604,227
Ohio . . . . .	1,980,427	2,377,917	397,490
Michigan . . . . .	397,654	754,291	357,637
Indiana . . . . .	988,416	1,350,802	362,386
Illinois . . . . .	851,470	1,691,238	839,768
Wisconsin . . . . .	305,391	768,485	463,094
Iowa . . . . .	192,214	682,003	489,789
California . . . . .	92,597	384,770	292,272
Oregon . . . . .	18,294	52,586	39,372
Minnesota . . . . .	6,077	172,793	166,610
Kansas . . . . .	..	143,645	143,645
Nebraska . . . . .	..	28,893	28,893
Utah . . . . .	11,354	50,000	38,646
Dakotah . . . . .	..	4,830	4,830
Washington . . . . .	..	11,624	11,624
	13,465,523	19,046,173	5,580,650

## SLAVE STATES.

	1850	1860	Increase.
Delaware . . . .	89,242	110,548	21,306
Maryland . . . .	492,666	646,183	153,517
Virginia . . . .	949,133	1,097,373	148,240
North Carolina . .	580,491	679,965	99,874
South Carolina . .	283,523	308,186	24,663
Georgia . . . .	524,503	615,336	90,832
Florida . . . .	48,135	81,885	33,750
Alabama . . . .	428,779	520,444	91,665
Mississippi . . . .	296,648	407,051	110,403
Louisiana . . . .	272,953	354,245	81,292
Texas . . . .	154,431	415,799	261,568
Arkansas . . . .	162,797	331,710	168,913
Tennessee . . . .	763,154	859,528	96,374
Kentucky . . . .	771,424	920,077	148,653
Missouri . . . .	594,622	1,085,595	490,973
District Columbia .	48,000	75,321	27,321
New Mexico . . .	61,547	93,024	31,477
	6,522,048	8,602,470	2,808,422
	13,465,528	19,046,173	5,580,650
Free population . .	19,987,571	27,648,643	7,661,072

## SLAVE POPULATION.

	1850	1860	Decrease.	Increase.
Delaware . . . .	2,290	1,505	785	..
Maryland . . . .	90,368	35,382	54,986	..
Virginia . . . .	472,528	495,826	..	23,293
North Carolina . .	288,548	328,377	..	39,829
South Carolina . .	384,894	407,185	..	22,201
Georgia . . . .	381,682	467,471	..	85,779
Florida . . . .	39,369	64,809	..	24,500
Alabama . . . .	342,892	435,463	..	92,581
Mississippi . . . .	309,878	479,607	..	169,729
Louisiana . . . .	244,809	312,186	..	67,377
Texas . . . .	58,161	184,956	..	126,795
Arkansas . . . .	47,100	109,065	..	61,965
Tennessee . . . .	239,460	287,112	..	47,652
Kentucky . . . .	210,981	225,400	..	14,419
Missouri . . . .	87,422	115,619	..	28,197
District Columbia .	3,687	No returns.	..	..
	3,203,999	3,999,853	55,771	Nett. 795,854
Total Free and Slave Population . . . }	22,191,570	31,648,496	..	8,456,925

The total population of the Free States and Territories, is 19,046,173—an increase on last census of 5,580,650. The whole free population of the Slave States amounts to 8,602,470, which is an increase on 1850 of 2,080,422; and the whole slave population, 3,999,853—an increase of 795,854 on last census. The rate of increase for the ten years has been in the Free States and Territories, 41 per cent.; among the free population of the Slave States, 32 per cent.; in the slave population 22½ per cent., and in the combined (free and slave) population of

of the Slave States, 29 per cent. : whilst for the whole Union the ratio is 36 per cent. The largest increase is observable in the Middle and Western States. Illinois shows a progress of 839,768 ; New York, 754,169 ; Pennsylvania, 604,232 ; Missouri, 490,973 ; Iowa, 489,789 ; Wisconsin, 463,094 ; whilst in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, there has been a similar ratio of increase. This great increase, amounting to 4,758,538 in nine States, is chiefly owing to the large influx of foreign population. The slave population, which has received no such accessions, shows a much lower rate of progress. In Delaware there has been a decrease of 785 slaves, sufficient in twenty years to destroy the slave element in that State. In Maryland a much larger decrease has occurred, the slave population there being in 1850, 90,368, and in 1860, only 35,382, according to which movement, if continued, there will not be a slave in the State in 1867. In Kentucky the slave increase has been at the rate of 7 per cent., and in Virginia 5 per cent. It may be interesting, in the present juncture, to compare the progress of the free and slave populations of the States that now occupy a midway position between secession and adherence to the Union. We therefore present the following details relative to seven of the States in question :—

	Free Population.	Slave Population.	Slave Population.
	Increase per Cent.	Increase per Cent.	Decrease per Cent.
Delaware . . .	24	..	34½
Maryland . . .	31	..	61
Virginia . . .	15½	5	..
North Carolina . .	16	14	..
Tennessee . . .	13	20	..
Kentucky . . .	12	7	..
Missouri . . .	83	32	..

It appears from this comparison that in two of the border States the slave population is rapidly dying out, whilst the free is steadily increasing. In Virginia, the most populous of all the Slave States, the free population is increasing at the rate of 15½ per cent., whilst the slave element shows a progress of only 5 per cent.! In Tennessee the slave population has increased over the free to the extent of 7 per cent. Kentucky, which ranks third among the Slave States in respect of population, exhibits an increase of only 7 per cent. in her slave element, whilst the progress in her free population is 19 per cent. Missouri has made an increase of 32 per cent. in her slave population, and of 83 per cent. in the free. It appears, therefore, that the free element in these States is progressing in a much more rapid ratio than the slave, that the slave element is rapidly receding towards the seaboard States,—a fact which is not without great significance to those States in choosing between a Southern and a Northern Confederacy, should such be the only alternative presented to their choice.

## ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

WE have passed through one of the most inclement winters that can be remembered within the experience of the oldest inhabitant of these islands ; and of course there has been much distress among those masses of the population, which, even in the best of times, only crouch about the boundary line that separates poverty from pauperism. Unhappily, there are hundreds of thousands, if not millions, who, through

ignorance, imprudence, and intemperance, waste and squander their hard earnings when trade is brisk, wages high, and the means of subsistence plentiful and cheap. When, therefore, the rainy day of adversity, in seasons of unemployment or scarcity, comes upon them, they are at once plunged into abjectness and destitution. The past winter has revealed sad depths of misery and wretchedness, in various parts of the

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the land, which have absolutely appalled the philanthropist and social reformer. At Coventry, in the Staffordshire Potteries, in the Metropolis, at Brighton, and in various other parts, the distress has been intense; and the generous efforts to relieve it, if not adequate, have been most laudable and gratifying. But, alas! DRINK—the demon of drink—has been found almost always associated with the worst forms of this destitution and misery; and in many cases the very means of relief, bestowed by the compassionate and provident, have been actually abused to gratify the fatal cravings of a morbid appetite for strong drink, instead of being applied to the purchase of food and clothing for the forlorn and famished families of the recipients of public charity. Thus do we find the same agent of mischief and demoralization incessantly present and potent—first to cause poverty and misery, and next to prevent or largely frustrate every philanthropic effort of amelioration.

From all our information, and from an elaborate statement submitted to the House of Commons by Mr. Caird, it has become painfully manifest, not only that the last harvest was a very deficient one in this country, but that there is reason to fear that this year's crops will not be abundant, owing to the sowing season being wet and unfavourable. We need not forecast, for our thoughtful readers, what will be the probable effect of two bad harvests following each other. The returns of pauperism for January 1861, show that a much larger number of persons were receiving parochial relief than in the corresponding month of 1860. It would be well if the working population and the trading classes of the community would take timely warning, and by provident habits and judicious arrangements prepare for the coming storm. During the six months from August to end of January last, we have imported 5,627,000 quarters of corn and flour, or more than double the average of the preceding five years, and more in those six months than in any one whole year, except 1853; and we have had to pay, during the year, to other countries, an excess of 12,200,000*l.* over last year. How sad and disgraceful the fact, that something like 8,000,000 quarters of the precious grain given to us by bountiful heaven for human food, are being annually converted into a drink

that does not nourish anything in man but his baser passions and his most degrading vices! When will some great statesman open his mouth in parliament, and denounce the folly and the iniquity of this national waste of the people's food? Well may our commerce languish whilst the gold is being drained away to pay foreigners for our food! On the motion of Mr. Baines, and at the suggestion of the United Kingdom Alliance, a valuable return of the House of Commons was lately obtained, showing the total quantities of spirits, malt, beer, and wine entered for home consumption, and the number of licences for sale of the various intoxicating liquors issued in each of the three kingdoms of England, Ireland, and Scotland during the last nine years and a half, ending July 1860. This document reveals a frightful feature of our boasted civilization, and appeals to all social reformers to put forth energetic efforts to remove that which is an undeniable source of a vast proportion of all our social evils. Until this drink traffic can be put under the ban of the law and of public opinion, social and sanitary efforts, however persistent or energetic, can never become largely effective or generally successful.

Another parliamentary return, disclosing facts connected with the liquor traffic, has been recently issued on the motion of Mr. Dunlop, showing the number of public-house licences in each parish in Scotland, with the population, &c. There are 902 parishes accounted for; and out of these, it appears that there are 144 parishes without a single public drinking-house, and with a population of 113,035 souls; and of these parishes, 104, with a population of 80,117, are *entirely without any place where intoxicating liquor is sold*. These are, in fact, Maine-law parishes, where, through the influence of landed proprietors and other conservators of public order and morality, the curse of the liquor traffic is prohibited. It will be a happy day for Scotland when every parish enjoys the same blessed immunity.

The advocates of the PERMISSIVE BILL suggested by the United Kingdom Alliance continue to prosecute their enterprise with unwearied zeal and undaunted courage. Great meetings are being held in all the large centres of population; and everywhere the popular response in behalf of the measure

sure is such as to insure ultimate success. An effort is also being made for the purpose of promoting a movement in favour of closing all public drinking-houses in England throughout the whole of the Lord's day. The British Temperance League and the Lord's Day Observance Association are understood to take the lead in this movement; and it is hoped that a bill may be got before the house during the present session.

At Plymouth the Town Mission has recently taken action, by calling a public meeting, and promoting a petition, concerning the liquor traffic, the preamble of which sets forth the evil consequences resulting to the work of the mission's agents through the licenced drink-shops—the ancient purpose of the victuallers being to supply food and lodging to travellers—praying Parliament to confine them to their legitimate aim, and to sanction the bill about to be brought before the legislature, empowering the people to veto the traffic in their respective districts. Other missions of a like nature throughout the country are to be communicated with for the purpose of requesting their co-operation in a similar work. In the recently published report of the Liverpool Domestic Mission, one of the missionaries declares that he is more than ever convinced that it is not from improved drainage or improved dwellings that true reform is to arise. Speaking of strong drink, he says: 'I have no confidence in any scheme for really improving the condition of the people, which does not embrace within its scope the removal of this, the greatest of all temptations to which they are exposed.'

In a recent debate in the House of Lords the Earl of Shaftesbury protested against the further DEMOLITION OF HOUSES for railways in the metropolis, on the ground that the poor inhabitants, unable to find shelter elsewhere, would all crowd into the remaining houses, to the great sanitary and moral deterioration of the mass. To this cause—miserable and insufficient dwellings—his lordship attributed, 'not altogether but mainly,' the prevalent habits of intoxication. The Earl of Dudley, in the course of a speech when presiding over the Dudley Mechanics' Institution soirée, said: 'He could confidently appeal to those who lived in the town and district for support

to his observation, that drunkenness was the one great vice of this place, and led more than anything else to the production of that great calendar of crime which they saw from time to time. There was nothing that he knew of that could be put into the scale to counterbalance its evils. The one great source of nearly all the evil authority and power had to contend with, was the drunkenness of the lower classes, and the temptation presented by the flaring gin-shop, and the society it offered was too often more than enough to induce men to leave their miserable, dark houses to be taken care of by their wives and children as best they could. If this were a true representation of the state of things existing in the town [the country], and those who started the Mechanics' Institution knew it was so, and if they were striking at the root of so huge an evil, then the work they were engaged in was so important and onerous, that everybody would be justly held responsible for the consequence of withholding his support and countenance from it.'

The difficult and momentous question of CONVICT TRANSPORTATION is again before Parliament, Mr. Childers having succeeded in obtaining a select committee, which is to go into the general subject of secondary punishments, and which, we trust, will ascertain the causes of the recent violent outbreaks at Chatham and other convict prisons, and the great insecurity which is complained of in many parts of the country. In Bermuda and Gibraltar there are large numbers of convicts whose discipline is said to be in a very unsatisfactory state. The Australian colony is demanding that only prisoners who have the best characters be sent to them. But what are we to do with the others? It is reported that three hundred ticket-of-leave convicts are at the present time residing in Manchester; and burglaries, garrotte robberies, and other crimes are of nightly occurrence. Our authorities might wisely take a hint from the governor of Michigan, who, in his message to the legislature of the State, says: 'Since I entered upon the duties of my office I have pardoned seventy-two convicts. Whenever I could learn that the convict had been in the habit of indulging in intemperance, I imposed upon his pardon the condition that he should

should for ever after abstain from the use of intoxicating drinks as a beverage. One and one only, has since violated that condition, and for such violation is now serving out the balance of her term.' If a similar condition were imposed upon all our ticket-of-leave convicts, there can be no doubt but that a large proportion of the re-convictions which now bring discredit upon our prison discipline would never be incurred.

An important CONFERENCE was held on the 21st of January, at Birmingham, for the purpose of discussing the question of providing for the education of neglected and destitute children, and the duty of the legislature and executive government to aid therein. The attendance was numerous and influential. The Right Hon. Sir John Pakington, M.P., ably presided, and stated that they had assembled to set forth a grievance, and discuss what was the best and most appropriate remedy. The grievance, he said, was this—that out of the large annual sum which is voted by Parliament to assist in the education of the poor, those who are the most poor, those who are the most destitute, those who come under the care of those institutions which have been founded by benevolent persons in most of the large towns of England and Scotland, called ragged schools, are, in fact, altogether excluded. He submitted the following declaration of policy and opinion on the part of those at whose instance the conference had been convened, as indicating the precise object of the meeting.

'The welfare of society requires that all its members should be educated. Therefore it is the duty of the state, both as regards society in general, and each individual composing it, to provide education for those who cannot obtain it for themselves. This duty is recognized by the state, since it provides education for those who are in gaols and reformatories, and therefore come compulsorily under its care, and for those who are thrown upon society for support, *i. e.*, paupers. The same duty exists, but has not been discharged by the state, towards children who are not as yet either criminals or paupers, but whose natural guardians will not, or cannot, provide for their education.'

This declaration was endorsed by the signature of one hundred and forty-six of the most eminent and conspicuous

friends of education in Great Britain. Resolutions in accordance with the spirit and drift of the declaration were spoken to by the learned Recorder of Birmingham, and a number of other gentlemen, including Mr. Scholefield, M.P., Archdeacon Hone, Lord Lyttelton, Rev. Samuel Bache (Birmingham), Rev. W. C. Osborne (Bath), Rev. Thomas Guthrie, D.D. (Edinburgh), the Right Hon. the Earl of Shrewsbury and Talbot, Sir Baldwin Leighton, Bart., M.P., Rev. George Hans Hamilton (Berwick-on-Tweed), Robert Hanbury, Esq., M.P., Rev. J. C. Miller, D.D. (Birmingham), Viscount Ingestre, M.P., Rev. Prebendary Burgess (Chelsea), H. J. Leppoe, Esq. (Manchester), George Bell, Esq., M.D. (Edinburgh), C. F. Runey, Esq. (Aberdeen), Rev. James Gillespie (Liverpool), R. Spooner, Esq., M.P., T. Barwick Baker, Esq., &c., &c. Papers of an important character bearing upon the question before the conference were read by Mr. M. D. Hill, Q.C., and by Miss Carpenter, of Bristol. In the evening of the same day a public meeting, in connection with the conference, was held in the Town Hall. The Mayor of Birmingham, Arthur Ryland, Esq., took the chair, and was supported by a very large array of ladies and gentlemen who had attended the morning meeting. There were about three thousand persons in the body of the hall. On the motion of the Rev. Dr. Guthrie, and Mr. Scholefield, M.P., the series of resolutions adopted by the conference were unanimously approved and confirmed by the public meeting. In the course of his able and eloquent speech, Dr. Guthrie said:—

"The grand object ragged schools have in view is this—to rescue from vice, and misery, and crime, in this world, and from ruin in the world to come, those who have no parents, and those who are worse off than them that have none. It is both the interest and the duty of society to see that these children do not perish. Society not only does them, but does itself a wrong in allowing uneducated children to grow up within its bounds. No man or woman is a fit member of a civilized community if they are bred in all the ignorance of a savage; and the man and woman who bring up their family in such a state, who train them to lie, to steal, to beg, are sinners against the good of society and the welfare

welfare of the country.' The meeting was afterwards addressed by Mr. M. D. Hill, Rev. Dr. Miller, and other gentlemen, the whole of the day's proceedings being marked with deep interest.

The effect of the conference upon the public mind and leading statesmen was soon apparent. Several letters were inserted in the London 'Times,' and leading articles appeared in various papers. Mr. Adderley came forward to defend the policy of the Privy Council from the charge of refusing aid to ragged schools, showing that the Minutes make very ample provision for aiding these institutions, *on certain conditions*. He complained of the want of precision in the statements made at the Birmingham conference, whilst he himself neglected to state what the conditions were upon which aid would be given. He, however, intimated that the Home Secretary was preparing an amendment of the Industrial Schools Act. This is just what the conference desired, and we hope that its aspirations will be speedily realized. Mr. Barwick Baker and Mr. M. D. Hill replied

most ably and conclusively, and there can be no doubt but that government will be compelled to treat this great social question with more sagacity and fairness than heretofore. We hope soon to see an earnest and successful effort made in Parliament to secure for our ragged and industrial schools more of that public support to which they are so well entitled, and which experience proves they so greatly need.

Another movement that claims our earnest sympathy is being carried forwards towards a successful issue. We allude to the scheme of Mr. Sikes, of Huddersfield, to establish POST-OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS; and we congratulate the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the vigorous manner in which he has introduced the measure. Our facetious friend 'Punch' has been quite delighted with the idea, and with much laudable alertness has put his shoulder to the movement. His pictorial article in behalf of the measure was done in his best style. It was a happy hit to put the new savings bank into juxtaposition with the dram-shop.

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## ART. IX.—REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*Regeneration.* By William Anderson, LL.D. Second edition. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1861.

THIS is a treatise on one of the most delicate subjects in theological science. It is by the hand of a master in Israel—a man *sui generis*, who stamps the individuality of his own original mind on every subject which he discusses. He expresses himself with great clearness and force, and brings the minds of his readers, as he does his hearers, into intelligent contact with his own. It is unnecessary for us to enter into the discussion of the question opened up in this volume; we may, however, remark that the subject is one of the most momentous which can occupy the attention of man, and the manner in which it is treated is such as will scarcely fail to impress every thoughtful reader. A massive intellect here handles a theme which many proud literati resign to women and weak-minded men. Such would do well to study the book of Dr. William Anderson.

*The Annals of the Rescued.* By the Author of 'Haste to the Rescue.' London: Nisbet and Co. 1860.

NONE can peruse the touching pages of these annals without blessing God for the benevolent work in which the author has been engaged in Shrewsbury during the last three years. Her strong convictions on the subject of total abstinence, her zealous efforts among the degraded, her success in rescuing the fallen and miserable, combine to give unusual interest to her story. Would that every minister's wife, who can command the leisure, were as devoted, and that in every congregation or parish in England, similar efforts were made to remove drunkenness from the people.

*Nephalism the True Temperance of Science, Scripture, and Experience.* By James Miller, F.R.S.E., Surgeon in Ordinary to the Queen in Scotland, and to H.R.H. the Prince Consort, Professor of Surgery in the University of Edinburgh. Glasgow: Scottish Temperance League. 1861.

PROFESSOR

PROFESSOR MILLER has taken up the temperance cause *con amore*. He has done it a powerful service by his literary contribution. Free from technical terms, and full of racy humour, quaint sayings, and sparkling anecdote, as well as philosophy, science, and religion, he brings his views home to the intelligence of all readers. This work is worthy of a large circulation, and we rejoice to learn that the professor's desire is, that its publishers may give every facility for its popular dissemination. His arguments are in the main irrefragable, his appeals pointed, and his interpretation of Scripture as reverent as it is accurate. The use of alcohol in disease is his most vulnerable point.

*Modern Statesmen; or, Sketches from the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons.* By J. Ewing Ritchie, author of 'The Night Side of London.' London: Tweedie. 1861.

MR. RITCHIE writes with a smart and ready hand, and possesses abilities capable of producing something more permanent than anything he has yet contributed to literature. There is too little information given, and there are blunders which a parliamentary *littérateur* should not have fallen into. Beyond the smartness characteristic of Mr. Ritchie's pen, and a certain popularity attached thereto, these sketches of modern statesmen cannot command our admiration. They are merely ephemeral. We regret to see so much of London conversational slang mixed up with descriptions of men of mark.

*The Worn Wedding Ring, and other Poems.* By W. C. Bennett. London: Chapman and Hall. 1861.

MR. BENNETT has already won his spurs as a poet of the third class. He writes well. His rhymes jingle musically. His songs are remarkably manly, patriotic, and tender in sentiment, and are expressed in nervous Saxon. His poems on childhood, and all its joys and sorrows, are true to nature, and are beautiful in art. The present volume is diversified. There are about two dozen poems and songs, many of which are exquisitely conceived and well expressed. There are no fewer than eighty-five sonnets where a practised hand is made to turn the harmonies of that difficult versification.

*The Underground Railway from Slavery to Freedom.* By the Rev. W. M. Mitchell. London: Tweedie.

THIS little work will be read with unflagging interest at the present time. It contains a strong appeal on behalf of the freedom of the slave.

*Teetotalism in Harmony with the Bible.*

A Lecture by the Rev. William Caine, M.A. Manchester.

THE *argumentum ad Christianum* is here well put. Mr. Caine examines consecutively many passages of the Bible, deduces his arguments with great cogency, and applies them as he advances.

*Alcoholics: a Letter to Practitioners in Medicine.* By H. Mudge.

*Temperance and High Wages.* By W. Tweedie.

*The Moderate Use of Intoxicating Drinks.* By Dr. Carpenter.

*A Tract for every Christian.*

*The Worn Thimble: The Drunkard's Bible.* By Mrs. S. C. Hall.

*The Value of Health.* By Mrs. Ellis.

*Beacon Lights.* London: W. Tweedie.

THESE are very useful tracts, and calculated to carry conviction to the thoughtful reader.

*Alcohol, a Prisoner at the Bar.* Two Lectures by Jabez Inwards. London: Caudwell. 1861.

THIS trial is very cleverly described in the pamphlet before us.

*The Dietetic Reformer and Vegetarian Messenger.* London: Caudwell.

THIS is a small quarterly devoted to the advocacy of vegetarianism. It is ably edited, well written, and full of variety, notwithstanding its single aim.

*Amusements, and the need of Supplying Healthy Recreations for the People.* By the Rev. George Huntington, M.A. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THIS lecture is the production of a man of learning and accomplishments, who is also possessed of a large-hearted philanthropy. He approves of more physical out-of-door recreations than are generally within the reach of the working classes. This is very important counsel. A free library is not enough without a public park. There is very much in Mr. Huntington's lecture that we highly approve, but we cannot quite agree with his views on certain in-door amusements.

# Meliora.

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## ART. I.—OWEN FELLTHAM AND HIS ‘RESOLVES.’

THE literature of England is singularly rich in those brief and pointed epitomes of thought named Essays. Between Bacon and Helps how wide a distance of time; how steady a continuance of that form of expressing the ripe results of reflection! The essayists of Britain form quite a library themselves. The wisdom-freighted pages of my Lord Verulam’s ‘Counsels Civil and Moral,’ the apophthegmatic ingenuity of Selden’s ‘Table-talk,’ the simple and perspicuous ‘Discourses’ of Cowley, the most involved and fantastic of poets, the spirited and graceful Dedications and critical Prefaces of the declamatory Dryden, the minute and graphic miscellaneous pieces of Sir William Temple, the influential and well-remembered essayists, *par excellence*, Steele, Addison, Goldsmith, Johnson, Hawkesworth, &c., the varyingly-excellent writings of Hazlitt, Coleridge, and Lamb, and the many-toned and able abstracts of literary, historic, statistical, commercial, humorous, and discursive subjects which, whether reprinted from reviews and periodicals or issued in a separate form, at once recall to us the names of Jeffrey, Mackintosh, Macaulay, Carlyle, Rogers, Forster, Masson, Helps, Taylor, Croker, and a host of others, who have wrapped up into parcels of delight the essences of volumes and the thoughts of years—form but a small portion of that refined and delicate, suggestive and fancy-tricked series of productions which are ranged, under the heading of Essays, in our library catalogues. It is a form of writing in which no nation has so much excelled as ourselves. Of prose writings *Mémoires* and *Eloges* seem to be the products in which the French outstrip us. The Germans are too voluminous and exhaustive to content themselves with the narrow compass of an essay, and they must attain the dignity of a book. In Italy the lightsome-seriousness of the essay is, as yet, an impossibility. In fact, the essay is an Anglo-Saxon institution, and can as ill bear transplantation into other literatures as the constitution of our insular home is ill fitted to be imitated in other countries.

Besides that class of books specifically designated ‘Essays,’ there is another kind of writing of greater nerve and fullness of matter even;—works in which imagination and knowledge express

themselves in company, the latter as the suggester or expounder of truths coming home to men's business and bosom and relating to the conduct of life; the former as the provider of an affluent wardrobe for their dress—'the wardrobe of rich eloquence.' Forceful truth, beautifully expressed, tipped and adorned by fancy, uttered in brief but appropriate and sententious phraseology; and variously denominated Thoughts, Meditations, Emblems, Resolves, &c., constitute this class of literature, and may be exemplified by mentioning 'The Thoughts of Blaise Pascal' (1623-1662), the 'Enchiridion' of Francis Quarles (1592-1644), Bishop Beveridge's 'Thoughts upon Religion' (1638-1708), 'The Daily Thoughts' of the Rev. Joseph Henshaw, Bishop of Peterborough (about 1651), Arthur Warwick's 'Spare Minutes; or Resolved Meditations and Premeditated Resolutions' (about 1640), and the '*Resolves, Divine, Moral, and Political*,' by Owen Felltham. There is in this sort of writing a greater degree of compressed, almost aphorismic, thought, a more familiar and earnest pointedness of personal address, a graver tone of self-application, and a kindlier vein of exposition and expostulation than in 'Essays' properly so called. About the beginning of the seventeenth century, as will be seen from the dates above given, this method of composition was highly popular. Their friendly, advice-giving, interested, and interesting tone made such writings liked; their brevity and pithy polish; their sort of learning-in-undress literateness, their pleasant profitableness made them attractive and influential. Each of their readers, like their authors, could enjoy them lovingly and say, '*Et sic demulceo vitam*.'

These books which might be regarded as censers containing the fine essences of thought, from their variety, harmonious language, purity of sentiment, agreeable tone, and poetical conceptions, are calculated to be highly serviceable in the education of the mind from the readiness with which they may be remembered and the ease with which they may be consulted. If absorbed into the heart's circulation, as it were, of our thoughts, they impart such an exquisite relish to conversation, and enable their readers to acquire such a useful and readily available fund of worthy talk as makes their company a pleasure and a profit.

One of the best of those writers—an author in whose brief remarks and observations or maxims, there are combined a sweet piety, a solid good sense, a moral and religious purity, and a geniality of spirit considerably more intense than is usually current among men—we intend to make the subject of our present consideration. We are induced to do so from the delight, the satisfaction, the benefit we believe we have ourselves received from their study—a study which awakened in us a desire to know somewhat of their author—of whom 'the best authorities' inform

us, 'the particulars of his life are entirely unknown.' Such biographical matter as we have been able to collect regarding this man of decided religiousness yet cheerful and lively temper, of unfeigned faith yet clear understanding, of elegant and refined mind yet kindly-affectioned to the rude and poor, of polished humour and delicate fancy yet of unimpeachable piety and morality—though all too little, we propose to lay before our readers, to accompany that with extracts from his writings, and close with a criticism of his life and works.

OWEN FELLTHAM was the second son of Thomas Felltham, Esq., of Mutford, in Suffolk, and Mary Ufflet, in Somerleytown, in the same county. Their family consisted of three sons and three daughters (*filios tres totidemque natas*). Shortly before Owen's birth his family appear to have removed to Babram, in Cambridge-shire, which makes it probable that in the University of Cambridge Owen received his education. The date of his birth has not been exactly ascertained. His eldest sister was baptized at Mutford in 1590, and it has usually been assumed that Owen was born early in the seventeenth century. Though he does not in his writings profess to be a scholar, they have all that indescribable essence of classical learning which indicates, though it does not pedantically show off scholarship—they are imbued but not suffused with erudition. Before he had attained his eighteenth year he had begun to use the quill in amateur authorship, for the first century of that work by which he is best known was 'written,' he says himself, 'when he was but eighteen.' In one of these 'Resolves,' the following passages occur, viz. :—

'Our years at full are fourscore and ten; much time compared to a day; but not a minute in respect of eternity; yet how few live to tell so large a succession of time! One dies in the bud; another in the bloom; some in the fruit; few like the sheaf that comes to the barn in a full age: and though a man lives to enjoy all, see but how little he may call as his own. He is first *puer*, then *juvenis*, next *vir*, and after *senex* . . . . All man's ages are so full of troubles that they flch away his time of living. The first is full of folly; the second of sin; the third of labour; the last of grief. In all, he is, in the court of this world, as a ball bandied between two rackets—joy and sorrow; if either of them strike him over he may then rest. Otherwise his time is nothing but a motion in calamity. I have only yet lived through my first and passed my *pueritia* . . . . I wish not the full fruition of all, yet do I desire to borrow a letter from each, so instead of *puer*, *juvenis*, *vir*, et *senex*, give me the first four letters which will make me *pious*.'

Though written thus early they were not published till 1627. This, Hallam says, is the date of the first edition. On attaining his majority he took a tour of three weeks' duration through the Netherlands, and for recreation after his return employed himself in the composition of 'A brief character of the Low Countries under the States,' *i. e.*, the Seven United (Protestant) Provinces—Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland, Groningen, Overysse, and Guelderland, under the government of Prince Maurice of Orange. The work was not primarily intended for publication, but it got

into print in a surreptitious manner and in an imperfect form. In justice to himself he issued an authorized edition; and latterly he appended it to his 'Resolves.' This 'brief character'—which bears on its title page the appropriate motto, '*Non seria semper*'—is full of quaint humour, lively remark, acute observation, and grave-toned reprehension of vice. We quote the following passage referring to the drinking customs of England and the Netherlands about 1623:—

'The truth is, the completest drinker in Europe is your English gallant. There is not such a consumption of liquor as in the quaffing off of his healths. Time was, the Dutch had the better of it; but of late hath lost it, by prating too long over his pot. He sips and laughs, and tells his tale; and in a tavern is more prodigal of his time than of his wine. He drinks as if he were short-winded; and as it were, cuts his drink by morsels, rather besieging his brains than assaulting them. But the Englishman charges home on the sudden, swallows it whole, and like a hasty tide fills and flows himself, till the moist brain swims and tosses in the hasty fumes, as if his liver were burning out his stomach, and he striving to quench it, drowns it. So the one is drunk sooner and the other longer; as if striving to recover the wager the Dutchman would still be the perfectest soaker.'

Felltham's first venture in publication was made, as Hallam thinks, in 1627. It is a small *dateless* duodecimo, bearing the title, 'Resolves, Divine, Moral, and Political, of Owen Feltham.' It is handsomely printed, like the pet work of a well-to-do person, is adorned with a finely-engraved allegorical frontispiece, and bears this motto from Horace—the initial word being altered into *his* instead of *hoc*—

'His commodius quam tu præclare senator,  
Millibus atque aliis vivo.'

'By these with greater comfort can I live,  
Than state to thee, O senator, can give.'

HOR. SAT. I. 6. 110.

The book is dedicated 'To the most virtuous, discreet, and noble, the Lady Dorothy Crane, daughter to the Right Honourable and religious Lord Hobart.' This lady was the daughter of the Right Hon. Sir Henry Hobart, Knt. and Bart., Lord Chief Justice or his Majesty's Court of Common Pleas, and it is probable that at this period Felltham acted as his lordship's secretary. The volume contained a hundred, or 'century,' as it was then called, short papers or essays on various topics, on morals, politics, and theology, each of which, for the most part, closing with an application calculated to carry the thought expressed home to the bosom, the business, and the life of the reader, either as inducement or warning. At the end of the work there is a list of *errata*, and the following *smart* lines form the heading to it, viz.:—

'When thou view'st this mend faults,  
That here are shown;  
And when thou view'st thyself,  
Then mend, thine own.'

The preface contains the following sentences in explanation of the purpose of the book:—

• That

'That I might curb my own wild passions I have writ these ; and if thou findest a line to mend thee I shall think I have divulged it to purpose. Read all and use thy mind's liberty—how thy suffrage falls, I weigh not ; for it was not so much made to please others as to profit myself . . . . That I might out of my own school take a lesson which should serve me for my whole pilgrimage ; and, if I should wander, my own items might set me in heaven's direct way again. We do not so readily run into crimes, that from our own mouth have had sentence of condemnation . . . . And that by passing the *press* (they becoming in a manner ubiquitaries), they might everywhere be as boundaries to hold him within the limits of prudence, honour, and virtue.'

The book hit the fancy of the times and became a great success, established the author's reputation as a young writer, and began to win him praise and friendship among his copesmates in literature. One of the most notable of these friendships was that formed between him and Thomas Randolph [1605-1634], author of 'The Muse's Looking-glass,' and several other plays, a man of wit, an ingenious poet, a grave moralist in writing ; but latterly, alas ! a grave immoralist in action. He was one of Ben Jonson's adopted children of the muses, and altogether a man of much mark and likelihood, had it not been for his proneness to free living and such company as may be got round the tavern table. This able poet, who could so sadly, like Ariosto's Orlando, say—

'Il meglio veggio, ed al peggior m'appiglio,\*

though unacquainted with Felltham except from his book, composed a poetic address 'To Mr. Owen Felltham on his booke of Resolves,' which brought the two authors into intimate companionship. The poem is too lengthy for extract in our pages ; but the gist of it may be gathered from the following passages :—

'Thy book I read, I read it with delight,  
Resolving so to live as thou dost write,  
And yet I *guess* thy life thy book produces,  
And but expresses thy peculiar uses.  
Thy manners dictate whence thy writings came.  
. . . . . Thy life had been  
Pattern enough, had it of all been seen,  
Without a book ; books make the difference here,  
In them thou liv'st the same but everywhere,  
And this I guesse, *though thou'rt unknown to me*,  
By thy chaste writing . . . . .  
These lines' rich sap the fruit to heaven doth raise,  
Nor doth the cinnamon bark deserve lesse praise,  
I mean thy style—being pure and strong and round,  
Not long but pithy, being short-breathed but sound.  
Such as the grave, acute, wise Seneca sings,  
The best of tutors to the worst of kings :  
Not long and empty ; lofty but not proud ;  
Subtle but sweet, high but without a cloud ;  
Well settled, full of nerve, in brief—'tis such  
That in a little hath comprized much  
Like the *Iliads* in a nut-shell,' &c.

On August 24, 1628, the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated at Portsmouth by John Felton. On this subject Felltham composed

\* 'I see the better way and take the worse.'

an ode, which, however, is of no great worth. In the same year (1628) two editions of the 'Resolves' were called for by the public: the former of these contains a second century of essays, which have for their motto, *Ne te quaesiveris extra*, and are dedicated to the 'Right Hon. Thomas [Coventry], Lord Keeper of the Great Seal,' who, on the 10th of April, 1628, was elevated to the peerage by the title of Baron Coventry, of Aylesborough, Worcester. On his death in 1640, Felltham expressed his regrets in an elegy more remarkable for warmth of feeling than poetic taste. It appears in his 'Lusoria' that Felltham was no unobservant spectator of literary matters; and, that he felt himself justified in taking up a position as a literary man upon subjects coming legitimately within that sphere—without fear or favour—may be seen in what Langbain characterizes as 'that sharp reply made by the ingenious Mr. Felltham' . . . 'which could not chuse but vex a person of the author's haughty temper,' to the ode of Ben Jonson, expressive of his disgust at the unfavourable reception of his play, entitled, 'The New Inn,'—which was brought out, unsuccessfully, 19th Jan., 1629-30—beginning

'Come leave the loathed stage,  
And the more loathsome age;  
Where pride and impudence, in faction knit,  
Usurp the chair of wit!  
Indicting and arraigning every day  
Something they call a play,' &c.

Felltham's answer takes the form of a parody of the rhythm of the original, and is famously reprobatory of the egotistic disappointment of the rare and burly Ben. It deserves quotation more for its hardihood than its intrinsic merit. It is, in part, as follows:—

'Come leave this sauncy way  
Of baiting those that pay  
Dear for the sight of your declining wit:  
'Tis known it is not fit,  
That a sale poet, just contempt once thrown,  
Should cry up thus his own.  
I wonder by what dower,  
Or patent, you had power  
From all to rape a judgement. Let 't suffice,  
Had you been modest, you'd been granted wise.

'Tis known you can do well;  
And that *you do excell*,  
*As a Translator*. But when things require  
*A genius, and a fire*,  
*Not kindled heretofore by others' pains*;  
As oft you've wanted brains  
And art to *strike the white*,  
As you have levell'd right:  
Yet if men vouch not things apocryphal,  
You bellow, rave, and spatter round your gall.

Leave then this humour vain,  
And this more humourous strain,

Where

Where self-conceit, and choler of the blood  
Eclipse what else is good :  
Then if you please those raptures high to touch,  
Whereof you boast so much ;  
And but forbear your crown,  
Till the world puts it on ;  
No doubt from all you may amazement draw,  
Since braver theme no Phœbus ever saw.'

Thomas Carew, Sir John Suckling, and other wits of the day took occasion also to chastise the haughty insolence, as they called it, of the Court poet, and had their fling at this play. Felltham's, however, is most to the point, and was at the time the most effective. His poem was printed in Abraham Wright's 'Parnassus Biceps,' in Langbain's 'Dramatic Poets;' it was copied by Oldys into his notes, and made rather a sensation at the time. Jonson, who had really by this time become 'sick and sad,' was defended by Randolph in a strong and caustic style, of which this specimen will show the animus :—

' Ben, do not leave the stage,  
'Cause 'tis a loathsome age.  
For pride and impudence will grow too bold  
When they shall hear it told  
They frighted thee.'

These passages of the quill, however, as will be seen hereafter, did not discompose the friendliness of Randolph and Felltham, nor does it appear that the severity of his strictures caused any alienation between the author of the 'Resolves' and the writer of 'Every Man in his Humour,' who seem to have been friends.

It was probably about this time that Felltham married. At least in published letters of his to Clarissa we find some hints of courtship, and in his 'Lusoria,' we read several affectionate little pieces addressed to her, of which the following appears to us a delicate epigrammatic compliment :—

A FAREWELL.

' When by sad fate, from hence I summoned am,  
Call it not "*Absence*,"—that's too mild a name.  
Believe it, dearest soul! I cannot part ;—  
For who can live two regions from his heart?—  
Unless as stars direct our human sense,  
I live by your more powerful influence.  
No! say I am dissolved ; for as a cloud  
By the sun's vigour melted is and strew'd  
On the earth's face, to be exhaled again  
To the same beams that turned it into rain,  
So, absent, think me but as scattered dew,  
Till re-exhaled again to Virtue—You !'

In one of his Clarissa-letters, he speaks of having 'passed the heat and dust of the way to my own habitation ; where without your presence (which, to me, only can make a cottage beautiful), I find every room a cell and myself turning melancholy ;' and concludes by saying, 'Dear, fail not to present my humble duty to my honoured father and best mother.'

That

That he was happy in his matrimonial relations we know from a letter to his mother-in-law, Oliva. 'I am confidently of opinion,' he says, 'if all men that have married had been as happy as I believe myself, even in the Romish church there never had been the erection of monastery or nunnery.' . . . 'If there be any infelicity offends us, 'tis that we are deprived of the honour of your company, which wheresoever it bestows itself can both civilize and sanctify; to whom I had sooner presented my ever-thankful duty, had there not been a supply from that hand which was content to give a heart to your ever most obedient son.'

In 1631 a fourth edition of the 'Resolves' was published, and on the 11th of March in that same year Felltham's father died at Babram, in Cambridgeshire, at the age of 62. He was buried in the church there, on the wall of which there is still extant a monument to his memory, on which there is inscribed an elegant Latin epitaph from the pen of his son.

In 1634 a fifth edition of the 'Resolves' was printed, and in the preface to it we have the following pleasing autobiographic communication:—

'I live in a rank though not of the highest, yet affording more freedom, as being exempt from those suspicious cares that prick the bosom of the wealthy man. It is such as might content my betters, and such as heaven smiles on with a gracious promise of blessing, if my carriage be fair and honest; and without these, who is well? I have necessaries and what is decent; and when I desire it, something for pleasure. Who hath more that is needful? If I be not so rich as to sow alms by sackfuls, even my mite is beyond the superfluity of wealth; and my pen, my tongue, and my life shall, I hope, help some to better treasure than the earth affords them. I have food convenient for me; and I sometimes find exercise to keep my body healthful; when I do I make it my recreation not my toil. My raiment is not of the worst; but good, and than that, let me never have better. I can be as warm, in a good kersey, as a prince in a scarlet robe. I live where there is means of true salutation;—my liberty is mine own; I can both frequent them and desire to profit by them.'

That this enviable state of calm enjoyability did not always continue to bless Owen Felltham might be conjectured from his withdrawal of the passage from subsequent issues, even had we no other ground; but from the following letter, of which, however, we do not know the date—but assign it to the years 1634-5—we would infer that his elder brother had died before this time, that he had served himself heir, but had suffered ejection on some ground or other, and that he was inclined to hold his own against his adversaries:—

TO THE LORD C. J. R.

(Sir Thomas Richardson, Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench?)

'MY LORD,—Being put upon a trial for vindicating the right of the ancient inheritance of my family gained from me by a verdict last assizes, by what means I shall forbear to speak, I cannot but think myself very happy to have it heard before your lordship, whose knowledge in the laws and unalterable integrity are so conspicuously eminent, that as the unjust cannot hope, so the just can never fear a partiality. God knows, I am so far from taking away another's right, as I would not do revenge to preserve my own. I shall therefore say nothing at all of  
the

the cause, but submit it wholly and freely to your lordship's upright judgment, as upon a full hearing it shall appear before you. Only I thought it might very well become me (for the just fame of your merit in this Commonwealth) to manifest not only this, but the desire I have to be esteemed

‘Your lordship's affectionate servant.’

We have not been able to ascertain the issue of the suit alluded to in this letter; but we rather presume that he was not successful, as we find him thereafter speaking as if he occupied a servile position, *e. g.*: ‘I am,’ he informs Sir C. T., ‘now *getting a while* to London, which appears to this region, as the heart to the body, through which its business as the stirring blood, hath all its circulation. If you have not in the country you may have something to do there.’ Yet we have no reason to believe that he was unhappy in his servitude, for in another and later letter he says: ‘I have lived in such a course, as my books have been my delight and recreation; but not my trade, though perhaps I could wish they had.’

The ‘Resolves’ reached a sixth edition in 1636. On May-day, 1637, a friend of his, Mr. Charles Leigh, died of the plague. Felltham honoured his memory by an elegy. That same year brought a sore trial to the literary world. On the 6th August, 1637, Ben Jonson was stricken down by a second blow of paralysis, and was interred in Westminster Abbey. Half in jest and half in earnest, ‘Jack Young’ got the mason to cut those rude letters which form the brief though most appropriate epitaph of the man, ‘O rare Ben Jonson.’ All the poets felt sad at his withdrawal from the world of letters, and elegies were poured out in profusion over his remains by all the chief poets of the day. These were collected by Dr. Bryan Duppa, Bishop of Winchester, and published in 1638 with the title—suggested by Lord Falkland, ‘the generous and the just’—‘Jonsonus Virbius; or, the Memory of Ben Jonson revived by the friends of the Muses.’ To this volume, Felltham, notwithstanding his former sarcastic lines, contributed an offering ‘To the Memory of immortal Ben.’ We have space only to quote the opening and closing lines, though all are good:—

‘To write is easy; but to write of thee  
Truth will be thought to forfeit modesty,  
So far beyond conceit, thy strengths appear.

\* \* \* \* \*

This I'll presume to say, when time has made  
Slaughter of kings that in the world have swayed:  
Then greener bays shall crown Ben Jonson's name,  
Than shall be wreathed about their regal fame;  
For numbers read to infinite; but he,  
Of whom I write this, has prevented me,  
And boldly said so much in his own praise,  
No other pen need any trophy raise.’

Four years before this, Felltham had lost his beloved friend, Thomas Randolph, who had predeceased his father in the Muses, in March 1634 at Blatherwick, in Northampton. When Randolph's works were collected and printed by his brother in 1638, Felltham contributed

contributed lines 'On his beloved friend the author and his ingenious poems,' which were prefixed, along with other laudatory verses by the leading poets of the day, to that edition.

The death of Thomas, Lord Coventry, in 1640, again excited Felltham's muse, as did also the decapitation of Archbishop Laud, 1643, and the act for 'The Abolition of the Feast of the Nativity' in the same year. A seventh edition of the 'Resolves' was issued in 1647, and in 1648 what Felltham regarded as 'the sin of sins' was committed, as may easily be imagined from the fact, that he wrote an 'Epitaph to the eternal memory of Charles I., &c., inhumanly murdered by a perfidious party of his prevalent subjects, January 30th, 1648.' Of this work in the present day it will be sufficient to say that it rises to the very extravagance of blasphemy in its devotion to the royal cause. Charles I. is represented as surpassing Job in patience, Solomon in wisdom; the 'Eikon Basiliké,' as a 'peerless book,' he compares to the Psalms and Proverbs of Scripture. Despite the misfortunes, trials, virtues, calamities, character, &c. of Charles I., and with a full knowledge of the doings 'of the usurper, Cromwell,' and his 'iron rule,' we scarcely think that the sober judgment of mankind will justify the extraordinary hyperbole with which these lines conclude, and of which it will perfectly suffice to quote the last, viz. :—

'Here Charles the First, and Christ the Second, lies.'

During the period of the Civil Wars, 1642-1651, and during the time of the Commonwealth, 1649-1660, Felltham appears to have applied his mind to politics and morals. He was of course a staunch churchman and Royalist, and his views on these subjects are strong and strongly expressed. It is probable that during these unsettled times he held office in the household of the Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of Thomond, who was the daughter of Sir George Fermor, Knight, and had married first Robert Creighton Lord Sanquhar, a Scottish nobleman (who was executed in London, June 29th, 1612, for killing a fencing-master); and second, the Earl of Thomond, a nobleman of notable loyalty, religiousness, and integrity, Lodge says, who attended the king during his troubles with fidelity and affection, and underwent exile during the Commonwealth. On this lady's mother—Lady Mary Fermor, daughter of Thomas Curzon, of Waterperry, Oxford, an ancestor of the earls of Pomfret—Felltham wrote an epitaph, in which he declares 'she was the best example of her sex;' and on the beauty of her daughter Penelope, Countess of Peterborough, he composed some fair lines addressed to the painter to whom she sat for her picture. Among his 'Remains,' too, there was found 'A form of Prayer (for morning and evening), composed for the family of the Right Hon. the Countess of Thomond'—such as 'was made  
use

use of when the liturgy of the church was as the Church itself, in the Revelation, forced to flee into the wilderness.' The eighth edition of his 'Resolves,' published in the year of the coronation of Charles II., 1661, was dedicated 'To the Right Honourable my most honoured Lady Mary, Countess Dowager of Thomond.' In this dedication he declares regarding the contents of the volume, 'that most of them were composed under the coverture of her roof,' and acknowledges 'many other obligations which emboldened him to this dedication.'

The opinions of Felltham upon the religious, moral, and political state of the country during the Commonwealth time are now highly curious, though doubtless they were honestly held; and, as contemporary statements, are of some value in forming an estimate of that epoch, on the elucidation of which so much has been written. A few examples are under noted:—

'Of Puritans,' he says, 'I find many who are called Puritans; yet few or none who will own the name. The reason of which is surely this, that it is a name of opprobrium; and is so new, that it hath scarcely yet obtained a definition. . . One will have him to be a man who lives religiously, and will not revel in an unbounded excess; another, him who in some tenets only is peculiar; another, him who will not swear. Absolutely to define him is, I think, a work of difficulty. . . . A Puritan, as he is more generally, in these times, taken to be, is a church rebel, or one who would exclude order that his brain may rule. . . . A man who submits to reverend order, who sometimes unbends himself in a moderate relaxation, and in all things labours to approve himself in the sereneness of a healthful conscience, such a Puritan I will love immutably; but when a man in things but ceremonial shall spurn at the grave authority of the church, and out of a needless nicety, be a thief to himself, of those benefits which God allowed him; or out of a blind, uncharitable pride, censure and scorn others as reprobates, or out of obstinacy, fill the world with brawls about indeterminate tenets, I shall think him one of those whose opinions hath fevered his zeal to madness and distraction. . . . Methinks the reading of "Ecclesiastes" should make a Puritan undress his brain, and lay off all those fantastic toys that jingle about his understanding.'

In an essay 'Of the danger of Liberty,' he says,

'That liberty breeds licentiousness is proved by daily experience:—

'In pejora datur suadetque licentia luxum.'

'To worsenment and riot licence always leads.'

'Liberty, which seems to be so highly prized, and is the only cried-up thing in the world, when once enjoyed, is, of all the seeming goods of man, the most dangerous and seducing. Not being able to guide our own mad appetites, we quickly betray ourselves into the same sad slavery, which but a little before, we opposed and resisted. . . . Hath not assumed liberty thrown those grand assemblies into hate and abhorrence, which in their due limits were the gaze and envy of the Christian world? What hath so wounded the honour of some of our gentry and nobility as this; that by being permitted to do what they would, they have left doing what they ought, and had done what they ought not even to have thought of? . . . He who would be preserved in safety, had need keep sentinel upon his liberty. She is a wanton child, that will be apt to run upon dangers, if there be not a keeper to lead and look to her. Upon a serious examination, I cannot find why men should bawl so loud for liberty. A wise and good man is always free; he wills nothing but what is just and right, and against his will he acts not. . . . It shall never offend me to live under any government that may make me better, and restrain me from wandering. . . . He that may do more than is fit, is on the way to do more than is lawful.'

Of the decapitation of Charles I. his reprobation is expressively strong, and his enthusiasm at the Restoration (1660) was as extraordinary as his grief for the decollation of Charles was extravagant, and his view of the state of England under the Commonwealth desponding. In his 'Resolve' 'Of Peace,' he says:—

'Consider the havock a few years made among us. The waste of wealth, the wreck of worth; the sad fate lighting on the great and good; the virtuous left to scorn: the loyal used, as once the Roman parricides, with desperate and malicious persons left to rule and vex them; wealth prostituted to the beggarly and the base; palaces plundered and pulled down; temples profaned; antiquities razed; religion rivuled into petty issues running thiek corruption. Then let men consider, after a little revolution, how little have the authors gained. Those who would take peace from others themselves have missed it, in their hollow graves; the earth they tore, hath fled them from her bosom and her bowels, with nought in the least considerable to the expense of blood and treasure. Then also, let men see, how the sacred wheel of Providence hath resurrectioned all our joys. How the Church recovers her late besmeared beauties; how the tide of trade returns; how brightened swords have now a peaceful glitter; how glory, wealth, and honour with loyalty, is returned; how shouts of joy have drowned the cannon's roar; that till men come to heaven such joy can never again be expected to be seen.'

The foregoing extracts will have suggested the reason why, though during the twenty years after their first publication, the 'Resolves' passed through seven editions, the succeeding sixteen years elapsed without a call for another. He was in the opposite party. The edition of 1661 was followed by one in 1670, and another in 1677; and it is generally supposed that he died in the following year, 1678. Neither the time, place, nor manner of his death are, however, accurately known. We cannot point to his grave and say—in the words of the last line of his self-written epitaph—

'Exuvias hic reliquit Felltham.'

Did he die calmly, 'without fear or grudging?' Did he feel that 'nihil est in morte quod metuamus, si nihil timendum vita commisit?' Did he realize his early thought, 'The good man I must reckon with the wise; as one that equally can die or live?' Let us hope so, and shed the fond regrets of friendship on his unknown grave.

Two editions of his works were published after his death, viz., in 1696 and 1709. Thereafter nearly a century elapsed before any new edition was given to the press. During the interval, he almost ceased from the remembrance of living men. William Oldys, 1687-1761, the Norroy King-at-arms, an indefatigable and accurate bibliographer, and an industrious recorder of the gossip of his day, made some inquiries about him at a relative of Felltham's—one William Loughton, the schoolmaster in Kensington—but could get no information about him. There is a notice of his works in Sir Egerton Brydges' 'Censura Literaria' (1808), in the first number of which Oldys' notes about him are quoted. There is also a paper upon the 'Resolves' in 'The Retrospective Review,' vol. x. It is, however, still true, as Oldys said a century and a half ago, that 'Of this Felltham there has been little written.' We have

have endeavoured by sedulous search into every (to us) available source where information was likely to be found to recover or discover any memorials of him. Our cyclopædias and biographical works are almost if not always silent regarding him. We hope that the foregoing attempt to lighten up this hitherto obscure biography may interest and gratify the reader, and lead him to admire the judicious thinker and the pious writer—as an honest, conscientious man, who, though suffering, endured in silence and without unkindly feeling in return the evils of his age and time—and to relish the following illustrations of his reflective, ingenious, sprightly, and perspicuous style of thought, which combines in a great degree the point and polish of modern composition with the warmth and geniality of the olden time; and includes touches of eloquence and refinement of expression and character which it would do us all good to imitate:—

‘CHARITY.—The world which is chained together by intermingled love, would shatter and fall to pieces if charity should chance to die. . . . God may respect the mind and will, but man is nothing better for my meaning. Let my mind be charitable that God may accept me. Let my actions express it that man may be benefited.

‘LEARNING AND WISDOM.—The practice part of wisdom is the best. Wisdom is no inheritance; no, not to the greatest clerks. He that is built up of the press and pen shall be sure to make himself ridiculous. Company and conversation are the best instructors for a noble behaviour, and this is not found in a melancholic study alone.

‘PRAYER.—There is no doubt that prayer is needful daily, ever profitable, and at all times commendable. If it be for ourselves alone, it is necessary; and when it is for others, it is charitable. At night it is our covering, in the morning it is our armour. . . . Though prayer should be the key of the day, and the lock of the night, yet I hold it of the two, more needful in the morning than when in the evening we commit ourselves to repose. . . . The ship is safer in the bay or harbour, than when tossed and beaten in the boiling ocean. Retiredness is more safe than business. We are withdrawn, when the veil of night and rest enwraps us in their dark and silent cabinet. But with the sun we disclose ourselves and are discovered to our prying enemies; we go abroad to meet what at home does not look after us. . . . When the mind in the morning opens to God, as the eye to the sun’s clear light, by the radiance of the divine beams we become enlightened inwardly all the day. . . . The breathing and effusions of a devout soul turn prayer into a chain, which links us fast to God, but intermission breaks it, and when we are so loose we are easily overthrown; and doubtless it is far less difficult to preserve a friend, once made, than to recover one that is lost. . . . Why should God take thy dry bones when the devil hath sucked the marrow out?

‘THE DRUNKARD.—As to the drunkard, he hath *laesa memoria* while he is in his cups, and if he drinks on he hath none. While Bacchus is his chief god, Apollo never keeps him company. Friends and foes, familiars and strangers, are then alike to him; and he forgetfully speaks of that, in his cups, which, if he were sober, the rack could not wrest from him. First, he speaks he knows not what; nor can he after remember what it was he spoke. He speaks that which he should forget; and forgets that which he did speak. Drunkenness is the death of rational man, which only time and abstinence can resuscitate. *Absentem laedit, qui cum ebrio litigat*. He who quarrels with one that is drunk is like the fool who fights with him who is absent. He is not fit to keep another’s secrets who knows not how to closet up his own thoughts.

‘DRUNKENNESS.—There is but one thing which distinguishes beast from man, reason; and this drunkenness robs him of. The cup is the betrayer of the mind. . . . Drunkenness besots a nation and brutifies even the bravest spirits. . .

The

The Macedonian Philip would not make war against the Persians when he heard they were such drinkers; for, he said, they would ruin themselves. . . . What a monster man is in his inebriations! A swimming eye, a face both roast and sod, a rambling tongue, clammed to the roof and gums; a drumming ear; a fevered body; a boiling stomach; a mouth rendered nauseous with offensive fumes, till it sickens the brain with giddiness; a palsied hand, and legs tottering and reeling under their moistened burthen. . . . Let me rather be disliked for not being a beast, than be good-fellowed with a sot for being one. Some laugh at me for being sober; and I laugh at them for being drunk. Let their pleasures crown them, and their mirth abound; the next day they will feel the inconvenience of it. "*Bibite et pergracemini, O Cimmerii! Ebrietatem stupor, dolor, imbecillitas, morbus, et mors ipsa comitantur.*" Drink on and revel, O Cimmerians! your drunkenness is accompanied by stupefaction of the mind, lowness of spirits, by weakness, by disease, and even by death itself.'

Extracts might be indefinitely multiplied, each surpassing the other in some quality, in acute insight into the heart, in faithful expostulation, in richness, depth, and pregnancy of meaning; in force and pathos; in power of thought and elegance of expression: but let these suffice to show that in Owen Felltham's '*Resolves*' there are unfolded to the reader the pages of a clear, methodical, expansive, many-thoughted, acute, and faithful Christian man's soul, and therefore that it interests us much to know and read and feel the truths which he enunciates. An honest man's voice can seldom be too often heard.

Felltham's '*Resolves*' abound in just and judicious thoughts; they are the reflections of a serious and intelligent, widely observant man; they are suffused with a sort of contemplative melancholy that looks upon the causes of the multiplied miseries of human life with a saddened rather than a censorious eye. They are full of a kindly charity, which endeavours to calm and soothe, to console and encordial man's estate; and they are imbued with a Christian earnestness which anxiously exerts itself to dissolve and dispel the perplexities and uncertainties of man regarding his origin, condition, duty, sufferings, and destiny. Devout aspirations, penitential and grateful reflections, sincere confessions, variety of sentiment, a learned yet unpedantic scholarship, a style always perspicuous, often striking, not unfrequently quaint, give this book a charm and worth which recommend it to the notice of those who like to possess themselves of ingenious, sagacious, manly, and felicitously-expressed thought. Aiming not at the discussion of large and vast speculations, or deep and unplummeted inquiries into morals and religion, but intending to be a wise companion, a Christian adviser, a judicious prompter, a conscientious friend, an engaging inspirer of moral life and feeling, Felltham has eminently succeeded. Among the thinkers of his time, he almost alone has held the field against the oblivion in which the gliding years enwrap the labours of men. He has not, indeed, sought to 'reason high' upon the 'mysterious mysteries' of life, providence, fate, &c., but he has been contented to think about and advise regarding the attainment

attainment of the highest happiness and the holiest pleasure, and has endeavoured to lighten up life by glimpses of the radiance of eternity. May we with Thomas Randolph say, but also, unlike him, do what we say—

‘Mongst thy Resolves put my resolves in too,  
Resolve who will, this I resolve to do,  
That should my efforts choose another’s line,  
Whereby to *write*, I mean to *live* by thine.’

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ART. II.—*Ebrietatis Encomium; or, the Praise of Drunkenness; wherein is authentically and most evidently proved the necessity of frequently getting Drunk; and that the practice is most Ancient, Primitive, and Catholic.* By Boniface Oinophilus, De Monte Fiascone, A. B. C. London: Printed for C. Chapple. 1812.

TEMPERANCE readers will be ready to start when their eyes behold the title of the work before them. They often wish, with the patriarch Job in the land of Uz, that their ‘adversary had written a book.’ There is certainly a full supply of teetotal literature, but very little has been published ‘on the other side. On the present occasion we are able to fulfil the desire of the cold-water army, and to afford them a specimen of a treatise in the praise of drunkenness, which we lately disinterred from the library of a learned and able LL.D., M.D., and fellow of many scientific societies. We thought it a pity that so formidable a treatise should be hidden. We trust there was no violence done to the literary reputation of the library where we excavated this celebrated masterpiece of anti-teetotal art. We pledged our word that the niche would be filled again by the slab when once we had made an examination of its formation, and had prepared a suitable memoir of the wonderful composition for the enlightenment of the temperance world.

In the year 1812, a literary phenomenon appeared in the form of a treatise with the above very euphonious title. It was an era in modern prose. In ancient times grave and learned writers had expressed in imperishable books their opinions of the usefulness of getting drunk occasionally. Poets in all ages have consecrated to wine and other drinks many of their famous verses. But it was reserved for the author of this work to produce a treatise in prose in praise of drunkenness. He was well aware of the perilous attempt he made in authorship.

‘The bare title of the book,’ said he in his preface, ‘is enough to have it universally cried down, and to give the world an ill opinion of its author; for people will not be backward to say, that he who writes the Praise of Drunkenness must be

be a drunkard by profession; and who, by discoursing on such a subject, did nothing but what was in his own trade, and resolved not to come out of his own sphere, not unlike Baldwin, a shoemaker's son (and a shoemaker), in the days of yore, who published a treatise on the shoes of the ancients, having a firm resolution strictly to observe this precept, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. To this I answer, I am very well contented that the world should believe me as much a drunkard, as Erasmus, who wrote the Praise of Folly, was a fool, and weigh me in the same balance.'

The work contains thirty-two chapters and a postscript. We cannot, in the limited space assigned to us, enter into and discuss the many topics thus introduced to our notice by the author, who was evidently a man of great learning, extensive acquaintance with classical and ecclesiastical literature both of ancient and modern times, at least up to his own age, and besides, possessed of ready wit and great powers of satire. Few subjects have been treated with greater lore and made so readable withal. The author was capable of making his encyclopædic knowledge full of interest to the unlearned. He is no Doctor Dryasdust. He is fitted to be good company to any reader who should light upon his singular production. The following are the titles of the chapters:—1. That one must be merry. 2. That wine drives away sorrow, and excites mirth. 3. That it is good for one's health to get drunk sometimes. 4. That old people ought to get drunk sometimes. 5. That wine creates wit. 6. That wine makes one eloquent. 7. That wine acquires friends, and reconciles enemies. 8. That the custom of getting drunk is most ancient. 9. That the primitive Christians got drunk. 10. Of churchmen. 11. Of popes, saints, and bishops, that used to get drunk. 12. A catalogue of some illustrious toppers. 13. Of philosophers that used to get drunk. 14. Of poets that used to get drunk. 15. Of free-masons, and other learned men, that used to get drunk. 16. Of nations that used to get drunk. 17. Of the drunkenness of the Germans. 18. Of nations that get drunk with certain liquors. 19. Other considerations in favour of drunkenness. 20. An answer to the objection, That drunkenness causes infinite evils. 21. An answer to the objection, That the mirth which wine inspires is chimerical. 22. An answer to the objection, That one loses one's reason in getting drunk. 23. An answer to the objection, That one cannot trust a man that gets drunk. 24. An answer to the objection, That drunkenness makes one incapable of performing the duties of civil life. 25. Burlesque, ridiculous, and out-of-the-way thoughts against drunkenness. 26. A ridiculous aversion that some have to wine. 27. Rigorous laws against wine and drunkenness. 28. Rules to be observed in getting drunk. (1.) Not too often. (2.) In good company. 29. (3.) With good wine. 30. (4.) At convenient times. 31. (5.) To force no one to drink. 32. (6.) Not to push drunkenness too far. Concluding with a postscript in the shape

shape of a letter from a friend, adding considerably to the learning and humour of the book.

It will be at once apparent that if the author fulfils his purpose sketched in these contents, he will have made out a strong case, which may require all the art and artillery in the temperance ranks to set aside. It is therefore very becoming that we examine some of the most able and learned chapters. It would be very unfair to cut or garble his words, and we shall allow him to speak for himself. The thunders of a thousand temperance platforms will avail to reply, though we discharge no gun at this formidable antagonist.

He enters upon his task with no small courage and boldness.

‘Though I should have no readers at all,’ says he, ‘yet I am resolved to continue my discourse at the hazard, in some manner, of imitating Pyrrho, the philosopher, who one day, as he was haranguing the people, seeing himself abandoned by all his auditors, pursued very magnanimously his declamation to the end. To enter, therefore, upon the present subject, I lay down this as my first position, viz., “That it is lawful to get drunk sometimes.” Which I prove thus: Sadness is in the highest degree prejudicial to health, and causes abundance of distempers. There is no one ignorant of this truth. Joy (or mirth), on the contrary, prevents and forces them away. It is, as the Arabians say, the flower and spirit of a brisk and lively health. Let us run over, and examine all the different states of life, and we shall be forced to own that there is not one of them all but what is subject to chagrin and sadness; and, consequently, that joy, or mirth, is most necessary to men, which very probably the philosopher had in his head when he defined man a risible animal. But be that as it will, one must certainly look upon that maxim which recommends mingling of pleasures with the affairs of life as a very wise one—

“Sometimes with mirth and pleasure lard your cares.”

‘We shall confirm this precept by a very beautiful passage out of Seneca (de Tranquillitate), whose writings most certainly contain no loose morality, and which is as follows:—

‘The soul must not be always bent; one must sometimes allow it a little pleasure. Socrates was not ashamed to pass the time with children. Cato enjoyed himself in drinking plentifully, when his mind had been too much wearied out in public affairs. Scipio knew very well how to move that body, so much inured to wars and triumphs, without breaking it, as some now-a-days do, with more than womanly pleasures; but as people did in past times, who would make themselves merry on their festivals by leading a dance really worthy men of those days, whence could ensue no reproach, when even their very enemies had seen them dance . . . You must sometimes walk in the open air, that the mind may exalt itself by viewing the heavens, and breathing the air at your ease; sometimes take the air in your chariot, the roads and the change of the country will re-establish you in vigour; or you may eat and drink a little more plentifully than usual. Sometimes one must go even as far as to get drunk; not, indeed, with an intention to drown ourselves in wine, but to drown our cares. For wine drives away sorrow and care, and goes and fetches them up from the bottom of the soul. And as drunkenness cures some distempers, so, in like manner, it is a sovereign remedy for our sorrows.’

The author quotes other passages from classical writers to illustrate his position. Athenæus (lib. 10, cap. 10) reports of an Egyptian called Mycernius, who ‘having been told by the oracle that he had but a very short time to live, resolved to make the most of that short space, and to that end did nothing but drink

night and day.' This he affirms to be quite agreeable to the Egyptian practice of showing a skeleton to the guests at their festivals to remind them of their end, and to induce them to employ their time of joy to the best advantage. The Scythians used to drink out of a skull with the same view. The Romans, as Gruter tells us in his 'Inscriptions' (p. 609), used to cry out at their feasts, 'AMICE, DUM VIVIMUS, VIVAMUS,' that is, 'Friends, while we live, let us be merry.' 'For Raderus has evidently made it appear, by several examples out of Catullus, Cecilius, Varro, Anacreon, and other ancient authors, that *vivere*, 'to live,' signifies to make merry, or to give one's-self up to all kinds of pleasure, making good cheer, &c.'

The well-known and justly-admired Roman poets, Martial, Catullus, and Horace, supply him with apt quotation. We can only find room for a translation of one of the odes of the latter, wherein is a comparison of the present with the future—the state of life with the state of death. He says:—

'Nor are there any boon companions *there*,  
To laugh, and sing, and make good cheer;  
There shall we taste no more that wondrous juice,  
That nectar which the blessed vines produce,  
The height of all our joy and wishes *here*.  
Nor those sweet entertainments gay,  
When, by the glass inspired, so many kings,  
We tope, and speak, and do heroic things,  
And count ourselves more happy far than they.  
These days of ours the fatal sisters spin,  
To consecrate to love and wine,  
Let's now, ere 'tis too late, begin.  
Alas! without these powers divine,  
What would one do with a vain useless thread?  
What does it aught avail to breathe and move?  
One had as good be dead,  
Much better be no more than not to drink and love.'

Following up this, the facetious author in his second chapter proceeds to show that wine drives away sorrow and excites mirth. Proofs of its power to do this are very abundant. It has 'the same effect as the waters of Lethe on those souls which were destined to enter other bodies.' Anger has often been subdued by it. 'It is an admirable cataplasm for rage.' It is recorded of the Emperor Maximin, that when he was declared an enemy to the people of Rome by the senate, he 'fell into such a rage and fury, that no other way could be thought on to bring him back to his natural temper than by making him drunk.' This office of wine has been loudly praised by poets. Horace, Plancus, Ovid, and Anacreon are quoted. The verses of the Greek are thus rendered:—

'When I hold a full glass in my hand,  
I laugh and I merrily sing,  
I think I have sovereign command,  
And the treasures possess of a king.

Let

Let who will try their fate in the field,  
In war all their days let them pass;  
No arms but the bottle I'll wield,  
Fill, boy, then, a thundering glass.  
If Bacchus the victory gain,  
On the ground though I'm motionless laid,  
All agree it, *a truth very plain*,  
'Tis better be *drunk* than be *dead*.'

The sagacious eulogist of drinking considered that the Greek philosopher had very probably wine in view when he inscribed over his door these words in capitals: 'Here are remedies for all sorts of afflictions; here are cures for all distempers of the soul.' He goes further than even this, and outstrips the philosopher mentioned by Seneca, who 'desired no more than bread and cheese to rival Jupiter in happiness.' 'For my part,' he says, 'though I am no less a philosopher, yet I desire nothing to effect this but good wine. Indeed, it is amongst bottles and glasses that one may truly say—

"Far from the earth removed in realms above,  
I seem among the stars to sit with Jove:  
Lolling in ease celestial, lie supine,  
And taste from Ganymede immortal wine."\*

And without doubt Asclepiades had all this in his head when he maintained that the gods produced nothing that equalled wine in goodness.'

Health is a matter of very grave concern to most people. It is a very current opinion that the juice of the grape, in its most intoxicating form particularly, is very beneficial to health. Our author therefore asserts: 'So far is drunkenness from prejudicing our health, that, on the contrary, it highly preserves it. This is the sentiment of the most able physicians. These worthy gentlemen are arbiters of life and death. They have over us, *jus vitæ et necis*. We must therefore believe them. *Ergo*, let us heartily carouse. Every one knows that Hippocrates, the prince of physicians, prescribes getting drunk once a month, as a thing very necessary to the conservation of health.' The celebrated Arabian physician, Avicenna, is said by the learned Hofman,† to approve of 'getting drunk once or twice every month, and alleges it for physical reasons.' Divines even have given their verdict in favour of occasional inebriation. Father Taverne, a Jesuit, used these words:‡ 'Drunkenness is a mortal sin, if one falls into it for pleasure only; but if one gets drunk for any honest end, as, for example, by direction of one's physician in order to recover health, there is no manner of harm in it at all.' It is somewhat remarkable that our learned writer makes the following statement: 'If the number of physicians who used to get drunk proves anything,

\* Statii Sil. 2 lib. iv.

† T. 11, 9 Dissert. ch. 6.

‡ Synopses Theolog. Pract.'

I could insert a good round catalogue, *amongst whom I do not find any English doctors, for they are the most abstemious persons in the world!*

On the subject of old people, he quotes with much approbation the well-known and ancient proverb, 'Wine is the milk of old men,' and also that saying of Tirellus, 'Wine is the nutriment of natural heat.' Plato comes to his aid when he says: 'Wine is a medicine as well for the body as the mind; the dryness of old people have great occasion for this sort of moistening.'

'Wine kindles wit,' was the motto which Adr. Junius inscribed under his figure of Bacchus. There is also a Latin proverb which may be thus rendered: 'Water-drinkers are not near so knowing as those who drink wine.' Hofman says: 'Experience proves that those climates which produce good wine, produce also people that have infinitely more wit than those of the north, who drink nothing but beer.' Gryllus believes that the Greeks were called fathers of wisdom on account of the excellency of their wine; and that they lost their ancient lustre by reason of the Turks rooting out their vines. It is also further very sagaciously remarked, 'That nobody ever had any good opinion of the productions of a poet that drank water.' Horace knew this by experience, and says:—

'Poor water-drinkers sing an irksome tune,  
Short-lived their numbers, and their airs jejune.'

It is to wine we owe the productions of Æschylus and Anacreon, whose muses were very chilly till Bacchus warmed them. Aurelius, the sophist, composed his best declamations in his cups. Herodes, called Saginatus Orator, the fattened orator, never talked better than after drinking plentifully. And according to Horace this was the case with Ennius:—

'Ennius himself ne'er sung of arms,  
Martial exploits and war's alarms,  
Till the good father's face did shine,  
Enrich'd with ruby beams of wine.'

Alcæus, the famous poet, never sat down to compose tragedy till he was tipsy. The disciples of the great Paracelsus took the opportunity when he was fuddled to make him dictate. The venerable Messire Francis Rabelais composed over the bottle the acts and jests of Garagantua and his son Pantagruel, a work which gained him such great reputation. 'Pontius de Thiard, Bishop of Chalons-sur-Saone, had greater obligations to Bacchus than Apollo for his good verses; who, not reckoning what wine he drank all day long, never slept without drinking a pretty large bottle.'

Eloquence has owed much to wine. Many a splendid passage of passionate oratory has been the result of the intoxicating draught. The sages of Portugal having undertaken to convert those of Melinda, gained as much upon them by wine as by,  
reason

reason, which, in the end, facilitated the conquest of the whole country.\* British spirits too have prevailed where flattery tried in vain to gain commerce and territory from many aboriginal tribes both in west or east. When the priests of Thibet fast, it is told by travellers, that they drink a good quantity of wine that they may have, to use their own words, 'The tongue prompt and ready to say their orisons.'

Wine has acquired friends, and reconciled enemies. Crassus reconciled himself to Cicero at a feast; Asdrubal and Scipio did the same on the like occasions.

The *antiquity* of drunkenness is easily proved. Most people at once think of Noah when this is mentioned; but our author adduces evidence which goes far to establish the probable practice of drinking wine anterior to the Flood. 'Father Frassen maintains,\* he says, 'that people fed on flesh before the Flood and drank wine. There is no likelihood, according to him, that men contented themselves with drinking water for fifteen or sixteen hundred years together. It is much more credible that they prepared a drink more nourishing and palatable. These first men of the world were endowed with no less share of wit than their posterity, and consequently wanted no industry to invent everything that might contribute to make them pass their lives agreeably.'

But did the Primitive Christians ever get drunk? This, answered affirmatively, will go very far with the admirers of the Church in the early centuries. There is too plain testimony to prevent its being denied by any ascetic. St. Cyprian says: 'Drunkenness is so common with us in Africa, that it scarce passes for a crime. And do we not see Christians forcing one another to get drunk, to celebrate the memory of the martyrs?† Even churchmen did not live according to their discourses. 'One cannot, therefore, without indignation, hear churchmen declaim against drunkenness, while they themselves are such ruddy examples of it?' Jerome reproves the priests of his day for being given to much wine. 'They have been no changelings since. We read in the adages of Erasmus that it was a proverb among the Germans, that the lives of the monks consisted in nothing, but eating, drinking, and —. Besides, a vast number of councils, who made most severe canons against priests who should get drunk, evidently show that they used frequently to do so.' There was a wine much beloved by them which was called *vinum theologale*, theological wine. It is believed on this account that so many abbots had their faces illuminated. Several popes have been great drinkers, as Alexander V., Sixtus V., Boniface, and Innocent XII.: the last had three mugs as his arms. Petrarch

\* Rem. sur Rabel., t. i. lib. i. cap. 5.

\* 'Disq. Biblia. Journ. des Scavans.'

† 'Pamel.,' p. 416.

says the Roman court sat long at Avignon to taste the good French wines. Some doubts have been raised regarding St. Augustine's sobriety. Our author makes him say: 'Thy servant has been sometimes crop-sick through excess of wine; have mercy on me, that it may be even far from me;' and again: 'My soul certainly being a spirit cannot dwell in a dry place.' Grave objections have been made to the fact of this renowned father's inebriety, but our satirist adds: 'Perhaps this argument from St. Augustine's words, is as just as one of a merry fellow I knew, who would prove, from St. Paul's going to the Three Taverns, that he loved a hearty bottle.' There are not wanting many dignified and celebrated churchmen in all branches of Catholic Christendom who have largely indulged in drunkenness. The recently published autobiography of the Rev. Dr. Alexander Carlyle, of Inveresk, who was one of the leaders of the Church of Scotland in the end of last century, informs us, that the ablest churchmen, while their general assembly sat, were in the habit of spending their evenings in a tavern. A few ordered eighteen dozen of claret to minister to their tippling club during the eleven days of their assembly. Those in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh had a convivial society called 'The Poker Club,' at which they assembled as often as possible, and in the course of literary and ecclesiastical conversation the claret flowed freely. When writing the narrative of these meetings thirty years after their occurrence, Dr. Carlyle had not forgotten the peculiar flavour of the wine. The remembrance of good claret at any feast seemed to refresh his spirit and renew his youth. Nothing in all his ministerial career is recalled with such interest and joy. Stronger liquor than claret had many lovers in the Church of Scotland. The bottle has had eminent patrons among Presbyterians, though, as Lord Melbourne once remarked, 'The Church of Scotland was built upon the rock of poverty.' It is not wonderful, as it is perhaps not unusual, for an Anglican prelate, as the late Archbishop of York, to leave 2,000*l.* worth of wine in his cellar. It is quite accordant with the genius of the sacred order of which Cardinal Wiseman is so eminent a member to possess a stock of wine. Churchmen of all sects have been slowest to join the temperance ranks. 'A teetotal dean,' as has been facetiously remarked by a celebrated living representative, 'may be exhibited all over the country as a kind of show.'

But to return to the work before us. We next find an introduction to some illustrious toppers.

'I should never have done,' he says, 'if I endeavoured to give a list of all the kings that got drunk. Alexander the Great first offers himself to my imagination. It will be sufficient to mention his name without saying any more. *Nomen non amplius addam.* Cæsar, to make use of Balzac's words, was not always the sober destroyer of the commonwealth, and he did not at all times hate the pleasure of drinking.'

drinking. Cambyses was also very much given to wine, as may be judged by what I am going to say. This prince, having been told by one of his courtiers that the people took notice he got drunk too often, taking some time after his bow and arrow, shot the son of that courtier through the heart, saying no more than this to the father, "Is this the act of a drunkard?" Darius, the first king of Persia, had these words put upon his tomb: "I could drink much wine and bear it well." King Antigonus may come in here. Ælian reports of this prince, that one day when he was much in drink, meeting Zeno, the philosopher, whom he had a great kindness for, he kissed him, and promised to give him whatever he would desire. Zeno only answered very mildly, "Go and ease your stomach by vomiting, that's all I ask of you at present." Philip, King of Macedon, got drunk sometimes; witness what a woman, whom he had not done justice to, said to him, viz., "I appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober." . . . Tiberius was called Biberius, because of his excessive attachment to drinking; and in derision they changed his surname of Nero into Mero . . . Maximin, the father, drank very often a pot containing two gallons. One might very well, therefore, have given him this epitaph, "*Hic jacet amphora vini.*"

Philosophers make the list of drunkards illustrious. The seven sages of Greece 'drank largely in the entertainment Periander the tyrant, or King of Corinth, gave them . . . Zeno, whose philosophy was so severe, got, notwithstanding, drunk sometimes. Being one day at an entertainment, he was asked how he came to be so joyful. He answered, "That he was like lupins, which were bitter naturally, but grew sweet after they were moistened." Xenocrates, one of the most illustrious philosophers of ancient Greece, and of a virtue very severe, got drunk sometimes. . . . Athenæus gained the crown of gold which the tyrant of Syracuse promised him that should empty a certain measure of wine.' Many more names are added.

We have already referred to poets; but our author devotes a special chapter to them. Anacreon is a great eulogist of Bacchus. 'Pausanius tells us that he saw at Athens the statue of Anacreon which represented him drunk and singing.' We need not quote any more from Horace or Ovid. The following may suffice: 'The poet Philoxenus wished he had a neck as long as a crane, that he might the longer have the pleasure of swallowing wine, and enjoy its delicious taste.' Almost all poets of all ages, he avers, got drunk, which puts them under the protection of Bacchus. Burns and Moore, poets of recent time, evidence this in their bacchanalian verses.

Freemasons are classed with the learned by the author of this famous treatise. He argues that if what is said of them by brother Eugenius Philalethes be true, they 'very well deserve a place among the learned.' He assures his readers that 'they are very great friends to the vintners.' Other learned men have also 'loved to indulge their genius with the delicious juice of the grape.' Their number is great enough to swell a volume. Erasmus himself 'chose rather to continue where the plague was than drink water.' Thus the great scholar, when resident at Cambridge, was addressed by Ammonius, an Italian: 'Immediately

diately after my arrival in England, I endeavoured to inform myself where you were; because in your last you told me the plague had forced you to quit Cambridge. At length, I was told for certain, that you had indeed left the town, but retiring into a place where there was no wine, which to you being worse than the plague, you returned thither where you now are. O intrepid soldier of Bacchus, whom so eminent a danger could not compel to desert his general!\* Nicolas de Bourbon, king's professor, and canon of Langres in the days of Francis I., 'was a prodigious dry soul, and loved good wine, which made him often say, That though he was of the French academy, yet that when he read French verses, he fancied he was drinking water.'

In the learned chapters which treat of nations that used to get drunk, we are informed that this practice was very common among divers people, both in the ancient and modern ages. In proof of his statements he quotes very largely from many authors. Tacitus recorded the drunkenness of the Germans. The Greeks celebrated the feasts of Bacchus with much solemnity. In Rome there were sometimes seditions for the want of wine. Some of the Africans would give all they had in the world for a glass of brandy. 'The Muscovites love wine with a kind of fury, and it has been known, that when a man who has drunk to excess, and can swallow no more, they wash him soundly with it.' Sir John Chardin, in his voyages, says that 'the Georgians are great drunkards, and that the clergy get drunk as well as the laity.' The Flemings were thus sung of by Scaliger when in Holland—

'Amidst the waters here we live,  
Yet who can any credit give  
To what I say; for, Douza, here  
No water-drinkers e'er appear.'

This is the remark of the author at the close of the chapter: 'One need not go out of England for examples of hard drinking; our country, God bless it, does not come behind any other in this particular.' Had he lived to our own day, he would have found the illustrations continuing.

Five chapters of the work are devoted to answer objections against drunkenness. These objections are put in the most aggravated form, such as that drunkenness causes infinite evils. But to this it is answered, 'that it has been only the cause of these evils when people have pushed it too far, and not observed the rules they ought to keep in drinking.' In answer to the objection that the joy inspired by wine is but of a very short continuance, he says: 'This may be a kindness to us, since some are so superlatively so, that should they continue a much longer space, mankind could not support themselves under these ecstasies.' It is objected that we

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\* Bayle, Dict. art. Ammon.

lose our reason in getting drunk, but he observes that almost all mankind act without reason, and follow the instincts of nature rather than the distinct ideas of reason. Reason very often serves for nothing but to make us wretched. 'If there be any happiness,' says Fontenelle, 'that reason produces, it is like that sort of health which is maintained by the force of physic, which is ever most feeble and uncertain.'\* Sophocles, too, remarked: 'It is very sweet to live, but none of your wisdom; away with her, she spoils life.' Scaliger says 'that a German has as much reason when he is drunk as when he has drunk nothing.' The Jews have a proverb, 'That as the wine goes in the secret comes out;' and therefore you cannot trust a man that gets drunk. But in reply to this he brings forward the testimony of history that water-drinkers frequently tell their greatest secrets, and wine-drinkers such as freemasons retain theirs.

There have been very rigorous laws against drunkenness in many different countries. It seems to have given legislators their greatest trouble. The English parliament have for eight centuries been enacting measures against it, and have piled statute upon statute, Ossa upon Pelion, to prevent the dissipation of the lieges; but the effect has been hitherto comparatively small. 'The maxim *Nullum violentum durabile* has been verified a great many times upon this subject of drunkenness, for all the laws made against it have not long subsisted. Pentheus, King of Thebes, endeavoured to extirpate entirely the custom of getting drunk, but he did not find his account in it, for he was very ill-treated by his subjects for his pains. Lycurgus, King of Thrace, commanded all the vines of the country to be cut up; for which he was justly punished by Bacchus.' 'Amongst the laws of Solon, there was one which condemned to death the chief magistrate if he got drunk.' The caliphs have strictly prohibited the use of wine. Our author, had he lived to the present day, would have been shocked to hear of Maine liquor laws, which have been enacted in various States of America, yet the changeable fortunes of some of them would almost confirm his opinion formed from the history of the ancients. It is evident that unless there are strict laws, firmly executed, there will be abounding intemperance. If men desire drink, there will be those who will provide them with it, unless the deed be felony in law. When slavery was abolished, law was made to protect the negro, and give him right to prosecute his oppressor. Unless there be similar legislation against the sale of drink, drunkenness will be as extensive as ever.

In the conclusion of his work, the satirist lays down rules for getting drunk. Seneca gives this advice: 'You must not do it often, for fear it grow into a habit; it is but only sometimes you

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\* Dial. de M. Stuart et P. Riccio.

should make your spirits gay in banishing gloomy sobriety.' Good company is the second rule. Good wine is the third. The best known to the learned Oinophilus was 'that of Monte Fiascone, ten days' journey from Rome. Here it was a German abbot killed himself by drinking too much of this delicious creature. . . . Travelling to Rome, (he) ordered his servant to ride before him, and when he found the best wine, to chalk upon the door of the inn (in order to save time) the word EST. Coming to Monte Fiascone, he found it so excellent that he put down EST, EST, EST, which the abbot finding true, drank so plentifully of it, that he went no farther on his journey, but lies buried, they say, in the cathedral church, with this epitaph written by his servant the purveyor:—

"Est, Est, Est,  
Et propter nimium est,  
Hærus meus Dominum Abbas mortuus est."

The wine called *Lachrymæ Christi*, or the tears of Christ, is a most delicious wine. At least, a master of arts of the university of Cologne thought so, who going also to Rome, drank at the same place pretty heartily of it, and out of the abundance of his heart cried out:—

'Utinam Christum lachrymatus fuisset in nostra patria.'

'But I shall desire my readers here to observe two things; first, that artificial wines, and many other liquors, containing a great deal of gross viscous matter, excite a drunkenness more long and dangerous than that which is produced by ordinary wines. Another thing is, never to get drunk with brandy, spirits, and strong waters. Patin says very pleasantly, that these are sugared poisons which surely kill; they give life to those who sell them, and death to those who use them.'

This last counsel must have been drawn forth in grave compassion for his fellow-countrymen, whose danger lies in the use of brandied wines, ardent spirits, and strong waters of beer and porter. Sixty thousand deaths every year are caused by drink of these sorts.

The author gives as his fourth rule, to get drunk at convenient times. The custom in Georgia he deems very suitable. There, 'he who did not get quite drunk at their principal holidays, as at Easter and Christmas, was not looked upon to be a Christian, and ought to be excommunicated.' This made orthodoxy and drunkenness synonymous. His fifth rule is to force no one to drink; and his sixth, not to push drunkenness too far; very important considerations doubtless. He finishes his work with an ode to Bacchus.

In a postscript, a learned winebibber supplies him with the song of 'The Tippling Philosophers,' along with a translation, which forms an appropriate conclusion to the work in praise of drunkenness. We give this bacchanalian rhyme:—

'Diogenes,

- 'Diogenes, surly and proud,  
Who snarl'd at the Macedon youth,  
Delighted in wine that was good,  
Because in good wine there is truth ;  
But growing as poor as a Job,  
Unable to purchase a flask,  
He chose for his mansion a tub,  
And liv'd by the scent of the cask.
- 'Heraclitus ne'er would deny  
To tippie and cherish his heart,  
And when he was maudlin he'd cry,  
Because he had emptied his quart ;  
Though some are so foolish to think  
He wept at men's folly and vice,  
'Twas only his fashion to drink  
Till the liquor flow'd out of his eyes.
- 'Democritus always was glad  
Of a bumper to cheer up his soul,  
And would laugh like a man that was mad  
When over a good flowing bowl.  
As long as his cellar was stored  
The liquor he'd merrily quaff,  
And when he was drunk as a lord,  
At those that were sober he'd laugh.
- 'Copernicus, too, like the rest,  
Believed there was wisdom in wine,  
And thought that a cup of the best  
Made reason the better to shine.  
With wine he'd replenish his veins,  
And make his philosophy reel,  
Then fancied the world, like his brain,  
Turn'd round like a chariot wheel.
- 'Aristotle, that master of arts,  
Had been but a duncie without wine,  
And what we ascribe to his parts,  
Is due to the juice of the vine.  
His belly, most writers agree,  
Was as big as a watering trough ;  
He therefore leap'd into the sea,  
Because he'd have liquor enough.
- 'Old Plato, that learned divine,  
He fondly to wisdom was prone ;  
But had it not been for good wine,  
His merits had never been known.  
By wine we are generous made,  
It furnishes fancy with wings ;  
Without it, we ne'er should have had  
Philosophers, poets, or kings.'

By this time our readers will have perceived the intention of the satirist, and will learn the excellence of sobriety from the 'Praise of Drunkenness.' There is much need for the lesson. All ranks, all classes, all kinds of genius and virtue, have been debased by drunkenness. Temperance is not enough with most. The ranks of the intemperate are constantly being recruited from the moderate drinkers. Abstinence is the surest means of safety for all. Many are seduced to dissipation by the houses of entertainment licensed  
by

by the State to supply intoxicating liquors to the lieges, as if drunkenness were all that the satirist insinuates. The only safeguard of states is prohibition of the common sale of alcoholic drinks. For this the people are being prepared. Many towns have testified by a voluntary canvass, undertaken to ascertain public opinion, that they would prefer the shutting-up of public-houses. This is the best guarantee for the maintenance of a law whose influence could scarcely fail to advance morality and religion, health and social prosperity.

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ART. III.—1. *Farm Servants and Agricultural Labourers. Their Moral and Religious Condition.* By the Rev. Egerton D. Hammond. London: Longmans and Co.

2. *Essays by Agricultural Labourers on the Condition and Improvement of their Class.* Aberdeen: Brown and Co. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Co.

3. *Minutes of the Committee of the Council of Education.*

4. *Transactions of the Association for the Promotion of Social Science.* London: J. W. Parker and Co.

NEGLECT is not the only danger which social questions have to encounter. There is another evil almost as perilous. Popularity may hinder improvement as much as obscurity; and the notoriety of a disease is no guarantee for the efficiency of the remedy. It is not always true that in the multitude of counsellors there is wisdom; it is certainly not true when the counsellors are eager to offer, slow to accept advice. When opposing schemes of reform are numerous, it generally happens that improvement is tardy. When there is in these schemes a theological as well as a social element, only the high hand of authority can balance between the contending parties; only a recognized power can carry out any of the theories so zealously advocated. Of all subjects in which the commonwealth is concerned, none has so completely passed from the darkness of oblivion into the broad daylight of universal discussion as education. As if to take revenge for past centuries of neglect, this great question has now made itself so prominent, that schemes of instruction have become as numerous as religious sects. This much, however, seems to have been established without contradiction, that education is the right of every individual; that the education of the individual is a benefit to the whole community. The dangerous classes (except in those rare instances in which men of great intellectual attainments have become the heroes of *causes célèbres*), are the ignorant classes. The ignorant it was who have at various times, and even within the last few months, destroyed the newly-invented machinery which

was expected to supersede human labour. The ignorant, too, were those who, fifteen years ago, set wheat-ricks on fire, and burnt the produce of the ground that was already too scantily supplied. The ignorant are those who at this time oppose all social or mechanical improvements. The ignorant have ever been foolishly conservative, and unwisely encroaching; suspicious of reform, eager for revolution, obstinate in preserving abuses, reckless in overturning valuable institutions. Ignorance is too great a social danger for the instructed to suffer its existence. Hence of late years the instinct of self-preservation has urgently suggested means for promoting education. But these means are not due to selfish motives alone. Benevolence has had as much part as prudence in the great reform of the century. The philanthropist is the truly provident man, just as the honest man is the truly politic. In neither case is self-interest the principle of action. In both cases those who act rightly receive as much benefit as those for whom they act. The work of education hitherto has not been carried on without mistakes. The teacher has been too apt to consider that instruction is education; that to fill up a child's mind with useless knowledge, to grind his pupils in the geography of Siberia, the distances of the stars, and the history of the Ptolemies, is education. In reality, education is drawing forth a child's powers, and not cramming his memory. The teacher is the gardener who trains plants, not the potter who makes clay. He has to deal not with mechanical but organic creations. There is also another mistake which he has to avoid. Being *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the instructor, he is apt to suppose not only that there is but one mode of instruction, but that he is the sole educator. In reality home influence is far more powerful than his own. The influence of the parents' home is too obvious to need illustration; that of the master's home, where the young labourer resides on the farm, requires more consideration.

In many parts of the country, and especially in the northern and eastern counties, the farmer boards and lodges his labourers. But while the board is of the coarsest description, the lodging is altogether unfit for human bodies to rest in.

A very intelligent labourer, the successful competitor for a prize offered to the writer of the best essay on the agricultural labourer, describes the two systems which prevail in Scotland. If the 'Bothy' system is adopted, the labourers are lodged and fed in a building distinct from the farm-house.

'Generally connected with the farm steading, having in most cases but one apartment, not unfrequently what had at one time been, perhaps, a cart-shed or a "byre," or if unconnected with the farm steading, "a forlorn hut," and standing by itself, at all events too often the worst house on the premises. The furniture most often consists chiefly of a long chest, commonly termed a "bunk," divided into several compartments, each man having one to keep his meal in. In some districts,

districts, however, servants have to provide meal-chests for themselves; a few rough forms, and perhaps a broken chair or two, a pot or boiler in which the "brose water" is boiled, a tin pail, a wooden dish, and a spoon for each individual. If none of the servants sleep in the "bothy," this constitutes all the moveables to be found in it. If used as a sleeping apartment, there are a few beds (commonly of the most rustic construction) and bedding, and also the servants' trunks. The ashes may not be removed for weeks, if the fireplace be large enough to contain them, nor the floor be swept for a whole half year, and probably longer, if the task be left to the inmates themselves to perform, nor the cups and spoons washed, perhaps, for the same length of time; and not unfrequently is a portion of the water with which the men have washed themselves thrown on the floor. Thus, although the place at best is but an uncomfortable den, it is made worse by the careless habits of its inmates, if no female hand be allowed to keep the domicile in order. On a first view of such a state of things, one is ready to lay the blame on the servants themselves, nor is it said that they are not in some measure blameworthy. On further consideration, and thinking of them having to toil hard all day in the fields, we need not wonder that domestic housekeeping is neglected. No, it is not natural for them to do up culinary affairs, for who that have got their frames exhausted by hard toil outside, can be expected to do much inside? Reason tells them that it is not their sphere; and when they find themselves thus neglected by their superiors, they are not only ready to believe that they consider them as being a degraded race, altogether unworthy of human notice, but that they themselves are certainly so, in every sense of the word, and many being intellectually ignorant, settle themselves down to indulge in a life of religious, of moral, and of social negligence; so that, after a while, although at first entering such a place, some might naturally guard their conduct. The most profane swearing and immoral habits are practised, and instead of being ashamed of such, many are found to glory in it. The farm kitchen is considered by many to be a far better system than the "bothy," in contributing to the moral and social happiness of the farm labourers. It is true that in it the servants' victuals are better cooked than they are done by themselves in the "bothy," for in it these are commonly bolted in a half raw state. In connection with the kitchen, however, there is the sleeping apartment (commonly called the "cham'er," or the "galie,") generally a miserable, uncomfortable, and unhealthy den, being nothing else than the whole stable-loft. Sometimes the sleeping apartment is on the ground floor of the stable, alongside of the horses; and if not too close to admit a free circulation of air, is more comfortable, and even more healthy than when in the loft. Again, the end of a mere lumber-house has been found to form the sleeping apartment of farm labourers, wherein dressing and undressing were acts of penance in stormy weather; for we have actually ourselves had to sleep in places where in cold, stormy mornings, the snow was lying alongside, and even over the bed-clothes, and our own clothes frozen stiff.\*

We will hope that cases of this sort are rare; but even when the state of the agricultural labourer is not actually so bad, there is much that requires amendment. However well cared for, there is still this objection to the boarding of farm servants by their employers. They are deprived of those two great privileges, the loss of which we should sorely miss, privacy and quiet. This hardship is peculiarly felt by married labourers who are steady, and, as is sometimes the case, really desirous of self-improvement.

It is painful to listen to the complaints of those who, like the author of the essay from which we have just quoted, sadly lament the almost impossibility of acquiring information.

The boarding system is not desirable for married labourers; and

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\* 'Essay by Agricultural Labourers.' No. 1, by Alexander Fraser. Aberdeen. Brown and Co. 1859.

that

that the cupidity of parents is the main source of the incomplete education of children among the lower classes. But the indifference of parents seems a far more powerful cause. Indeed, this is actually stated to be so by Archdeacon Allen,\* formerly Her Majesty's Inspector of Schools, and by several other gentlemen who now hold that office.

Nevertheless we still have to consider the condition of 80,000 boys engaged in out-of-door agricultural operations, and of 30,000 who live in farm-houses. In the case of children who are unemployed and yet do not attend at school, one remedy consists of making the school more attractive.

But where children are employed who have been to school, yet only for a short time, it is necessary that they should be protected by the law, as well as induced by personal motives.

In the former instance industrial teaching is clearly pointed out, in the latter the half-time system, or some modification thereof, is no less plainly a desideratum.

In considering the latter mentioned of these reforms first, we observe that the class for whom it is proposed to legislate is not numerically insignificant. The legislature has already interfered in behalf of the 18,000 children in print-works, and of the 24,000 boys employed in collieries.

Therefore since the state has stepped in between the employer and employed, and where only comparatively a few persons were concerned, there is no reason why it should not further interpose, especially when the class for whom legislative aid is sought contains a greater number of individuals who would be benefited thereby.

In Germanic kingdoms it is the manufacturers who are favoured by the non-interference of the Government, if favour it can be called. On the other hand, the agriculturist of Germany is restricted in this respect as much as the manufacturer of England: he is limited as to the number of hours each day during which he may employ his young labourers, and the age at which he may first engage them.

There is then no reason, *primâ facie*, why agriculture should not come under the cognizance of the law as much as factories, print-works, or collieries.

On inquiring further, we shall find that whatever difficulty does exist in the adoption of such an expedient, is one of detail only, and is a fair matter for discussion.

Yet although there is no logical hindrance in the general promotion of the half-time scheme, we imagine that any attempt to

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\* 'The great hindrance to education is not the want of schools and of teachers but the indifference of parents.'—*Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science*, 1858, p. 276.

carry it out in our rural districts, would be met by violent opposition. In the first place, we should have to encounter the old, threadbare, hypocritical objection, that the liberty of the subject and the laws of free trade would be infringed. We have heard all this spurious liberalism on a former occasion when the popular champions of a popular movement preferred a superficially, but not really a logical consistency to truth and justice. The Ten Hours Bill was, no doubt, an interference with the laws of free trade, but human souls are of more importance than the regulations of commerce; and thus to the glory of the people of England be it told how they refused to follow their would-be leaders, hearkened to 'the cry of the children,' which one of England's truest poets\* had rendered so painfully eloquent.

It is now decreed that children shall not be employed under a certain age, and that they shall receive school instruction during a portion of the day: this legislative interference with trade was parallel to the prohibition of the truck system. Agriculture is still without the benefit of these wise measures. It will be a matter of national disgrace if an effectual hindrance is made to the development of these protective principles.

The spurious liberalism of which we have spoken, will no doubt reappear and reveal itself as selfish conservatism in disguise. It has already defeated many a useful act, has secured to the inhabitants of lodging-houses a continuance of immorality and wretchedness, has done its best to perpetuate ignorance by the obstacles which it has thrown in the way of educational extension. But inasmuch as the State has already interfered in behalf of morals, health, and knowledge, with our opponents rests the burden of proof that it should not interfere in future, or in any particular instance.

All high-sounding theories of political economy should be treated with suspicion when practice and not theory is required. Pedantry becomes sin when it would sacrifice the good of a class to logical consistency; when it would, for instance, refuse to interfere in behalf of those 5,463 infants, who, according to the Census of 1851, were sent into the fields to scare birds from daylight to sunset, and who, according to one of her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools,† creep home at evenings so utterly exhausted that they not unfrequently lay themselves down to die.

\* The argument for compulsory education may be used on the ground of self-defence, and of the greater public good. It might be safely enunciated as a principle lying at the very foundation of society, that no one section of a community shall have the right or permission to prove a burden and a danger to other sections; that no one section be allowed to compel continuously other sections to establish and maintain agencies to repair its neglect of duty and its violation of law. Compulsory education is necessary to guard the rights of

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\* Mrs. Browning.

† The Rev. D. J. Stewart.

children amid the crushing competition of the labour-market, to regulate the pressure of one section of the community on the other; to diffuse throughout the nation greater enlightenment, juster views of individual responsibilities, and a healthier social life. Without it, national systems will fail, like denominational appliances, to overcome the *vis inertiae* of the uneducated masses.\*

The actual condition of the education of our agricultural poor will be seen by comparative statistics. The following speak eloquently and need no comment:—

PROPORTION of SCHOLARS in Elementary Schools to the whole Population, in the different Countries of Europe.

Country.	Date.	Scholars.	Inhabitants.
Berne, Canton of Switzerland . . .	1843	1 in every	4·3
Geneva ” ” . . .	1844	1 ”	5·6
Wirttemberg ” . . .	1838	1 ”	6·6
Prussia . . . . .	1838	1 ”	6·6
Tyrol . . . . .	1843	1 ”	7·5
Norway . . . . .	1837	1 ”	7·7
Bohemia . . . . .	1843	1 ”	8·5
Austria . . . . .	1840	1 ”	8·9
France . . . . .	1843	1 ”	10·5
England . . . . .	1850	1 ”	14·†

So that in England there are not one-third of the number of scholars which we find in the Swiss Canton of Berne.

But this is not the extent of our deficiencies. We learn from the Census that out of the 2,046,848 children then at school, the average number of those who remain at school over ten years of age was as follows: 49 out of every 100 remain till eleven years of age, and 28 per cent. only remain till they were thirteen. The Rev. J. P. Norris, her Majesty's Inspector of Schools in Staffordshire, states that the general practice is to enter the school at seven years old, attend about three or four days a week, for little more than a year, and then leave.

This applies more particularly to manufacturing districts. In the agricultural counties children both enter and leave school at an earlier age.

There are many other facts to bear out the assertion that in England, so prone to boast of superior enlightenment, education is thought less of than in countries which are presumed to be enveloped in gross darkness. Of no countries where Romanism is the established religion, excepting Spain and Italy, can it be said that 40 out of every 100 of the people cannot write their own names. Of no countries beyond the Straits can it be said that among the agricultural poor from 55 to 73 per cent. are thus ignorant.

In Prussia the Government renders it incumbent on the owners of landed property that all the children on their estates shall be

\* The Rev. W. Fraser, 'Trans. Social Science, 1858,' p. 251.

† Kay's 'Social Condition of the People,' vol. ii. p. 539.

educated, and that they themselves shall pay the school fees for the poor labourers who cannot afford to defray the expense. They are also obliged to furnish the materials required for the erection or repairs of all necessary school buildings; the needful fuel, and when the school is not endowed, the teachers' salaries.\*

We do not expect, nor do we ask for any such enactment in this country. The remedy proposed is national and not private. Two provisions, which have the merit of being developments of principles already acknowledged, would secure all that is needed.

1st. The prohibition of juvenile labour under ten years of age.

2nd. A modified extension of the Print Works Act to the rural districts.

It is certain that up to ten years of age a child ought to be receiving instruction rather than earning a livelihood. It is not right to lay the heavy burden of cares, which he will have to bear all through the remainder of life, earlier than this upon shoulders too young to support it. Perhaps there may be differences of opinion as to the exact period which should be provided by the law, even among those who are agreed as to principles. But this is scarcely a matter for discussion. Feeling will have more to do with establishing a precedent in the first place. Experience will afterwards confirm or alter it.

The second provision that we have named requires further remark. The Print Works Act is clearly more suitable to agriculture than the Factory half-time Act. In the latter case, daily attendance at school is compulsory; in the former, the aggregate hours of yearly attendance may be distributed unequally through the twelve months. This is only what is absolutely necessary in work which, like farming, must be measured by seasons rather than by days. There are many agricultural operations which require *continuous* attendance, and could not be carried on at all if interrupted by a law which should, like the Factory Act, limit the hours of daily work. In both seed-time and harvest it would be unjust to the farmer to deprive him of labourers for a portion of the day, when each hour is of such importance. Now in urging so important a social reform we cannot be charged with being unpractical and speculative. This is no untried measure. It has been adopted voluntarily in several cases with complete success. Lord Lyttelton has put it in practice at Hagley in Worcestershire, Mr. Paget, M.P. for Norwich, states that in his own experience the system has answered. Lord Hatherton has given it a fair trial, and Mr. Norris, whose evidence on other points we have previously quoted, details the result of this trial in his report for 1857. As this affords a fair sample of the difficulties that have to

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\* Kay, op. cit. vol. ii. p. 89.

be encountered, we borrow from Mr. Norris a few illustrating facts. The main objection to the general adoption of the half-time system consists that it is rare to find in convenient proximity the children's homes, the school-house, and the farm on which they work. Lord Hatherton deemed this obstacle insurmountable in most instances. In his own case he overcame it by establishing a school in his own farmyard which Mr. Norris subsequently visited, and of which he speaks in the highest terms. The farmers, if not absolutely hostile to any such measure, are generally indifferent to it, and will not incur any little extra trouble which the working of it will occasion. They prefer keeping the same boys continuously on the farm, and have no liking for relays. They believe that if a boy comes for only half a day at a time, or on alternate days, he will never 'get his hand in.' When the school and the farm are far apart, there are much time and strength wasted in mere locomotion. Even the fact that different clothes would be required at school from those worn in the field, is no light obstacle. But probably all these objections 'would be met by a substitution of weeks for days and half days.' This, as we have already mentioned, would be provided for in a modification of the *Print Works Act*. Without some compulsory enactment of this sort we do not believe that the half-time system will be anything but a rare exception. In parishes favourably situated, where the land is in the hands of one or two proprietors who happen to be interested in this great question of education, a voluntary half-time system may succeed.

But when such landlords are indifferent to the subject, or when the land, as in Devonshire, Cornwall, Kent, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, is much divided, and belongs to many small proprietors, there is neither the power nor the will to adopt so extensive a reform. Certainly it is to be wished that not only landowners, but land occupiers could be induced to give to this subject the attention which it deserves. If we could but persuade the 771 renters of farms of more than 1000 acres, or each of the 171 farmers who unitedly employ 17,000 labourers, to give their adhesion to the principle, we might well rejoice. But such a consummation, most devoutly to be wished, is not to be expected.

This is a field which the State must occupy, for none but the State can properly cultivate it. The strong arm of the law must interfere in behalf of those who have not hitherto been so fortunate as to find zealous and unwearied champions, such as boldly fought the battle in behalf of children in the factory and in the mine.

We have alluded to the sectarian differences between the friends of education. Here, then, is a point of union. There can be no doubt of the advantages to be derived from such a scheme as we propose. Probably there is no less reason to think that the opposition

sition will be very fierce from those who deem that their interests are bound up with the continuance of the old order. There is, then, opportunity for vigour as well as for union. The first step has been already taken. The half-time system was prominently brought before the notice of the special commissioners who have lately published their inquiries into the educational condition of the various districts, agricultural, commercial, manufacturing, and maritime. We have been assured that in the north of England the conviction is everywhere gaining ground, that agricultural labourers should be as much protected as the workmen employed in manufactures. Nevertheless, it must be honestly admitted that the half-time system is no panacea for ignorance. Unsupported by other provisions this one will probably fail.

It has been found in factory districts that mill-owners objecting to the trouble caused by employing half-timers, will engage children over thirteen, who possibly have received no education at all. And thus it sometimes happens that while children from eight to thirteen are so protected by the law that they escape work altogether, they thus lose the benefit of factory education. Now, bearing in mind the figures already quoted, it is by no means improbable that farmers, having even a greater dislike than manufacturers to half-timers, will employ only those children who have passed the age during which the law protects them; and that a larger number of children than hitherto will be 'neither at work nor at school.'

An *industrial* education would be appreciated by the class which cannot rightly estimate the value of ordinary school teaching. The parents of children should be induced to belong to the School Committee; they would then gain an interest in a matter of which they have experimental knowledge. A more direct means towards the desired end would be a stringent provision, forbidding the employment of children in any kind of labour who had not received a certificate of school attendance during a certain period. A less direct but more popular measure would be in the introduction of the competitive element into our rural schools. It is possible that the enthusiasm in favour of competition has been too strong, and that many faults of detail have been committed in developing the system. But the competitive principle is undoubtedly good in itself, and if adopted with wisdom may be as well applied to the labouring class as to any other. Here, again, we are advocating no crude theory, but a successful experiment. The following particulars, taken from the Minutes of the Council of Education for 1854-5, will best introduce a topic that may be new to some of our readers.

In these Minutes Mr. Norris has given a Special Report concerning the Prize Schemes in the counties of Chester, Salop, and Stafford.

Stafford. In adopting the competitive system he lays down six rules which he deems essential to its success:—

1st. ‘You should not reward children for doing what you would punish them for leaving undone.’ Where non-performance is disgraceful, performance cannot be meritorious.

2nd. ‘Prizes should not be attainable without positive effort.’ It is in effort that the moral value of prize-schemes consists.

3rdly. ‘Prizes should not be given for good behaviour,’ on the same principle as forbids their use in considering the moral conduct.

4thly. ‘Children of bad character should be excluded from competition.’ This is perfectly consistent with the last rule. No disgrace can be so great as disqualification from the trial for prizes.

5thly. ‘Where the result of an examination is to be a classification of the candidates, the examination should be confined to some one subject, or at most to some one class of kindred subjects.’ Where many subjects are included the value attached to each must be arbitrary and therefore unsatisfactory. Moreover, ‘if several departments of school work form the subjects for examination, the absence of any one becomes a marked thing, and gives rise to an inference that the examiners do not attach to it much importance.’

6thly. ‘The prize should be of a kind to make a lasting impression upon the child.’ A purely honorary prize is preferable. But where money is given, the sum should be large.

Supposing that the examination is conducted by one of her Majesty’s inspectors, a certificate of good conduct, signed by the master or mistress, and, if thought desirable, by the clergyman of the parish also, should be handed to the examiner, by or on behalf of each child wishing to compete. The possession of such certificates should be deemed a pre-requisite to admission for examination.

The results of the prize scheme have been almost entirely satisfactory. It is now no longer confined to the Potteries, but is extended to many districts, and amongst others to South Wales. The teachers are no less eager than the pupils to confess their obligations to the competitive system; just as masters of a higher grade are ready to acknowledge the benefits which they have derived from the Oxford and Cambridge examinations of non-members of the university.

The points most worthy of notice in these particulars are—1st. That the principal examiner should always be her Majesty’s Inspector of Schools for the district in which the examination is holden. This will of course largely increase his duties, and he will find assistance necessary.\* But the advantage is so great in giving

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\* Mr. Kay asserts that at least 150 inspectors are required.

an authoritative sanction to these examinations, as to overbalance the cost of the additional machinery that will be required. 2nd. That the candidates for examination shall be classed according to their merit in two divisions. The first division will represent the honours list of our universities, the second class the 'poll,' or ordinary degree men. To the former direct prizes will be given in the shape of a money premium, which donation will be mentioned in the certificate of merit. To the latter only a certificate will be given. It is necessary to call special attention to the distinction between a prize for proficiency and a payment for school attendance. The difference between a reward and a bribe is indeed wide. In the one case we honour, in the other we degrade education. The latter expedient has been adopted several times with, as may be expected, the most lamentable consequences. Where a direct premium for the attendance of their children has been given, it has been found impossible to convince the parents that the giver of these payments—usually the clergyman of the parish—had not some direct interest in filling the school-room. The result has been the permanent establishment of the glaring anomaly of *paid* instead of *paying* scholars, to the lasting injury of education. 3rd. Prizes and certificates will be an evidence of merit which the employers of juvenile labourers will speedily appreciate, more especially if it could be arranged that these certificates should represent the amount of skill which has been exhibited in the industrial portion of education. The demand for certificated pupils would naturally give a powerful stimulus to education, and be in itself no mean reward to the teachers. 4th. According to the present system the demand for labour tends to empty the schools, as is clearly shown by the evidence which we have already adduced (*ante*, pp. 122, 123). But by introducing the system of examinations and certificates, and by the preference for certificated children over uncertificated that would invariably be shown, the value of education would be immensely raised in the eyes of those whom it is most necessary to conciliate—the parents.

We would conclude this portion of our subject with one remark. In proportion as education is extended will the grinding competition, from which more than any other class our agricultural poor suffer, be lessened. More children at school implies fewer applicants for hard work and scanty wages. At the same time the farmer will not be injured. If he has to pay a higher price he will get a better article. The educated labourer will be fully worth the additional wages which he demands above the uneducated.

Passing to the second of the points mentioned above, viz., the non-efficiency of school-teachers, we would remark that certificated scholars imply certificated teachers. But certificated teachers require a larger salary than can be afforded by the inhabitants of  
many,

many, and indeed most of our villages. The Minute of April, 1853, by which the Committee of Council granted to all schools in agricultural districts and unincorporated towns, not containing more than 5,000 inhabitants, aid towards bearing the annual expenses in proportion to the number of scholars attending 176 days in the year, has been of no advantage to our villages and hamlets, nor, indeed, have subsequent Minutes.

The Rev. Frederick Temple asserts that only 58 per cent. of the schools in Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, and Somerset were reported to be satisfactory.\* But there is a far greater grievance than that to which the master of Rugby referred. The Rev. Nash Stephenson has fully stated this grievance in his valuable paper read at the Liverpool Congress of Social Science. The leading points of this paper have been since summed up in a memorial addressed to the Council of Education by the general committee of 'the Church Extension Society and Educational Board for the Archdeaconry of Coventry.' Mr. Stephenson writes:—

'Another defect in the Government scheme, and one of paramount importance, is the practical exclusion of county schools from all participation in the privileges and grants attached to inspection. . . . The Minutes as they stand hand over the rural parishes to a perpetuity of ignorance, inasmuch as they lay down conditions that are and ever will be by them impossible to be fulfilled. This is a strong and startling statement to make, but nevertheless it is one capable of indubitable proof. There are no tables ready to hand to prove the facts, but I have compiled some that must dispel all doubt as to the fact of rural parishes not being under inspection.'

We further learn 'from a Memorial to the Committee of Council on Education from the Bath and Wells Board, that of 522 schools in that diocese, 441 are without certificated teachers.'† Mr. Mitchell, her Majesty's Inspector, indorses the following statement of the Secretary to the Essex Board of Education: 'Mr. Mitchell's Report shows that there is scarcely a tolerable school in any rural parish visited by him. There are not half a dozen certificated teachers in any of the parishes under 800.'§

Now it is possible that the figures in the sixth column of Table I. (p. 129) are too low. The Rev. Douglas Tinling informs us that the number of parishes in Devonshire, for instance, containing a population of 600 and under, which have certificated or registered teachers, is probably more than six. 'But even then,' he adds, 'what are these among so many?' If we suppose that there are a dozen in each of the four counties mentioned in the Table, this would give but 6 per cent. According to Mr. Stephenson's statistics—and he tells us that they are obtained from the inspector's own reports—'there is but one country school in 55·5 in the four

\* 'Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, for 1858,' p. 269.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid., p. 271.

§ Ibid.

TABLE I.—*State of Education in Elementary Public Schools in the Counties of Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall.*

County.	Population.	No. of Public Day Schools.	No. of Schools under Registered or Certificated Teachers.	No. of Parishes with Population of 600 and under.	No. of Schools under C. or R. Teachers in such Parishes.	No. of Children in such Schools on day of Inspection by H. M. I.	No. of Parishes with Population over 600.	No. of Schools under C. or R. Teachers in such Parishes.	No. of Children in such Schools on day of Inspection by H. M. I.	Total No. of Parishes.	Total No. of Children present on day of Inspection.
Somersetshire ..	443,916	490	71	282	1	31	181	70	9,597	463	9,628
Dorsetshire ....	184,207	271	45	179	10	556	61	35	4,998	240	5,454
Devonshire .....	567,098	503	70	245	2	83	214	68	10,118	459	10,201
Cornwall .....	355,558	258	32	71	1	25	140	31	3,990	211	4,015
Grand Totals ..	1,550,779	1,522	218	777	14	695	596	204	28,703	1,373	29,298

TABLE II.—*Archdeaconry of Coventry: Birmingham excepted.*

District.	Population.	No. of Public Day Schools.	No. of Parishes under Inspection.	No. of Schools under Inspection.	No. of Parishes with Population of 600 and under.	No. of such Parishes under Inspection.	No. of Parishes with Population over 600.	No. of such Parishes under Inspection.	No. of Schools in such Parishes.	Total No. of Parishes in Archdeaconry, Birmingham excepted.
Archdeaconry of Coventry: Birmingham excepted.	176,000	..	36	56	76	7	9	73	29	43
										149

TABLE III.—*County of Hereford.*

County.	Population.	No. of Public Day Schools.	No. of Parishes under Inspection.	No. of Schools under Inspection.	No. of Parishes with Population of 600 and under.	No. of such Parishes under Inspection.	No. of Schools in such Parishes.	No. of Parishes with Population over 600.	No. of such Parishes under Inspection.	No. of Schools in such Parishes.	Total No. of Parishes in county.
Herefordshire ..	115,480	149	28	35	130	5	6	61	23	29	191

As the Counties given in these Tables are located in different parts of England, and were all that could be procured, it is but reasonable to conclude that they are in no way exceptional cases, but that they afford average specimens of the working of the Minutes in the remaining Counties.

south-western counties that is under inspection; and if Dorsetshire be excepted, the per-centage sinks to 1 in 194·2.\*

What are the remedies for this evil? The Society above mentioned has adopted most of the expedients proposed by Mr. Stephenson at Liverpool, except that a pupil teacher is substituted for a schoolmistress. The following are the alterations of the Minutes which it is proposed to make in favour of parishes containing only 600, or fewer inhabitants:—

‘A. That the teacher employed shall be certificated or registered, an ex-pupil teacher, or a teacher of a parochial union school, with rating not below first class of competency.

‘B. That the managers pay towards the stipend of the teacher a minimum salary of 23*l.*, which sum may be made up of voluntary contributions and school-pence in whatever proportions the managers may deem best.

‘In all such cases, when these conditions have been complied with, the Committee would recommend their Lordships to make the following grants and aids:—

‘1. A pupil teacher for every 25 children in average attendance, in all cases where a certificated or registered teacher has been engaged.

‘2. A capitation grant of 9*s.* per head for all children, irrespective of the amount of their payments, who may have attended 176 days.

3. Double amount of certificate gratuity (in no case to exceed 20*l.*) to all certificated teachers, and a gratuity of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* to all registered teachers, teachers in unions, not rated below first class of competency, and to ex-pupil teachers.

‘4. A grant of 6*l.*, where the managers shall provide lodgings rent free.

‘5. A moiety of disbursements of school managers for fuel, repairs, apparatus, and books, provided that the amount claimed shall not in any year exceed 5*l.*’

ART. IV. 1.—*Reports of Select Committees of the Senate and Assembly of the State of New York (March 11th, 1861) relative to Amending the Constitution so as to Prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors as Beverages.*

2. *Report of the Committee appointed by the Legislature of Nova Scotia on the Liquor Traffic.* Halifax, N. S. April 12th, 1861.

3. *Report of Committee of the Victoria Legislature (1860) on the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors.*

4. *Parliamentary Papers on New Zealand relating to the Management of Native Affairs, etc.* July 27th, 1860 (No. 492).

5. *Report of Deputation from the United Kingdom Alliance to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Wine License Scheme.* March 19th, 1860.

6. *Speeches of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone in the House of Commons April 15th, April 29th, and May 31st, 1861.*

THE relation that the Liquor Traffic sustains towards civil government and social legislation involves one of the greatest and most pregnant problems of the age; and the philosopher,

moralist, or statesman who shall solve this question in the councils of the nation, and bring it to a practical and righteous adjustment, will be deservedly famous throughout future generations, as one of the greatest benefactors and heroes of the race. Until this great social question is manfully dealt with and settled upon a true basis, we may safely predicate that social science and political economy will continue to be fraught with endless entanglements and anomalies, that will thwart the efforts and mock the expectations alike of the philanthropist and political reformer. But there is reason to hope that the true solution of the question is more than an apprehended possibility, and that the time, if not at hand, is rapidly approximating, when no civilized community will tolerate the existence of a traffic which supplies nothing useful or necessary to human existence and happiness, but which sends curses and calamities to every corner of the land.

It is not our present object to describe the anomalous and pestiferous character of the liquor traffic, or the seductive and pernicious nature of intoxicating liquors. Nor is it our aim to discuss the abstract principles of social legislation, as bearing upon the questions involved, either in the license system or in a prohibitory law. We seek rather to set before the reader, in a few rapid sentences, the actual attitude of the governments of the Anglo-Saxon communities towards the traffic in alcoholic beverages. Our practical object in these statements and remarks is, that we may contribute something, however small the item, that will aid the solution of the problem referred to, and thereby hasten the coming of that good time when sobriety shall be the basis and righteousness the bulwark of society; and when intemperance, our British vice, and the special curse of the Anglo-Saxon race, with its foul brood of social evils, shall be abated by the force of an intelligent and well-directed public opinion embodied in just and efficient legislation.

The New England States of the American Union have taken the lead in what is called the prohibitory policy in regard to the liquor traffic. Each and all of these States, acting upon and carrying out their sovereign powers and prerogatives, have risen in their moral might and social majesty, saying to this traffic in strong drink: 'Thou art an evil and accursed thing! be thou cast out of our midst!' They have put upon it the ban of the law and of social reprobation. No moral or Christian man, no good, law-abiding citizen in those States, will now dare to embark capital and character in the liquor traffic, knowing that both would be speedily brought to wreck and ruin. The law allows it not, and thereby declares it to be wrong and infamous. None, therefore, but the reckless and the vile will, under these circumstances, defy public sentiment, as embodied in the law of the land, and

and set up in accordance with the popular will, expressed through the ballot-box.

The Old Bay State of Massachusetts, hand in hand with its younger sister, the State of Maine—the two were formerly one State—have nobly taken the lead in the march of prohibition. Vermont, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island have followed in the race, with several others of the more western States. Altogether some eight or ten millions of the Anglo-Saxon race across the Atlantic have put their communal power into direct antagonism with the liquor traffic. No one in those States can sell intoxicating beverages for common use without violating the law and outraging public conscience and morality. That which is not a legitimate branch of trade, but is essentially a social wrong, has become a statutable offence and a crime. These prohibitory laws have now been in existence for periods of seven, eight, and ten years, the first Maine Law having been enacted in 1851. During this period many reactionary attempts have been made to render these laws nugatory, or to wipe them from the Statute Book. One of those efforts, through a complication of political difficulties of a purely party character, was for a time successful. The law in Maine was repealed, and for a season the liquor traffic, under the sanction of a stringent license system, was again allowed to blight and desolate the State. But at the very earliest opportunity the people, with a noble instinct of duty and self-preservation worthy of their Saxon forefathers, rose up as one man, and with a mighty manifestation of their indignant and determined will, declared that the liquor traffic should be totally prohibited.\*

Last year, among other amendments adopted by the legislature of Massachusetts, was one whereby

‘The husband, wife, parent, child, guardian, or employer, of any person who hereafter may have the habit of drinking spirituous or intoxicating liquor to excess, may, in an action of tort against any person or persons who shall sell or deliver unlawfully to the person having such habits, any spirituous or intoxicating liquor, recover as damages, any sum not exceeding five hundred, and not less than twenty-one dollars. A married woman may bring such action in her own name, notwithstanding her coverture, and all damages recovered by her shall go to her separate use. In case of the death of either party, the action and right of action given by this section shall survive to or against his executor or administrator.’

Even within the last few months, notwithstanding the absorbing national interests involved in the tremendous conflict going on betwixt the North and the South, several States have been taking advanced action to strengthen or amend their prohibitory acts.

\* In Portland, ‘A Board of Trustees,’ incorporated under a special act, has been recently established, for the purpose of promoting the interests of temperance in the State, and the Rev. Neal Dow, LL.D., has been appointed chairman. The Board is represented by a weekly paper denominated *The Maine Standard*, and is empowered to raise and disburse funds in support of the temperance cause.

A few

A few weeks since, a bill was passed through the legislature of Michigan, by a vote of two to one, amending its prohibitory law, by which the illegal lager-beer saloons and tippling shops will find their quietus. The Constitution of the State of Michigan contains a prohibitory liquor clause, so that the legislature cannot license or permit the sale of strong drinks in the State. In the great State of New York, the 'Empire State' of the Union, as it is called, a prohibitory law, after the pattern of the 'Maine Law,' was adopted in the session of 1855 by large majorities in the legislature, and took effect on July 4th, 1855. The law worked well wherever it was enforced, and the immediate results were marvellous for good. But, as might have been expected, the execution and enforcement of the act was resisted by its enemies, the liquor dealers and their lawyers, at every step. Test cases were carried up to the Court of Appeals and by a majority of one, the law was pronounced unconstitutional by the judges, in regard to some of the provisions or machinery of the Act, but not in respect to its prohibitory principle. After this adverse decision the friends of the law felt themselves powerless to cope with the enemy, who again came in upon them as a flood. On the 16th April, 1857, the present Excise License Law was adopted. It contains some most stringent provisions, and is entitled 'An Act to Suppress Intemperance and to Regulate the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors.' But, like all other license laws, it has utterly failed to repress intemperance, and the result has been, in every sense, deplorable. Again, however, has the standard of prohibition been raised by the people sending in petitions praying for an amendment of the Constitution of the State, by a concurrent resolution of the Senate and the Assembly, so as to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage. These petitions were referred to select committees of the two houses. On the 11th March, 1861, in the Assembly, the chairman of its select committee, Mr. D. J. Wager, submitted his report, signed by all the members of the committee. The following passages will best indicate the spirit and scope of the report:—

'The subject matter of the several petitions presented to your committee has been duly considered; and from the investigation and reflection given to it, they are fully persuaded that the use of intoxicating liquors as a beverage is, and always has been, a prolific source of pauperism, crime, and wretchedness. It has imposed heavy burdens upon the people, in the shape of taxation, and greatly added to the expense of the administration of our criminal laws. They are not aware of any good it has ever done, or that it possesses a single redeeming quality; and from the nature and character of the traffic, its past and present history, every page of which is black with horrors, they believe its further continuance by legislative sanction would be a crime.

'The civilized world is raising its voice against it, awakened from its long, protracted stupor, by recent developments of science and a more perfect understanding of the truths of the Bible. All patriotic men, and all Christian men now unite

unite to condemn it, as ruinous to the health, morals, and happiness of society. Time and experience, the common arbiters and touchstone by which to test the merit of all propositions and questions relating to the individual, social, or public weal, have pronounced judgment of condemnation against it.

‘The moralist and the statesman, the man of science and the man of God, all unite in bearing witness against it, as the most uncompromising enemy to the individual, social, and moral well-being of man, and the progress of the race, that the ingenuity or malice of man ever devised.

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‘If the sale of intoxicating liquors as beverages be a good thing, then away with monopolies. Do not abridge by legislative restrictions a common-law right. If it is a rightful business, then it is a lawful business. And all men have a right to engage in it. And law-makers are bound faithfully to protect them in the exercise thereof. And if protection in a lawful business is a duty toward all, then denying it to one and extending it to another, is in derogation of a natural right, and an act of palpable injustice.

‘The restriction of the sale of intoxicating drinks to the few, and prohibiting it to the many, is an acknowledgment that it has a pernicious tendency.

‘If prohibition is an act of justice to many, then it is justice to all. No legislature would think of licensing a man to sell butter, cheese, grain, horses, dry goods, or land. Why not? Because it is a common-law right to engage in such business. No legislature would think of licensing a man to commit theft, robbery, burglary, or murder. Why not? Because it is wrong—forbidden by the common law. A right therefore is to be protected because it is right, and wrong prohibited because it is wrong, without regard to the nature or extent of the right or the character of the wrong. Legalizing a wrong can never make it right; prohibiting a right can never make it wrong. The air we breathe, the light of heaven that we enjoy, and the earth on which we tread, are natural rights, free and accessible to all without distinction; but no more so than occupations that injure nobody.

‘Tested by these principles, your committee cannot perceive how the license system can be just or expedient.

Having shown the necessity, and asserted the right of prohibition, the committee proceed to state their objections to a license system:—

‘Our opposition to it is predicated upon the following grounds:—

‘Because it has always proved a failure wherever it has prevailed, as an antidote to intemperance, in every age and in every country.

‘Because it is the province of the legislature to protect the whole people, and not a privileged few.

‘Because a licensed sale of intoxicating beverages encourages drinking, thereby directly tending to induce and perpetuate all the vices of intemperance.

‘Because it is of immoral tendency, corrupting the heart, destroying the body, polluting the morals, demoralizing the character, debauching and debasing whole classes of society.

‘Because multitudes congregate in places where intoxicating liquors are sold according to law; there appetites are formed; there drunkenness usually begins; there pauperism and crime date their origin.

‘Because the protection which the law affords gives a kind of respectability to the traffic in the eyes of the world.

‘Because it increases the expenses of the State, augments the taxes and burdens of the people, according to recent reliable statistics, more than one-half.

‘Because it leads men into temptation, beguiles them from useful and honest industry, begets indolence and sloth, “a slothfulness that casteth into a deep sleep,” “and sloth, like rust, consumes faster than labour wears.”

‘Because, by the abolition of licenses, the ballot boxes, the security of freemen, would be emancipated from the control of liquor-vendors, thereby securing and perpetuating the liberty of the citizen, the blessings of our free institutions, and the inalienable rights of man for generations to come.

‘Continue

'Continue the system, and the sin and shame and sorrow which grow out of its legitimate operations will be perpetuated. There will be no relief from the burdens of onerous taxation, from the vices, violence, and disorders, pauperism, and crime, inherent in the whole system. It is in vain to extenuate. The combined wisdom of centuries have never been able to perfect, to improve, or to amend the system, so as to obviate or remedy the evils that have their origin in this odious law. Years have come and gone, century after century has passed away, and alcohol, under the sanctions of law, through the operations of legislative enactments in the form of license, continues its ravages still! . . . .

Referring to the results of prohibitory laws, the committee declare as follows:

'Prohibitory laws have produced salutary effects wherever they have been enforced. In those States where they have efficient execution, never were the people more prosperous, never had they a greater exemption from the destructive power of rum.

'In this State, in the year 1855, when the law was only partially executed while being tested through the courts, there was far less of drunkenness, far less intoxicating liquors sold or used, than before or since. That year was an era, long to be remembered, of freedom from rowdiness, violence, and crime, than we have witnessed at any time since.

'Even the partial execution and observance of the Sunday law in the city of New York is attended with auspicious results, notwithstanding the numerous petitions sent in for its repeal. According to recent reliable statistics, it appears that the total number of arrests for drunkenness, disorder, and crime, on the Sundays of the last eighteen months, were 10,483; while for the Tuesdays of the same period they amounted to 15,503—a difference in favour of the law, even as yet only partially enforced, of 5,020. Inferentially, if prohibition works well on one day, it will in seven; and if in seven, then through the year. If it operates favourably in one locality, there is every reason to believe it will in another. If it tends to diminish the number of arrests and prevents the commission of crime in one town, by parity of reason it will in the State.

'Under the operations of the present license system, crime is increasing with astonishing rapidity. Thousands and tens of thousands are annually being made drunkards; 30,000 or 40,000 annually go down to drunkards' graves; and the army that travel that dreadful road is steadily augmenting. It is painful to contemplate. In almost every daily paper we take up, we find an account in its columns of a sudden death; a horrible crime committed; a revolting murder perpetrated; a noted man sent to the lunatic asylum; a whole family barbarously massacred; a suicide gone hurriedly and unprepared to judgment—all by reason of alcohol!

'A State Inebriate Asylum is being erected at Binghamton, to receive the unhappy victims of intemperance. When it is completed, it is estimated that 400 inebriates can find comfortable accommodations. At this very time, 4,281 applications have been made for admission! What are to become of the residue? Ten additional ones should be erected straightway, if all these are to be cared for; and what tens of thousands of others, if all confirmed drunkards are to be provided for? . . . .

.. In conclusion, the Report says:

'Your committee, full of hope and confidence in the ultimate triumph of truth, and the redemption of our State from this pernicious and pervading evil, believing that the people, in their sovereign capacity, will be permitted to decide the question for themselves, and thereby show to the world that they are not only capable of self-government, but of self-emancipation from a worse than Egyptian bondage, ready and willing to purify their own laws, when they find by long experience they are destructive to life, health, and happiness, would, therefore, in pursuance of the foregoing suggestions, and to consummate the end proposed, respectfully present and ask the passage of the following resolutions:—

'Resolved (if the Senate concur), that the Constitution of this State be amended as follows:

'The

'The sale of intoxicating liquors, as a beverage, is hereby prohibited; and no law shall be enacted or be in force, after the adoption of this amendment, to authorize such sale; and the legislature shall by law prescribe the necessary fines and penalties for any violation of this provision.

'Resolved (if the Senate concur, that the foregoing amendment be referred to the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators; and that in conformity to section 1 of article 13 of the Constitution, it be published for three months previous to the time of such election.'

In the Senate, on the 5th April, 1861, the Report of the majority of the committee, 'On the Petitions for an Amendment of the Constitution relative to the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors,' was submitted. It was emphatically in favour of the measure prayed for in the petitions, as will be seen by the following passage:—

'Notwithstanding the attempts which have been made, from time to time, by legal enactments and the organization of temperance societies, to limit and suppress intemperance, it has continued its ravages, and still continues to carry want, desolation, and death to many a home. Intemperance has not only invaded the family circle, and left its blight there, but it has laid its strong grasp upon the young men of our State, and folded many a one in its deadly embrace. These young men who are to come after us, upon whom the affairs of this government must soon rest, who are the hope of the people, must, if possible, be protected against this evil. The legislature and the people should awake to the magnitude of this question, and the earnest inquiry should be, What can be done by the legislature? what can be done by the people to stay the tide of this evil?

'It is not only a question of morals—that concerning the peace, good order, and happiness of our people, but it is a question of finance. It was ascertained several years ago, from a complete visitation and full examination of all the gaols, penitentiaries, and poor-houses of the State, and of the expenses attending the support of the same, that more than three-fourths of all the crime and pauperism in the State originated in intemperance. Committees of boards of supervisors, in several counties of the State, have, at a more recent date, investigated and reported upon this subject; such reports establish the fact, beyond all controversy, that more than three-fourths of all the taxes imposed upon the people annually are caused by intemperance. Should not this arouse the whole people to action? They are immediately and deeply interested in this question, and they should not leave it to the care and management of temperance men and temperance organizations alone, for although these have accomplished much good, and great credit is due to the self-sacrificing men who have upheld and sustained them, still they have failed to reach the masses, and their influence has been limited. The efforts have heretofore been made in the branches of the tree; it is now proposed to strike at the root of the evil, and it is believed by your committee that efforts made upon this subject will be almost useless, unless sustained and participated in by the masses of the people, and by public opinion.

'It is, by the concurrent resolution reported by your committee, proposed to submit this whole question to the people, from whom all power emanates, and as a majority decide, so let it be determined; and it is believed that, if a full and fair discussion of the question be laid before the people, that decision will be in favour of the amendment proposed; and when that decision is made, it should be final, and not left to changeable legislation; and therefore it is proposed, by the amendment reported, to engraft it into the Constitution, and make it a part of the organic law. Your committee believe that the plan proposed by them is a proper one to remedy the evil. After it shall have received the sanction of this legislature, and the legislature to be chosen at the next general election of senators, it will be submitted to the people—it is hoped at a special election, where it will be decided upon its own issue and merits, unmingled with any political issue or consideration, leaving the people free to vote upon this question,

irrespective

irrespective of party; this question has already embarrassed political parties and their action too long, and should be removed therefrom by the mode proposed.'

Founded upon these reports, bills have been adopted by concurrent resolutions. In the Senate there were only 6 negative votes, and in the Assembly the Bill was carried by a vote of 69 to 30.

In Canada a prohibitory law has more than once been on the point of enactment, having been defeated by a majority of one or two votes. The people, however, are persistent in their appeals and demands; and a power has been conceded to municipal councils to prevent the issue of licenses within their respective districts. In some parts this power has been exercised; but there is no doubt that ere long a colonial prohibitory law will be accomplished. The Hon. Neal Dow, the author of the Maine Law, has recently been invited to address the members of the Canadian legislature on the question, preparatory to the introduction of a prohibitory measure. Several years since a prohibitory Act was adopted by the British colony of New Brunswick, and received the assent of her Majesty in Council. Owing, however, to some difficulties connected with the revenue of the colony the law has been repealed, but a strong prohibitory sentiment still animates the people. In Nova Scotia a select committee of the legislature reported (April 12th, 1861) strongly in favour of a prohibitory law, in compliance with the long-expressed wishes of the people. The following is the concluding passage of the committee's report:—

'The committee believe that a traffic fraught with so many terrible evils, should be speedily suppressed, and that the manufacture, importation, and sale of intoxicating liquors, except for certain necessary purposes, should be prohibited. The question of revenue involved, the committee consider of no material moment, if the general enforcement of the laws can be effected, for the capital now so injuriously employed would be diverted into proper and legitimate channels of trade, affording almost immediately an equivalent to the loss thus sustained, and in the end leading to a very large excess of revenue derived from increased consumption of useful and necessary articles. The "Constitutional point," or "right to prohibit," sometimes raised, the committee have neither time nor space to discuss, nor do they believe it necessary to do so, for such quibbling most men have abandoned and become ashamed of, feeling that if it is right to protect the public welfare by the most stringent regulations, not only in regard to provisions of all kinds, and hurtful and poisonous substances generally, but including a variety of sanatory regulations, it cannot be wrong to protect from what is infinitely more dangerous and hurtful, to say nothing of the higher and recognized principle of legislation, that the gain and sordid avarice of the few must give way to the protection and happiness of the many.'

Licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors are at the present time withheld throughout eight of the counties in Nova Scotia, viz., Shelburne, Lunenburg, Sydney, Colchester, Yarmouth, Pictou, Cape Breton, and Queen's counties.

Passing over from our transatlantic colonies, let us look for a moment at our antipodal brethren in Australia and New Zealand. And there, too, we find the 'drink demon' rampant, spreading

his pestilent spells, and carrying on his work of seduction, pollution, and death; and there, too, we find brave Anglo-Saxon hearts and hands, preparing to exorcise the fiend, and put a stop to his work of misery and ruin.

In the colony of Victoria, in the last session of the Legislature, a select committee on the liquor traffic reported emphatically in favour of a Permissive Prohibitory Act, to take effect wherever two-thirds of the voters were passively in its favour. In order to prevent the proposed Act going into effect, when adopted by the Legislature, it would require that at least one-third of the voters, in any given district, register their votes against the measure. A sudden and unexpected break down of the Government in the colony has probably prevented effective action for a time; but it is a suggestive fact, that the chairman of the select committee referred to, Richard Heales, Esq., has been made the Prime Minister of the new Government. The Hon. Mr. Heales is also the President of the Victoria Temperance League, and is an able and eloquent advocate of total abstinence and the principle of permissive prohibition.

In New Zealand we find the same movement in behalf of temperance and social progress, bringing the colonial authorities into an attitude of antagonism to the liquor traffic. The General Assembly of New Zealand, August 4th, 1858, passed 'An Act to Regulate the Local Affairs of Native Districts,' in order, as the preamble expressly states, 'to promote the civilization of the native race;' all the regulations being made, 'as far as possible, with the general assent of the persons affected thereby.' Among the varied provisions and powers of the Act, it was made lawful for the Governor in Council to make regulations 'For the sale, removal, and disposal of spirituous and fermented liquors, and for the restriction or prohibition of such sale, removal, and disposal.' In a 'Memorandum by the Responsible Advisers on Native Affairs,' forwarded to the Home Office by the Governor, dated Auckland, 29th September, 1858, it is stated that 'The clause [of the Native Districts Act] relating to the regulation for the sale of spirits will, it is expected, be taken advantage of in some neighbourhoods to render more stringent and effectual the existing prohibition against the supply of intoxicating liquors to natives.' It is subsequently stated that 'the sale of ardent spirits to Maories is prohibited; and though they are illicitly supplied with such liquor to a considerable extent, in the port towns, the Maori population, as a whole, does not consume them.' From this it is evident that Europeans are the active agents who are introducing among this interesting race the 'luxuries' and the 'vices' of more civilized (?) lands. A Report of a Board appointed by his Excellency the Governor to 'Inquire into the state of native affairs,'

affairs,' was transmitted to the House of Representatives, July 9th, 1856, and will be found marked 'A, No. 3,' page 88, among the 'Papers' relating to 'New Zealand,' ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 27th July, 1860. The Board took evidence from thirty-four witnesses, including the Bishop of New Zealand, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Auckland, and several missionaries, magistrates, merchants, settlers, and natives of various grades. We give the following clauses of the Report bearing on the

#### PROHIBITION OF SALE OF SPIRITS.

'81. The Board is of opinion, from the evidence taken on the subject, that the law prohibiting the sale of spirits, though evaded to a very great extent, still operates as a check to the evil it is intended to prevent. Although it may not be found possible so to enforce the prohibition as that no case of infringement or evasion shall occur, yet the Board is of opinion that much of the evil at present existing may be suppressed by increased vigilance on the part of the magistrate and police, and would by no means recommend the repeal of the law, believing that it would be followed by a great increase of drunkenness among the natives, from which the most serious consequences might be apprehended affecting both races.

'82. The majority of the natives, and especially the more intelligent and well disposed among them, regard the importation of spirits into the country as a great evil. Several of the tribes have petitioned the Government to prohibit it altogether. Many of the observant and reflecting men among them have expressed a conviction that spirits have already endangered the peaceful relations which have for so long a time subsisted between the two races, and that they may yet prove the means of causing the most serious disturbances.

'83. From the evidence collected by the Board, it would appear that the law in question is regarded by the natives generally as a salutary and beneficial one; that they recognize in its enactment the benevolent exercise on the part of the Government of a parental authority interposed to protect them from a dangerous enemy. There are, doubtless, many individuals among them who wish the restriction removed, but the Board is of opinion, that were all the tribes in the island called upon to give a deliberate expression of their wishes on the subject, very few, if any, would be found in favour of repealing a law intended to prevent the spread of intemperance among them.

'84. The Board does not overlook the evil or the moral effect attending the existence of a law which is evaded or disregarded, but it considers that, in the present case, a far greater evil would be incurred by throwing open spirits to the natives than by retaining the prohibiting law, even under existing circumstances. While the law remains, it affords a standing evidence to the native race that their well-being is the subject of careful solicitude on the part of the Government which endeavours, as far as possible, to protect them and to counteract those evil influences to which their contact with Europeans necessarily exposes them. The repeal of the law would be looked upon by themselves, not merely as a discontinuance of the veto, but as a positive encouragement and invitation to drink, and as their abandonment by the Government to the ruin and degradation which intemperance may be expected to bring upon its victims.'

The Board go on to recommend that the best efforts of the Government should be directed to prevent the evasion of the prohibitory law, and to enforce its penalties; also that every encouragement should be given to the chiefs and influential men in the different tribes, to co-operate with the Government in the endeavour to suppress an evil which threatens to become so prevalent; and it concludes this section of its report by saying—

‘That the Board is not without hope, that the natural good sense of the natives will lead them to see and avoid the danger which threatens them as a race, should they unhappily fall into habits of intemperance. It would appear that there are some among them fully alive to the serious nature of the evil, and are determined to use every effort to suppress it.’

The Rev. B. Y. Ashwell, in a communication to the Governor, dated Auckland, 7th November, 1859, states that ‘the people of the Waikato district are more anxious to avail themselves of the means of education, both for themselves and children, than they have been for the last twenty years I have resided amongst them.’ As a sequel to this statement, Mr. Ashwell says: ‘I am residing in the very centre of Waikato, and am constantly travelling among the natives, and I have not found one single case of drunkenness amongst the natives during the last twelve months.’ Archdeacon G. A. Kissling, of Waitemata, writing to his Excellency the Governor, 22nd November, 1859, says: ‘The native settlement of Oraki, in the immediate vicinity of Auckland, and consequently in the most exposed position to immorality, presents on Sundays a model of Christian worship. We hear and see no rioting or drunkenness. The services are conducted by a native who is a candidate for ordination.’ These are unimpeachable testimonies of the most striking and conclusive character, as illustrating the value of a prohibitory policy, even under the most unfavourable circumstances; and must convince any candid mind that it is the duty of Government, as clearly as it is the right of the people, to protect the material and moral interests of the community from the liquor curse.

All these facts are known to our Home Government; they are printed and published by order of the House of Commons, and must have met the eye of our cabinet ministers, and all conscientious, painstaking statesmen.

Let us now look nearer home, and see what is the attitude of the British Government, at the present moment, towards the liquor traffic.

Liquor, and licenses for its sale, have formed prominent items in the ministerial budgets of the present cabinet. Last year Mr. Gladstone proposed, in the interests of ‘sobriety’ (?) and finance, that a new system of free wine licenses should be set up, similar to the beer-house system of 1830, the licenses being granted by the Excise without any efficient magisterial or popular veto. The proposal was met by the friends of temperance with persistent opposition. Nearly 2,500 petitions, with upwards of 200,000 signatures, were promptly poured into the House of Commons against the measure; and what is even more remarkable, the great bulk of these petitioners prayed, that in any measure adopted by the legislature, affecting the liquor traffic, power should be given to two-thirds of the ratepayers of each parish or district to veto the issue of any license for the sale of intoxicating

intoxicating liquors as common beverages. Notwithstanding the popular character of the budget, with which this dangerous and delusive wine license scheme was entangled and complicated, the proposal of the Chancellor was resisted in the House of Commons step by step. A direct amendment, to throw out the Bill, was supported by nearly two hundred votes, many of those who supported the negative amendment being the friends and political supporters of the Chancellor and of the general ministerial policy. In the House of Lords several peers eloquently denounced the measure as opposed to social progress and national sobriety. This opposition was one of the most healthful and cheering signs of the times; because it brought out the fact that there is still much latent moral power in the old Anglo-Saxon race; and that when fairly appealed to, the people of this country—drink-cursed though it has been for centuries—will still respond to the cry of patriotism, for the protection of the masses from the temptations and corruptions of the liquor traffic. And doubtless the Chancellor largely sympathises with this popular aspiration for purer institutions and social surroundings. Indeed, Mr. Gladstone has repeatedly done homage, at least, to this temperance sentiment, that has now become a patent and recognized element of social science and progress. He confessed that the bare contemplation of the enormous number of places licensed by the State, for the sale of spirits, sent ‘a kind of shudder through the frame.’ When conferring with the deputation from the United Kingdom Alliance, the Chancellor said, and no doubt he was sincere when he said it: ‘Do not for a moment imagine that this measure [the Excise Wine-License Bill] or any principle involved in it, is at all to be decided on any such ground as party motives, government necessities, or financial considerations. Considering the budget as a measure of finance, it is quite secondary to the moral and social bearings of the question. . . . I wish that it should be tried and stand or fall precisely according to the conscientious judgment of Parliament upon the question whether it will tend to promote sobriety.’

Mr. Gladstone’s temperance theory was, that a plentiful supply of the ‘light wines’ of France would, by some means, counteract or check the pernicious effect of the more potent liquors sold in our English gin-shops and beer-houses. But, unfortunately, the uniform tendency of the drink-appetite, when once formed, is to run on from the milder to the stronger alcoholics. This is founded upon a physiological or pathological law, which obtains in regard to all narcotics and stimulants; and no legislation can overrule it. Mr. Gladstone, however, was not able or not willing to look at the temperance facts and arguments presented to him, and therefore failed to perceive their social and moral bearings. Throughout the  
debates

debates he clung with invincible pertinacity to his 'light-wine' theory and method of promoting sobriety; not, however, by substituting wine-shops for gin-shops and beer-houses, but by adding the new drinking-places to the 135,000 old ones.

How national sobriety can be promoted by multiplying the facilities for sale, and lowering the prices of drink of an intoxicating character, is a subtlety of statesmanship that Mr. Gladstone, no doubt, has himself attained to; but certainly he has not made its logical or historical conditions known to any one else. Bearing in mind the stress laid by Mr. Gladstone upon the lightness of the French wines he was going to open up new channels for, throughout the nation, it is somewhat amusing, except that the subject is one involving the most momentous interests and issues, to find the facile Chancellor stating to the House of Commons the following, as having been communicated by a deputation of eating-house keepers and beer-sellers:—

'That deputation communicated to me another fact which, I confess, I learnt with much interest; viz., that but a small proportion of the wine sold by them was consumed upon the premises; the chief part being fetched for the houses of the poor, and, as far as they knew, was principally for the use of the sick. They also said—and the hon. gentlemen opposite will hear this with satisfaction—that the wine in demand with them was entirely and exclusively strong wine, and that no symptoms of vacillation in favour of weak wines had yet appeared.' (Laughter.)

Alas for the 'light-wine' theory! Assuredly we shall hear no more of it from Mr. Gladstone. That 'laugh' was its death-knell in the British House of Commons. But how affecting the pathetic story told by the Chancellor, on the authority of that deputation, to the effect that these 'strong wines' were 'principally for the use of the sick' among the poor! Surely Dr. Fergusson's prescription must have become very popular. How satisfactory it must be to Mr. Gladstone, to find that he has succeeded the first year in increasing the importation of this medicinal agent from 9,176,000 gallons to 12,509,000 gallons! But this is only the beginning of good things, for the Chancellor says: 'It will take a long time to work out the full effects of the changes we have made in the duties upon wine, for I think the lessons of former experience distinctly teach us that such will be the case.' Our readers are not ignorant of what the lessons of former experience distinctly teach, and none of them will envy Mr. Gladstone the moral responsibility he has assumed, when the 'full effects of the changes' he has made shall have been worked out. And yet we must do him the justice to believe that he really and earnestly desires to 'promote sobriety,' as well as to increase the revenues of the State. No one can believe that Mr. Gladstone is in league with the publicans, who hate and abuse him so cordially. They are possessed with the abiding idea that he is their great enemy, ever lying in wait to deceive and destroy them. This impression  
has

has haunted them until it has become almost a monomania with some of them. It is not very easy to remove such impressions when they have once been made, and when circumstances seem to favour them; and it is true that Mr. Gladstone's supplemental budget last year, by which he laid an additional two shillings per gallon on spirits, in the interests of social morals and finance, did seem to imply that the Chancellor, in his heart of hearts, was desirous of repressing to some extent the spirit trade, whilst doing his utmost to foster and extend the sale of foreign wines. In his budget speech of April 15th, 1861, Mr. Gladstone, referring to the increased spirit duty, and the consequent diminution of consumption, said—

‘I am convinced, as far as our limited experience goes, that even in a fiscal point of view that important experiment is likely to be successful, as well as to be useful in a social point of view. That it will diminish the consumption of spirits I have not the smallest doubt, and I sincerely trust it may. . . . No doubt the competition of wine may have done something, but that is a cause altogether slight and insignificant. The consumption of wine in this country need not be thought of for a long time to come, if indeed ever, as competing with those great articles of consumption which are known and familiar to the people; namely, ardent spirits and malt liquor.’

Mr. Gladstone has here distinctly echoed the utterances of the temperance people, to whose facts, arguments, and petitions he last year turned a deaf ear and a blind eye. He has now, however, begun to learn a sounder temperance creed than was inculcated at Oxford. The logic of facts and figures, when they affect his financial schemes, must be attended to. His ‘light-wine’ notions, and the ‘substitutionary’ idea evolved therefrom, have now been abandoned, and even Mr. Gladstone has to acknowledge that the 3,300,000 gallons of wine imported in 1860-61, over the previous year, is a clear addition to the flood of intoxicating liquor the community was before deluged with.

But Mr. Gladstone's last great proposition for the promotion of sobriety and the improvement of national finances—these two things, like ‘eating and drinking,’ always go together with our Chancellor of the Exchequer—is the new license to wholesale dealers, to enable them to retail spirits in ‘reputed quart bottles.’ This measure has passed the Commons, and, being a budget bill, of course has also passed the Lords. The 96,000 publicans, who have had the monopoly of the retail sale of spirits, are very wroth to have their privileges invaded by their arch-enemy the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who will never let them alone. And the temperance party know that the loss to the publicans can be no gain to the community; but that this new extension of the retail sale of ardent spirits cannot but work mischief and woe to thousands, however much it may seem to increase the revenue of the country, by increasing the sale of spirits amongst private families, who will be tempted to send for the ‘reputed quart bottles’ from a respectable

able wholesale store. However excellent Mr. Gladstone's intentions and aspirations may be—and we do not cast any doubts upon them—he has not yet become a wise and efficient temperance reformer. His temperance creed is still very defective and erroneous, and he is slow to acquire a mastery of the question in which he professes so much interest. When introducing this 'bottle bill' to the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone assumed the medical use of spirits, as he had previously asserted the medical use of wine, as the ground of his strongest argument and culminating appeal.

'There is another change which we are about to make, which I must say is one of the clearest in the policy on which it is founded, ever submitted to Parliament, and it is a matter on which considerable interest is felt by many members. I refer to the state of our law with regard to the sale of spirits. Probably many gentlemen have not inquired into the method by which, when there is a necessity for the use of a small quantity of spirits in their own household, that demand is usually supplied. I am afraid that, if the proceedings of hon. members, as heads of families, were investigated, it would turn out that probably nine-tenths of them were breakers of the law. But the law is so irrational that I cannot refuse to submit the alteration of it to Parliament. The law is this, that unless a man wants for the purposes of his house or family as large a quantity of spirits as two gallons, which most probably would not be consumed in most of our houses, or in many of them in a twelvemonth—unless he wants two gallons of spirits, which must be left in the keeping of the servants, with the temptation incident thereto, he has no choice but to send a servant for it to the public-house. I really must say that law is a discredit to society. I think the condition imposed on the whole middle class disgraceful—that all who do not keep men servants, but have women servants, should, when they have occasion to send for a small quantity of spirits for a sick child or a sick wife, have no choice but to send a woman servant for it to a public-house.'

The corrupting influence of public-houses, and the 'temptations incident' to the keeping of spirits in private families, are two more points fully and distinctly lodged in the legislative mind. This was obvious from the 'hear, hear' that greeted Mr. Gladstone, from the honourable members who were intently listening to his budget speech.

From all these indications, and many others, we come to a hopeful view of the future, and feel assured that immense progress has been made, not only among the people of Great Britain, on the question of temperance, but that even the House of Commons and the cabinet ministers are being educated, step by step, towards a truer conception of the real nature of alcoholic beverages, and the character of the liquor traffic. Taking the Chancellor of the Exchequer as an exponent of the legislative conviction at the present moment, in relation to this question, we cannot but come to the conclusion that the policy of prohibition is beginning to dawn upon the statesman's vision, not only as an 'ultimate necessity,' but as a present and pressing duty.

It is surely ominous for Liquordom that it is now admitted by the legislature, that alcoholics are but 'luxuries' or 'medicinal agents,' rather than articles of daily diet and necessity; and that the

the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who gets so many millions by this liquor traffic, has to sustain his measures and poise his arguments on assertions implying that public-houses are nothing better than pests and nuisances. With such convictions pervading and moulding the thoughts and reasonings of our politicians and statesmen, the time cannot be far distant when the Parliament of this great Anglo-Saxon people, will come to the logical and patriotic conclusion to abolish a system that pauperizes, degrades, and destroys millions, whilst it can confer no real benefit upon any portion of the community ; a system that cannot be defended upon any grounds consistent with morality, social progress, or national prosperity ; a system that has been emphatically condemned by the teachings of history, the lessons of experience, and the conclusions of social science.

The liquor traffic must no longer be placed in the category of useful trades or legitimate commerce. It is a social excrescence, a legal anomaly, a crime ; and if intelligence and moral ideas are to rule and guide us as a people and nation, the law must be adjusted, so as to stand in its true and proper relation to this system of corruption and temptation. It must not be fostered, even for the sake of revenue ; it must not be protected or sanctioned by law in any form ; but like lotteries, betting-houses, and brothels, our public drinking-houses must be put under the ban of the legislature ; and until this can be accomplished by our imperial enactments, taking effect at once and all over the country, the practical and excellent suggestion of the United Kingdom Alliance should be adopted, to enable the people of each district, as soon as public opinion in the locality is ripe for action, to put a veto upon the issue of licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors, for purposes of common beverage. Such a proposal as this, so fair and practically reasonable, and so entirely in harmony with the good old Saxon principle of local self-government, cannot but be approved of by every wise and manly spirit, actuated by patriotic sentiments, a love of justice, and an aspiration for sober liberty and social progress.

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- ART. V.—1. *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes.* By Mary Carpenter. 1851.
2. *Juvenile Delinquents and their Treatment.* By Mary Carpenter. 1853.
3. *The Cry of Ten Thousand Children, or Cruelty towards the Young.* By the Rev. W. C. Osborn, Chaplain of the Bath Gaol. 1860.
4. *The Preservation of Youth from Crime, a Nation's Duty ; or, Children's Rights.* By the Rev. W. C. Osborn. 1860.
5. *The*

5. *The Non-Imprisonment of Children.* Nos. 1 and 2. (*Legal Enactments suggested and advocated.*) By the Rev. W. C. Osborn.
6. *The Bird's Nest: a few Words to Little Children.* London: Wertheim and Macintosh.
7. *Exposé de la Situation des Ecoles de Réforme, de Ruyssede, de Wynghene, et de Beernem.* Par Ed. Ducpetiaux. Bruxelles. 1861.

IF there be any persons sufficiently poetical in this utilitarian age to believe in the Jewish doctrine of guardian angels, it may have occurred to them to reflect how incomprehensible must appear, to those celestial beings, the different treatment bestowed by this world upon gifts which are alike valuable and good. The birth of some immortal creature is hailed as an auspicious event, to be ushered in with exclamations of joy and triumph. From his cradle to his tomb, he is petted, cajoled, and cherished in luxury, and the 'Way of the Crown' is seldom to him the 'Way of the Cross.' Some infant heads are pillowed on soft arms; a mother's beaming face suns them with smiles, as first they nestle, warm with life, close to a heart whose every pulsation may be a throb of love, or an unconscious prayer for the little one confided to her keeping. As soon as the child is able to exercise its faculties, and to choose the sweet instead of the bitter, it may be reared in an atmosphere of kindness, and may listen to holy songs in hours of the deepening twilight, whilst as the moral training is carefully preceding the mental, the thorns may be cautiously eradicated from the tender soil, before the good seed is planted to take root in the well-watered ground.

But others, equally tender and innocent, are received coldly and scornfully by an earth which cradles them in indigence and shame. Sometimes they are dandled on the drunkard's knees, or taught to falter their first words from the lips of the foul blasphemer. Sometimes they are orphaned and desolate; and when their young lives are not taken away by want and fever, they are left to waste with hunger, or to 'stretch their tiny hands in vain.' Or worse, they are 'stung as with scorpions' by their parents' vices, and left poor foundlings on the charity of an unfeeling world. Hungry and sad, they wander up and down, nursed by the chilly fingers of grim want, and taught by cruel care or by hard words and blows: their young hearts aching with unnatural voids, their heritage a tainted fame, their lessons laws of sin, and 'oaths for prayers.'

The early lives of some men are filled with innocent pleasure. Their childhood

'Sits upon a throne  
That hath more power than all the elements.'

They

They learn of love from sunshine and from flowers, inhaling health and freedom from pure air. They behold goodness and virtue through an attractive halo, and

‘Worship at the temple’s inner shrine,  
God being with them when we know it not.’

Theirs is the knowledge which is not purchased by the ‘loss of power,’ and they are reared in happy ignorance of ‘what is called the world, and the world’s ways.’ But pauper children have no time for healthy play. Their bodies and souls are crushed by the great Juggernaut of human labour, and their young faces wear the painful look of an unnatural age. They creep about in crowded thoroughfares, or hide in dens of guilt, dreaming of sights which they may never see, or leaning their cheeks upon their poor tired hands. They pine in stifled alleys or dark rooms, fevered by summer heat, or starved by cold; and this dark view is all God’s world to them. With quick obedience they learn the lessons they are taught by men; their baby lips lisp out the drunkard’s curse, or their ears drink in the hateful sounds which they afterwards repeat as brave tokens of a reckless independence. With tottering feet they are turned out to lie and steal; with eager readiness they hasten to the only work they know; and when in the course of years the world is heaping its rewards upon the head of some young scion of an honoured family, the same outraged society is vindicating its rights, by thrusting these criminal outcasts, whose degradation is owing to its own neglect, into greater depths of wretchedness, driving them to that despair which is the paralysis of the soul, branding them with the felon’s brand, pointing at them the finger of scorn, and casting them in shameful exile, as poisonous refuse, from the Fatherland.

Such is the contrast which has often afforded scope to the pencil of poet or painter. It is an old subject, and we know it so well, that we pass it by with a sigh of something like impatience. The fool hath said ‘there is no God;’ but none there is no sorrow. The existence of trouble around us in this world is such an universally-admitted truth, that we try to drown its voice in the excitement of business, or to ward off the phantom at arm’s length by newly-devised pleasures. There is undoubtedly much selfishness in this easy indifference to those sufferings which do not come beneath our immediate notice; yet to listen always to the ‘sighs of this goaded world’ would be more than mortal could bear. We might often have the keen edge taken from our greatest enjoyments by the pang of unwelcome reminiscences, or we might be embittered in our dearest affections by the fear of human hollowness.

Mercy has decreed otherwise. Sympathy in its highest form cannot be known upon earth; and it is well for us that it should  
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be so. For it is only the unfallen angels who can look upon the blackness of an evil heart with eyes in which all hatred and aversion are drowned by the dews of love. It is only the souls of the blessed who float in the ocean of perfect happiness, comprehending all the height and depth of inconceivable mercy, who can dare to look down the deep abyss of sin and suffering, and recognize the justice of the Almighty in the disposal of every fate. 'Sufferings,' it has been said, 'are knowledge, enabling us to act from experience.' There is a tendency in many a life-education, combined with our natural English stoicism, to deaden the feelings and to harden the heart, and nothing is more likely to forward this hardening process than the habit of constantly hearing or witnessing evil which we are unable to remedy or oppose. The pressing wants of a large and ignorant class of the community, and the terrible facts or statistics which are mooted in every newspaper, are miseries which must be recognized and deplored, but they should at the same time be subjected to an active remedial process. There is a vast difference between that comfortable familiarity with physical and moral wretchedness which is the attribute of savages, and the self-denying courage which incites the philanthropist to explore the recesses of woe, that by vigorous effort he may narrow the field of poverty and crime. In the latter case, it is the active feeling of opposition which excludes the presence of callous indifference.

Now perhaps there is no subject on which the feelings of people have been more harrowed of late than this question of juvenile delinquency. The importance of the young is declared to be at its maximum at present, and there is said to be a marked tendency, in all sentimental writers of the present day, to draw their most touching scenes from the nursery or the schoolroom. People are dinned with the adjective 'educational,' and wearied with fresh hobbies for working on the susceptible emotions of tender adolescence. And yet it remains a startling fact that in the metropolis of the British empire, and in all portions of our religious and benevolent country, there lurk thousands of miserable and degraded children, as ignorant as Hottentots of all rules of social life, destitute, and outcast from the nation and the church, who, having no law, are 'a law unto themselves,' and who are yet punished by the civilized community for sins which they never committed. Society is puzzled by the paradox of a large class continually growing up in its centre in a state of savage ignorance, with no better influences around it than those of 'loose life, unruly passions, and diseases pale.' A Government averse to any interference with the rights of the individual, and jealous of the least approach to foreign centralization, can only be shocked at the anomaly. And so, amidst the vaunted progress  
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of the age, and the spread of scientific improvement, amidst the encroaching and refining processes which prune our gnarled old branches, and lop our straggling hedges, the lovers of unconventional and uncivilized human nature can still study this bit of wild and independent life. The 'Lazzaroni have not more slang, the Niggers are not more saucy, and the Feejees are not so ignorant,' as these little Bedouins of our London streets; and so there comes to be a vast deal of nonsense written and talked about the naïve peculiarities of our street Arabs. And truly as the deepest tragedy is always veering on the irresistibly comic, a lover of the ludicrous might find much to tickle him in the solemn paraphernalia of justice arrayed against a diminutive urchin, who raises himself on tiptoe to bring his eyes on a level with the bar; or perhaps has to be elevated on a table to help him into view of the judge, but who upsets the gravity of the court by his shrill and impertinent answers, or boldly declares his ambition for the final honour of transportation.\* Such cases may only too clearly manifest the mockery or utter hopelessness of attempting to deal with such creatures 'in the imposing forms of law.'

And yet in a reaction of sentimental benevolence, when stern rules of right and wrong are apt to be disliked as harsh and severe, we must not allow ourselves to be misled by the capricious or unsteady convictions of impulse. We must remember that sensibility and justice are ever to be correlatives of each other, and that it is dangerous to yield to the dictates of feeling which are not regulated by law. The stern old-fashioned language which was wont to speak of evil as a thing to be hated and abhorred, (calling as honest John Knox said, 'a fig, a fig; and a spade, a spade,') is a hundred times better than that maudlin charity or cruelty in disguise, which looks upon sin merely as a misfortune, which is for breaking down the barriers which protect society from degradation, and which tries the homœopathical treatment in instances of moral disease, petting instead of punishing in cases where a peculiar temperament or circumstances of life are supposed to have increased the temptation to crime.

From the time when Tom Hood electrified the British public with his stern denunciation upon the heads of the guilty rich for their criminal neglect to the oppressed and untaught poor,

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\* It would be important if, in the education of ragged children, the distinction could be brought prominently forward between that moral courage which will enable a man to brave disgrace for the cause of virtue or religion, and that physical courage which is sometimes dependent on the absence of sensibility, as may be the attribute of the savage. It is the same bravado and love of adventure which is applauded as a mark of spirit among the children of the rich, which causes many a destitute boy to commence a course of crime, and to brave all consequences in a fit of frantic excitement. The idolatry of the English for mere courage and strength leads many an untaught child to form crude notions of right and wrong.

to the day when Mrs. Browning thrilled all hearts with her Rachel-like wail for the little ones who were murdered by hundreds through the careless factory system, we have heard such appeals on this subject that it must be owing to our own thoughtless indifference if we have been blind to the abuses which exist around us. But lately Miss Adelaide Proctor has placed before us in true and life-like colours, the most painful pictures of infant misery; Mr. Dickens preceded her in his telling novel of 'Oliver Twist,' and in the story of little Joe in 'Bleak House,' whilst Charles Reade has wound up all feeling to the highest pitch, making the pulses beat and the blood run cold by his highly-wrought and somewhat exaggerated photographs of miserable child-life. It would be unnecessary and impossible to dwell here on the harassing scenes which have roused the indignation of such writers. Bare facts are often the truest eloquence, and the simple statements which appear from time to time in the newspapers, or in the reports of our reformatory or refuge societies carry with them, from their terrible reality, more power to touch the heart than all the flowing periods of rhetoric. We are not likely to improve the present state of things by sitting down with our hands before us in a state of childish despair. We shall never get rid of evil by bewailing over it and wishing it frantically out of our way. And yet when the everlasting law of sorrow is ever at work in God's world, when we all suffer in turns, and the reality of sin is a stern inevitable fact, it is absurd to put it by from us in a spirit of forgetfulness or petulance. We need not affect a hardened stoicism or a flippant epicureanism. It is unseemly to go laughing through life, indecorous as it would be to trip lightly by the sick-room of a dying fellow-creature; but it is still more unpractical to waste our time in hopeless laments. A manly earnestness (instead of that spiritual cowardice which 'seeks not happiness but longs for rest') is the secret of true usefulness. There exists no rest which is not consistent with energy. It is ours now to breast the tide of life. The waves may be high and the toil may be great, but we surmount each one easier than the last; for here is the mystery, that vigorous effort, instead of exhausting our strength, is kindling every moment a nobler and more delightful sense of existence.

What we want in these cases is vivid truth, and then earnest work. The English people are seldom backward in giving to any cause of charity, and there is a large class of humane and sensitive Christians amongst us which is anxiously looking out for some wise opportunity of doing good. At the same time many of this class have a just dread of those pathetic appeals which may powerfully affect them at the time, and betray them into a weakness which their better judgment shall afterwards repent. Ex-  
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citable language may be more agitating than real, and those pictures which most affect our feelings may be spurious in detail. Cloudy verbiage and vivid imagination may be united with shallow reasoning. Thus, while we are raving of social Utopias, and making profitless theories on abstract principles, we may be taking the substance for the shadow, and puzzling ourselves unnecessarily with the vast problems of political and social liberty.

The truth is sufficiently evident that there is amongst us, in our present highly vaunted state of civilization, a degraded and helpless class, 'inorganic and unserviceable,' that mars and poisons the healthy state of our social life. Still worse is it that from the midst of this Pariah class in the lowest grade of the social scale is growing up a larger number of untaught and vicious children, inheriting physical and moral disease as a birthright from those parents who spend the money in intoxicating liquors which should be destined for their education. The 'insular' Anglo-Saxon race is no doubt a noble and royal people, destined (as Mr. Isaac Taylor would tell us) 'to anglicize the habitable earth,' and to effect the 'ultimate civilization' of all the globe. We scarcely know how much we love our country till we are called upon to serve it, or till the 'cry of the common mother awakens the filial instinct' in our hearts. That one word 'England,' is bound up with our dearest ties of kindred, and of love; it thrills through us as the trumpet of battle stirs through the blood of the war-horse: it is associated with some of the noblest deeds of modern times, and some of the most splendid achievements of history. It carries with it energy and independence, and men bow before it, as they would before some master spirit—

'Calm as an under-current—strong to draw  
Millions of waves into itself.'

And yet there is a spot upon every escutcheon, a skeleton in every cupboard. The problem of Rousseau remains still unsolved, 'Les méchants sont très embarrassants.' True, we are sending our missionaries to all quarters of the civilized globe; and yet in the very midst of us are families being trained in a state of savage ignorance, being educated in vice, misery, and crime, and so prepared to meet their lot in this world, and that which is to come. What can we do in this dilemma? We can take out scented pocket-handkerchiefs; we can plant ornamental gardens, or build fanciful Gothic walls, and so keep out the disagreeable recollection of the misery which is poisoning the air, and contaminating our view. Or we can speculate on new social arrangements and fresh parliamentary regulations, which may enable us to get rid of this vitiating impediment to our ultimate civilization.

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We may drive away an ailment in one form by applying a remedy ; but if the source of the disease be not affected we shall be far from the attainment of perfect health. While we are congratulating ourselves on our supposed renovation, the inherent vice in our constitution will probably break out in a more dangerous aspect, and with renewed vigour. Perfection is unattainable by us on earth, being not merely the absence of abuses, but the golden centre of every possible excellence. We cannot, as it has been remarked, abolish or extinguish poverty and crime, but we may lessen the influence and power of both by combined effort and earnest thought. It is one thing, however, to dogmatize inaccurately, to retail carelessly the opinions of other men, or to grapple loosely with the greatest problems which have occupied the human intellect ; and another thing to reflect honestly and soberly without allowing ourselves to be influenced by association or vague apprehension.

During the past ten years much has been done by the establishment of reformatory, industrial, and ragged schools, to ameliorate the condition of these degraded masses. The Reformatory School Act which was passed in 1854 made it imperative on magistrates to commit the children, whom they considered fit subjects for such discipline, to prison for fourteen days, 'prior to their removal to such institutions.' This penal qualification, adopted for prudential reasons, has so hindered the operation of the Act, 'that, of the aggregate number of children, 31,753 have been committed to prison during three following years, and only 2890 have been transferred, after imprisonment, to reformatory schools,' thus leaving nine-tenths of our juvenile delinquents totally unaffected by this measure for their assistance.

It must also be remembered that such institutions, in their present state, are rather curative than preventive. It is the 'ragged schools' and 'refuges for the homeless' which deal with the children who furnish the raw material for crime, whilst reformatories have to cope with a greater difficulty in endeavouring to recover those who have been already rendered desperate by temptation and sin. Severe repression has already been tried by us as a means of abolishing crime ; but we have pushed the doctrine of such rigid law to a paradox, by supposing that creatures can be treated as morally guilty, who by their own unguided and intuitive reason are totally unable to 'conceive a moral rule.' Our past experience has convinced us that it is far easier to prevent than to eradicate vice. The law of benevolence is the greatest prudence, and to show foresight for others (even on the low ground of common expediency), is the wisest way to secure our own interest. That is a miserable, shortsighted policy which allows the children of the poor to grow up to be a disgrace to our country,  
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and to live at its expense ; whilst in so doing, we are incurring as great a danger as the Spartans did with their helots, or the Americans may dread from their slaves. When the tow is ready for the burning, the fire may be easily kindled. We must not forget (what our French neighbours call) that ‘*solidarité*’ in society by which every member of it becomes responsible for the well-being of others. Prevention is better than cure, prisons are more expensive than lodging-houses or refuges, and emigration is cheaper than transportation.

Arguing on this principle, we may be reminded that our injustice in making the ignorant amenable to laws which they do not comprehend, has extended throughout past centuries ; and that it is our gross neglect of the fathers and mothers of these helpless creatures which has entailed upon their offspring the horrible inheritance of ‘poverty, ignorance, disease, and crime,’ which must influence their destinies through life. If we inquire how best we may remedy this injury by our conduct in time to come, we have quoted to us the saying of Judge Blackstone, that if ‘allegiance is the right of the magistrate, protection is undoubtedly the right of the people ;’ or we are reminded of the principle of Sir James Mackintosh, that ‘Government is entitled to obedience from its subjects because without obedience it cannot discharge the duty for which alone it exists of protecting them from each other’s injustice ;’ or we have further the opinion of Baron Alderson, that ‘the administration of the law with regard to juvenile offenders requires much amendment ;’\* and we have the consideration urged upon us that as existing schools and charitable institutions must always be deficient in discipline, since the attendance of the pupils must be voluntary, there exists only one remedy for present abuses, that of compulsory education. An illiterate generation, it is said, must be taught before it can perceive the benefits of education ; and as we have had compulsory regulations to prevent the spread of physical disease, or to facilitate the power of travelling, shall we do nothing to stem a moral epidemic, or to aid mental progression ?

It is curious that one of the greatest thinkers of the age, whose doctrines with regard to liberty (if carried to their fullest exaggeration) might force the State to abdicate much of its control, and might sentence each generation ‘to be an idle spectator of the results of the faults of the generation which preceded it,’ has taken this view of the case. It appears strange, at first sight, that Mr. Mill should become one of our staunchest advocates for the duty of enforcing universal education. But such a principle, when further examined, is perfectly consistent with his saying that the

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\* ‘The Cry of Ten Thousand Children, or Cruelty towards the Young ; being an Appeal to the Legislature and the Public.’ By the Rev. W. C. Osborn, M.A.

tyranny and injustice of the majority is one of the evils against which society should be perpetually on its guard. He who argues that as soon as mankind have a capacity of being guided 'by conviction or persuasion for their own improvement,' compulsion as a force is no longer admissible, is, at the same time, the first to assert that in backward states of society, 'when the race is in its nonage, government control is perfectly legitimate.' The Roman Catholic Church, he reminds us, makes a wide distinction between those who may accept its doctrines on conviction, and the ignorant populace who must take all on trust.

We have, however, neither the time nor the desire to involve ourselves in the mazes of this difficult problem; such a controversial topic could not be fully discussed without committing a grave trespass on political ground. Far better is it for the man who would perform his little stroke of work in his generation, to occupy himself with practical tasks, instead of vague speculations, and after investigating the source and nature of a disease, to apply himself at once to the most obvious method of treatment.

In an age in which associated charity and benevolent usefulness are no longer meaningless terms, society can palliate, and to a great extent remove the evils which we have described. The law can 'take cognizance of crime committed.' It can punish but it cannot prevent, whilst it is totally unable to deal with those offenders who have sufficient tact to elude its vigilance; and though the young and tender are subjected to the full rigour of punishment, many are the obstacles which exist to hinder the detection of hardened criminals. It is here that the various reformatories and refuges step in to remedy the impuissance of the law, to deal with those children whose position especially exposes them to temptation, and to give hope to the penitent in future life. Nor must we undervalue the immense benefit of this system of associated benevolence, which is one of the obvious effects of an advanced state of social improvement. The duties of personal alms-giving and of attending to the claims of the sick and aged were known to the Greeks and Romans; but the wonderful result which may be attained in the aggregate, and the amount of evil which may be obviated, by the power of combination and vicarious charity are discoveries peculiar to that Christianity which recognizes benevolence to others as the first of relative duties.

And whilst it is waiting for new enactments or fresh regulations of Parliament, it is ever in the power of the British people to avail itself of this vast machinery for the amelioration of special diseases. Voluntary co-operation does a work which no Government can do, and the fate of the rising generation depends upon the conscientious earnestness of that which has already risen. To give a cheque to a society is sometimes said to be an easy way of  
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satisfying one's conscience at the expense of moral idleness. But there will always be a per-centage of persons in this world by no means wanting in sympathy, or backward in the discharge of known duties, who, from preoccupation or other causes, feel themselves incapacitated for employment in active charity, and to whom a vast field of usefulness may be opened by the energy of others. Therefore before we vent our enthusiasm for the public welfare in endeavouring to devise new plans which shall have an effect upon society, it is better to call attention to the means which are already adopted for relieving this distress. It appeared in 1860 from the report of the 'Reformatory and Refuge Union' (which was founded in 1856, as a centre of encouragement for collecting information with regard to destitute outcasts, and for the promotion of new establishments), that there were then 172 of these institutions in Great Britain and Ireland, more than forty of which have been established since the commencement of the Union. At that time 11,000 of our boys and girls were under preventive treatment; whilst the penitentiaries numbered 2,300 inmates. In the metropolis alone, according to recent statistics, there are 36 refuges, homes, and industrial schools—15 for boys and 21 for girls; 14,000 children being fed, lodged, and taught to earn their bread by honest employments. Those which were opened in 19, Broad Street, for the homeless and destitute children of the parishes of St. Giles and Bloomsbury, have furnished from time to time the most encouraging reports, proving the possibility of rescuing those miserable children from wretchedness and crime, and preparing them for happy and useful lives in this country or our colonies. These children are taken from the alleys and dens of wickedness, where the foul companionship of others, and terrible incentives to vice are dogging their daily path. At first sight there could be no more hopeless material for the efforts of charity. From a sanitary point of view the condition of many such children is a terrible one. Some of them are afflicted with diseases which are engendered by squalid penury, many are undersized, and many are the victims of scrofula. Still it is rather the absence of morality which has to be contended with in these cases than the presence of positive vice, and much may be effected by the adoption of regular hours, healthy food, and instruction suited to their circumstances. Great is the reward of seeing the scowling faces cleared by smiles, and of watching the intractable as they become first docile and then obedient, till in the course of years the lost child is transformed into the useful and diligent citizen.

Yet it is not to be supposed that the instruction which is communicated on one day in seven, or given in spare hours on winter evenings, can be sufficiently efficacious to cope with the evils which are

hourly at work. The minds of girls (who, as Miss Carpenter has shown, are always more degraded than boys by the presence of crime) have often been singularly benefited by the incidental influence which is brought to bear upon them in Sunday schools. But such fragmentary instruction is of slight value when compared with what might be the effect of the constant example of a Christian mother. These girls (as it has been remarked) less need *lessons*, than humane communion with some superior mind; and even this is of little use when their housing is in a manner which 'too nearly resembles the conditions of Hottentot life.' It is earnest consideration which is wanted for these things. We should bring that thought to bear upon the question, which will cost us more labour than soup and flannel petticoats for the poor. It is the want of education amongst the needy and degraded which makes them the creatures of impulse and enslaves them to the power of habit. Misled by the ordinary run of story-books, or memoirs of religious death-beds, we are apt to expect too great things from the poor at first, forgetting that we are compound creatures, and that the education of children, from the first, should be physical as well as intellectual. The recent advancements of science might be brought to bear upon the treatment of public health. Impure air and unwholesome food are amongst the most fertile sources of the evils which characterize savage life at its most degraded stage; and if improvement could be effected by attention to the health and habits of the lower orders, many of those minor offences might be averted which are 'accidents of their barbarous condition,' though the 'deeper sources of crime' might probably remain untouched by such partial remedies.\*

Meanwhile the question still remains to be solved—What is to be done with those 10,000 State-neglected, orphaned, or corrupted children who are annually committed to our gaols? The minor

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\* Healthy and nutritious food is especially needed by the children of the poor, to counteract the too probable taint of scrofula in the blood. The late Dr. Snow pointed out that the great frequency of rickets among the children of the poor was probably mainly owing to the adulteration of bread with alum. He showed that the sulphuric acid of the alum decomposed the phosphate of lime in the wheat, forming sulphate of lime, which would not be available as nourishment for the bones. Liebig had previously explained, on the same principle, the indigestibility of London bread, which strikes all foreigners, but which unfortunately forms the chief and almost the only article of food amongst the children of the working classes.

As potato diet is equally objectionable from other causes, it would be advisable for each establishment (reformatory or refuge) to bake its own bread; and, as flour-dealers seldom adulterate their flour, a much purer article of diet would be secured. Cleanliness and healthy ventilation should be attained at all risks. Lock-jaw amongst very young children is sometimes brought on by vitiated air. Excellent results have followed the introduction of gymnastic exercises amongst the children at the Bicêtre, in Paris. A good playground, not built round with high walls, but attractive in its appearance, should be a desideratum in all such establishments.

offences of children in the middle and upper classes of society are passed over with that immunity which saves them from the degradation of a useless imprisonment; whilst the law called 'Misprision of felony,' in some cases, condemns other fathers and mothers to resign their little ones to the severity and contamination of a common gaol. The 'Youthful Offenders' Act' making imprisonment necessary prior to consigning children to reformatory schools, has done little to lessen the disgrace of incarceration.

The oppressive effect of such confinement upon the minds and souls of the young, the uselessness of instruction amidst high walls, iron bars, and deadening constraint, the cases of mental irritation and occasional suicide which have resulted from the silent system amongst children, with the contamination of mind, want of self-respect, and evil familiarity which are engendered by the open system, and the loss of character, which, for the future, shuts them out from honest employment, and 'shakes them off as drowning wretches,' to sink, or support themselves by crime, are painful facts which are only too well known to all who have interested themselves in the subject. A half-starved, neglected child driven to crime 'by the instincts of its nature,' is thus associated with the burglar and assassin. A dark stain is fixed on its character for life; it is dragged to its cell clinging to the officer for protection, or crying to be taken to its mother, and in many a case such an early experience of severity 'goes far to ruin it for life.\*' At least it has been said that such helpless little ones should 'at first be taught what is right, before their offences are exposed to publicity, or visited with penal disgrace.'

A legal enactment has for some time been proposed and advocated in the pages of the 'Friend of the People,' which suggests, 'That no child under sixteen years of age, apprehended for any offence punishable by summary jurisdiction, shall be committed to prison, unless the child has been previously committed to a reformatory school.' This measure being humane and simple in its object, and the legislature having lately manifested great interest in the progress of reformatory schools, it is hoped, that in process

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\* The contents of the returns recently referred to by Mr. Kinnaird in the House of Commons, as to the flogging of young children in gaols, have been sufficient to rouse public indignation. These returns have, however, been understated, whilst the use of such an instrument of torture as the 'cat' for young children of nine, eight, and even seven years of age, is an act of the grossest cruelty. The universal dread of pain, and objection to physical discomfort, which characterize our age, are thought by some to be proofs of a morbid and unreal sensibility. But there are substantial objections to such inflictions, in the case of juvenile delinquents; for, as no punishment affords so much scope for bad temper and tyranny of disposition in others, so it degrades the mind of the child and robs him of that self-respect which is the principal element on which the reformatory system can work, while it often renders him nervous and debilitated, giving a serious shock to his system.

of time it will secure the attention of Parliament, and emancipate these schools from a virtual inconsistency which cannot fail to cramp their usefulness. Meanwhile an association has been formed for the 'Non-imprisonment of children,' which will endeavour to 'diffuse information amongst the public generally.'

It is only necessary to draw the attention of our readers to the existence of such an association. Yet, as a just and fair experiment of how successfully the reformatory discipline may be caused to supersede that of the prison in the case of the child, we need only refer to the recent experience of our continental neighbours, especially to that of M. Ducpetiaux, in the useful establishments of Ruysselede and Beernem. The progress of juvenile delinquency in the poverty-stricken country of Belgium before the establishment of these institutions had been so great, that the infection of crime was spreading amongst its dense population to an alarming and frightful extent. The discipline of the school at Ruysselede is modelled on the plan of the celebrated institution of Mettray. There is an amalgamation of the industrial with the remedial system, which would be impracticable with us, where the prison must be the 'vestibule of the school.'

The French law which treats children of a certain age as '*sans discernement*,' and therefore not to be judged as adults, is analogous to that of Belgium, where the child-thief is considered as '*doli incapax*,' and is sent direct to this establishment, without branding him with the stigma of the gaol. The Ruysselede reformatory house accommodates 600 boys, and that of Beernem 300 girls. The school at Wynghene is specially dedicated to the training of more advanced pupils for the navy or merchant service. There could hardly be more unpromising materials for the efforts of M. Ducpetiaux and his assistants than these pauperized and vicious children; but the result of a wise and systematic *régime*, combining kindness with firmness, and enforcing attention to regular hours, and healthy work, has been as great as the most enthusiastic friends of humanity could desire. Upon their admission to the reformatory about one-half of the boys and two-thirds of the girls are found in a state of the most degraded ignorance, and entirely without all notions of religion. Many of them are the victims of physical disease, and all are small of stature. But notwithstanding this miserable sanitary condition the average mortality in these institutions is found to be less than that of the Belgium population in general. The boys are trained as smiths, wheelwrights, and agriculturists, while tailoring and shoemaking is also taught. The girls, under the superintendence of nine '*Sœurs de Notre Dame*,' are taught needlework, washing, &c., and educated for useful servants. The system of giving rewards as remunerative of skilful labour, and of placing the names of those  
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who conduct themselves properly on a '*Tableau d'honneur*,' is found to have a better effect upon the formation of character than the utmost severity of punishment. In no case is corporal chastisement permitted.

Let us hope that the moral influence which has been brought so successfully to bear upon the criminal children of Belgium, may in time be extended to our own country. The success of this enterprise seems greatly to have depended on the combination of the pauper with the criminal element. We have lately had abundant demonstrations of the evil effects of our workhouse system in depressing the spirits of children. It may truly be called an awful consideration that the girls, who, by hundreds, leave these establishments every year, in our kingdom, drift almost helplessly to inevitable destruction. Upon the 'living soul, only the living soul can act;' it is the want of human kindness and the absence of all the ties of relationship which leave the moral nature wholly uncultivated, which rob youth and life of every ray of sunlight, and degrade human beings to the level of mere bread-getting machines. Education, which must be adapted to the ignorant mind and immature character, must necessarily be fragmentary and incomplete, but it need not reduce the existence of the growing and sensitive child to the dreary routine of a galley-slave.

There is an old and often-repeated story, very familiar to us in this Christian country, which might go far to convince us of the superior power of tenderness and love in acting upon the childish heart. Women of England, you who know the magic of one Holy Name, and believe in it as no fragment of an outworn tradition; think you, if He had seen these shivering little ones, He had not yearned with pitying tenderness, dimming his human eyes, while you too often, forget? Mothers, who gaze with love on your fair girls, as the quick blush of pleasure paints your cheeks, you thank kind heaven for their innocence. But wait in your gladness, and listen to the step outside your door, of vagrant wanderers, all as young, and left untaught, unloved, nurtured, oh, say not how!

Our own sun may be bright and our households full of peace, but dark and cloudy days have cast their shadows on some brothers' hearts. Shall we let the little children tread alone through dark Gethsemanes, not knowing of the blood which marked the way, and ignorant how the thorns have been trodden down for all our suffering race? We hear them groan in bitterness, '*Lama sabacthani!*' '*Bone of our bone*' they are, and '*flesh of our flesh*,' and we are men, and God has given us *hearts*.

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## ART. VI.—THE EARLY SOCIAL STATE OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

TWO hundred and twenty years ago a Dutchman was wandering about the lone Southern seas. He discovered a new land in that region of westerly gales. He found it a spot favoured by Nature with a charming climate, productive soil, and pleasing landscape. He gave it the name of Van Diemen's Land, after his Dutch friend the governor of Batavia. A lonely little isle that was sparkling with beauty near he called after the most attractive object known to him—Maria, the pretty daughter of the governor. Too far removed from other Dutch settlements to promise any commercial advantage, the countrymen of Tasman took no heed of the discovery. Beyond a visit by Captain Cook one hundred and thirty years after, nothing was thought of the very southern land until the settlement of Port Jackson, the Botany Bay of convictism.

The home ministry afterwards contemplated another penal establishment. The report of Captain Flinders upon the suitability of Port Phillip harbour led to the expedition being sent there in October, 1803. The party located themselves upon the sandy coast near the mouth of the port, a spot utterly unavailable for the purposes designed, being barren and waterless. Instead of seeking for a better position in the neighbourhood, Colonel Collins, the commandant and lieutenant-governor, remained but three months, and then removed to the banks of the Derwent, on the southern side of Van Diemen's Land, of which he had heard a favourable account. With a noble cove for shipping, bright streams from the mountains, timber forests for buildings, fertile nooks for agriculture, and a climate sunnier than that of England, but as invigorating and as healthful, this most southern of settlements did promise to be most suitable for the isolation of the convicts, and the carrying out of prison discipline, as well as the preservation of health and the furnishing of the means of subsistence.

As in the early times Van Diemen's Land was essentially a penal colony, it is quite necessary to give some sketch of the mode of treatment the exiles of Britain received.

For the first few years the settlement was nothing but a camp: the

people, free and bond, were rationed from the public stores. Works of public utility were commenced, and gave employment to the male convict population. The female portion were few in numbers, and had no engagements but as servants to the civil and military officers, or were attached to their quarters in a less honourable capacity. As sentences expired, or pardons were given, an intermediate class sprang into existence. Gradually all the machinery of a civilized city was set in motion, and Hobart Town ceased to be a camp. As prisoners kept coming in in excess of the requirements of Government, or, rather, from a shameful neglect of provision for their arrival, it was customary for a ship to be discharged, and the poor creatures to find lodgings for themselves wherever they could, penniless and strangers to the town. This inhumanity caused the weak and decent to suffer great hardships, and gave occasion to the stronger and more reckless to indulge their old habits of pillage and attack. It was many years, in fact, before the erection of what was called a penitentiary, but better known in the place as 'the tench,' for abbreviation. This was simply an enclosed barracks for the reception of new arrivals, and the home of the town gangs.

The difficulty of finding suitable government employment necessitated the origination of the assignment system. By this a settler could obtain the loan of male or female convict labour on certain terms. He was at first only expected to find them food and clothing: the particular quantities of each were appointed. Subsequently the ration was retained, but a sum of money from five to ten pounds a year was to be paid for each, so that clothes or other wants might be supplied by the individual. Complaints were made that the clothing was not properly furnished, either by the master in private service, or by the authorities when on public works. Men went about with pieces of old rugs tied about them for garments. Of others, the more active, good-looking, or unscrupulous, it was said that they were dependent on their sweethearts for the supply of this necessity.

necessity. How the women procured the means for their fellow-convicts may be supposed.

The assignment system had its bright and its dark side. With a good master a man acquired a knowledge of a trade, was kept in a state of almost comfortable independence, and had a favourable future open to him. With a bad employer he was neglected in person, and subject to much tyranny and even cruelty. The slightest complaint would procure only increased trouble. His life would be a burden; and many decent men were thus driven to commit atrocities who would otherwise have been reformed. By good behaviour in service indulgences of partial freedom were procured. By ill conduct the period of prison discipline was extended. Many unable to endure the ignominy of domestic slavery, especially with the arbitrary and often unjust infliction of the lash, preferred the dangers and privations of the wild bush life. Subsisting necessarily upon the produce of robbery, as the forest gave few means of livelihood, they brought themselves not only to the condition of bolters, so called, but the more terrible name of bushrangers: they who thus took to the woods with arms were by that very act outlawed, and exposed to condemnation of death.

Bushranging was quite an institution of Van Diemen's Land. Usually it was conducted upon the Dick Turpin principles, and comprehended the various crafts of footpads, highwaymen, and burglars. It has sometimes been the solitary exercise of these arts of villany, and at other times it has assumed the importance of organized and mounted bands, worthy of the condottieri or banditti of the Apennines. The singularly hilly nature of the country, its vast morasses to the westward, its deep jungle-like scrub, and its almost interminable forests, afforded admirable shelter and concealment to the rogues, and great facilities for their operations. Not recognized as robbers, in the vulgar sense of the term, by a large portion of the community, but receiving their sympathy as objects of tyranny and wanderers in distress, they often got warning of the approach of justice, and were aided in escape when in danger of capture. In some cases there was a collusion between the convict servants and the outlaws, which

assisted in robbery, and prevented surprise. More than once the little island was so completely in the hands of these bushrangers that travelling beyond the precincts of townships was quite unsafe, and commerce received a serious check.

It is not for us here to enter into a history of crime, and detail the performances of the Turpins and Sheppards of the colony; but as a remarkable illustration of the early social state, we may allude to a solemn compact once entered into between the representative of his Majesty King George III., the autocratic governor of the island, and a desperado of the bush, a runaway convict:—A certain atrocious fellow, named Michael Howe, had taken to the course of bushranging with such success as to fill the country with terror. He was single-handed, but bold in attack, and rapid in movement. In the year 1813, however, he found himself exposed to extra trouble by the desertion of his aboriginal partner, Mary, and her active co-operation with the constables in pursuit, from a desire of revenge for his cruelty toward her. But still formidable from his prowess, he resolved to enter into a treaty with Government. He sent a letter by a trusty messenger, offering to come to town if assured of protection and forgiveness. Governor Davey sent one of his military officers to negotiate this singular piece of colonial diplomacy. The correspondence of Howe was in grand terms. It was addressed, 'To the Governor of the Town,' from 'The Governor of the Ranges.' Terms being arranged, the forest hero came to Hobart Town, and for a time enjoyed the comforts of civilization, the plaudits of admirers, and the respect of the authorities. As he tired soon of these 'soft delights,' he broke his parole, and returned to his bush pursuits. Through the treachery of a comrade he was betrayed, and the capturer of his head received a handsome reward.

It was at the close of the early times that the penal establishment of Macquarrie Harbour was formed for the worst of offenders. It has been thus described by the writer, in one of his colonial works:—'The harbour is on the western side of the island. The ever-rushing westerly breezes easily carry the mariner inwards, but oppose

an obstinate resistance to his exit. The shores are rocky and gloomy, and the almost perpetual rains add no cheerfulness to the atmosphere. The scenery is wild and repulsive, and the soil hopelessly barren. The cathedral-pinnacled sandstone ranges rise against the more sombre and rounded hills of slate, while the quartzose sea-cliffs glare painfully in the sun. The hills are scantily covered with a coarse, wiry grass; the gullies are either choked with tangled brush, or, as a fairy scene, adorned with the umbrageous and elegant fern tree. The scrub is almost impracticable on the steep banks of the mountain streams. Separated from the settled parts of the colony by impervious forests, rapid rivers, dangerous marshes, and almost inaccessible acclivities, and reached only at sea by a tempest-tossed voyage along an iron-bound coast, the locality seemed a fitting Tartarus for the worst of criminals. Those defiant and irreclaimable ones who pester society with their presence, might there be safely confided to the guardianship of forbidding Nature.' This was the place selected for the most barbarous and frightful course of prison discipline that has, perhaps, ever been known, and to which the dungeon life of Naples may fairly be compared. Well might one say of it, 'There man lost the aspect and the heart of man.'

The wretched convicts had to cut down the pine for the Hobart Town market, construct their prison houses, and build vessels. Their food was scanty in quantity and wretched in description. Ill clad, wet, cold, half famished, overwrought, brutally treated, often mercilessly flogged, consorted with ruffians, and governed by irresponsible despots, their lives were torture. Some idea of the Macquarrie Harbour hell may be formed from these two statements:—In 1822, out of 182 men there, 169 received the awful amount of 7,000 lashes; and of 85 persons who died in a certain time, 27 were drowned, 8 killed accidentally, 3 shot by soldiers, and 12 murdered by their comrades. It is surely a matter of thankfulness and congratulation that that era of suffering and revengeful justice has passed, that social science has since been recognized and developed, and that the offender against the laws of the land has some prospect of leaving this

prison sojourn a better and a happier man. But we must be astonished that the philanthropists and Christians of Britain could allow such a state of things to last from 1822 to 1833.

It would not be right, in an account of the early social state of the island, to omit allusion to the aborigines.

These unhappy people were, in all probability, some thousands in number at the settlement of the colony. There was some expectation that the natives might have been turned into slaves; but, unlike the negroes, and more like their fellow foresters, the Indians of America, the Tasmanians and Australians would never bow the neck in servitude.

In the commencement of the penal establishment an outrage was committed upon the blacks. In the days of famine, when the prisoners were scattered through the bush, hunting for kangaroos, further assaults were made, and ill-feeling aroused. The only cause of attack and bloodshed was the whites' conduct towards the females of the tribe. Coarse, brutal, and lustful, even toward their own country-people, our exiles were especially so when in contact with the dark-skins. They seized and inhumanly treated the women. They were equally ready with their formidable weapons to resent the complaints of husbands and fathers. The stock-keepers and shepherds, who lived on the borders of civilization, were the deadliest foes to these unhappy creatures. Bribed by the offer of European food, or worse, by the offer of European strong drink, the Lubra was seduced to the hut of the white savage for his prey. Sometimes the bribe was for the male protector, who led the weeping victim to the lair of the beast. As may be expected, great cruelty often followed the satisfaction of other demoniacal passions.

The bushrangers—men at large for war against their own race—were constant objects of dread to the simple ones of the bush. Well-armed, desperate, outlawed, these brutal men were often guilty of the foulest crimes against the Tasmanians. Seduction, torture, and murder are chronicled as their deeds. But they were often little worse than their fellow convicts who acted as out-station servants. Many took a savage delight in shooting the 'black crows,' as they called them; and some boasted of roasting the young 'black

'black pigs.' Personally acquainted with men whose exploits thus out-saved savages, we have heard from their own mouths their tales of violation and slaughter; their sole apology was that they were but brutes after all. Not satisfied with the bullet, they murdered by the slower death of the disease of vice, and taught the suicide of alcohol.

Can it be wondered, then, that, when the tribes saw themselves shot down as vermin, their women rendered barren by a loathsome disorder, and their country monopolized by these murderous whites, they should turn like the beast at bay, and inflict wounds in despairing ferocity? Thus it was that the early days of Van Diemen's Land became associated with the terrible Black War. For several years the conflicts were numerous and bloody. The Europeans sought revenge for one death in the slaughter of a whole tribe, and most atrocious cruelties upon helpless women and children. The natives, regarding the whites as members of one family, and sharers in one system of spoliation and cruelty, were indiscriminate in their attacks, and assaulted alike the quiet farmer and the ruffianly stock-keeper, the innocent wife and the guilty bushman.

The early days were darkened by these sad events. The intricacy of the forests, the defence of the scrub, the wildness of gullies, which had served bushrangers so well in their contest with authority, were equally protective to the aborigines in their outrages. Their attacks were sudden and unexpected. A man was ploughing in the field, and a spear from an unseen foe entered his back. Another, passing along a road with his team, would receive the blow before the sound of a footstep reached him. Mothers were brained with the wooden club, and children mangled with the stone tomahawk. Huts were set on fire by winged spears with lighted bark. The whole of the interior was disturbed. Property was of little value where life was so unsafe.

This bloody conflict, provoked by the whites, could not be expected to result in anything but annihilation to the blacks. We have heard old natives tell the story of those dreadful times, but this is not the occasion to expatiate upon such horrors. We have but just glanced at this chapter, one of the

most eventful and singular of the early social state of Van Diemen's Land.

The social history of the colony is most darkly shadowed forth in the drinking system among its inhabitants.

When we regard the origin of the settlement, the character of the guardians of that island-gaol no less than of the convicts themselves, we cease to be surprised at the enormity of intemperance. Most were expatriated for offences directly or indirectly occasioned by drink. Arrived among scenes even more debasing than those to which they had been accustomed, it was not to be expected that their appetite for liquor would be lessened. Miserable in condition, and hopelessly dejected, they gladly fled to the only comfort open to them—the momentary excitement of pleasure in rum. Even their officers felt exiled from civilization, from society, from humanizing influences, and, in many instances, rapidly sunk, even to the low moral standard of the very prisoners themselves.

Rum, from the first, was the difficulty of the colony. It was the source of the social disorders of the early times. As at New South Wales, it was the medium of exchange. Articles were bought and sold for so many gallons of rum. A property, since valued at several thousands of pounds, was exchanged for five gallons of rum. Sometimes the payment was a return of merchandize and so much rum. Labour was paid for in rum. The mechanic received his wages in rum. He had to exchange some for food, but was naturally tempted to consume most himself. The very police, convict constables, had a stipend of rum from the paternal government. Provided with rations and clothes, they were allowed for private expenses a quart of rum weekly. But as this was administered in quarterly quantity, the recipients usually made merry with their companions till the stock was exhausted. Among other commercial transactions with this medium of exchange, the early annals furnish us with a curious story. A man was tired of his wife. She might have left him on terms of mutual understanding, and could easily have found a *protector*. A time or two she had deserted him for the home of another; and rough measures seem to have wearied out the husband. But he could not engage to part with her, or rather, not to leave her unmolested with

with another, unless he got an equivalent. A neighbour was willing to bargain. After some debate, the article was knocked down to him for twenty ewes and a gallon of rum.

We were informed by an eye-witness of a most extraordinary state of affairs; for the space of nearly six weeks everybody in the island was drunk from the governor downwards! The occasion was a singular one. Soon after the colonization a terrible famine raged for two years. Supplies were not forthcoming from England; Sydney could not spare any, and cultivation was in its infancy. The French war engaged too much of the thoughts of the British ministry to induce them to regard the wants of a penal settlement at the antipodes. Fortunately there were kangaroos, if not flour; and the establishment lost its little show of discipline in this hunting existence. When the tide of suffering turned, and the commissariat stores were filled to the joy of all who loved low prices of drink as well as biscuits, the governor expressed himself marvellously pleased with the conduct of the convicts. The fact is they had been little trouble, because they were usually scattered about in the bush, hunting for kangaroos—there were no country settlers to rob—and there was no rum to drive them to insubordination or to crime. It was said that the officers sought an occasion for a jubilee, as they called it, or a spree, in modern nomenclature. Any how, a license was proclaimed. There was to be freedom from public work, and a liberal grant of rum per day during the carnival. The consequence was, the total subversion not only of temperance, but of those common notions of decency and propriety to be found among savages.

Colonel Davey, who reigned some fifty years ago, was a consistent exponent of the primitive order of virtues. He was esteemed a 'jolly good fellow' by the prisoners. He would sit in public, with his long pipe and glass of rum-punch, to the envy of passers-by, with whom, however, he had always a friendly word or vulgar joke. By no means harsh as a disciplinarian, he was anxious, he said, that the poor wretches should enjoy themselves as well as himself. He was the first to establish a sort of drinking court. Though by no means a teetotaler at other times, he relaxed once or twice a month, and

held a convivial meeting out of town with his officers and their ladies, which was not quite upon a par with the institution of the drawing-room of majesty. Surrounded by choice spirits, he indulged in the wildest merriment, and threw off the cares of state as he quaffed the bowl. To add to the sports of the occasion, the town gang would be introduced, who sought by the lowest buffooneries and other excesses to amuse this viceregal court. Strange to say, some fastidious merchants, alias shopkeepers, chose once to decline an invitation to one of these orgies, and were well punished for their disloyalty. Soon after, the governor had a more becoming celebration at the Hobart Town Palace, and specially invited the malcontents. They felt flattered with the attentions of his honour, and resorted in due course. The old colonel was bland in the extreme, and most courteously led his mercantile guests into the dining-room. The table was spread with tempting viands, and the gentlemen sat themselves down smilingly before the smoking dishes. Just then, according to previous arrangement, at a wink of the merry lord of the feast, the aforesaid convict gaol gang rushed into the apartment, seized upon the spread in spite of the resistance of the guests, and left a naked board for the repast.

The officers of government themselves held no mean position in the liquor-traffic of the early times. Favoured with privileges in obtaining the article, they were not slow in turning their good fortune to mercantile account. Unfortunately, the demand usually exceeded the supply, and made their toil easy and their profits large. As it was not quite according to the rules of official etiquette to be seen vending themselves, they found active agents in the ladies attached to their establishments, as their previous habits and existing sentiments presented no obstacles in the path of trading delicacy. Though the customs of the day sanctioned their left-handed alliance with gentlemen, they were none the less able to be portresses of rum to the ruffians of society.

In those rude times it was not thought essential to a debauch that men should be furnished with the luxurious refinements of modern civilization. A party, intending to treat themselves, would empty the liquor into a bucket, and,

and, sitting round, dip a tin pannican into the vessel and so supply their thirst. All classes were more or less addicted to this sad habit. The criticism, given to us by an old convict, of his ancient master, a magistrate, would forcibly apply to a large number: 'When spirits were plenty in the colony he was generally indisposed.'

At first spirits were supposed to be prohibited. Then they came on sufferance. No distillation was allowed. No vessel could land intoxicating drinks except for the Government, and supposed to be for government purposes. Originally all civilians as well as military attached to the State were provided with rations from the public stores; and, of course, rum, regarded then as a necessity, was furnished along with pork and flour. This led to the abuses. Men got out by favour or bribery more than their due, and thus became traders, as well as robbers of the British treasury. The low state of public morals favoured this system of peculation. As prisoners emerged from bondage into the condition of partial freedom, called emancipation, they secured directly or indirectly a share in the public plunder, and helped their superiors in the infraction of colonial regulations.

To meet this growing evil, it was enacted that all free persons, free by arrival or servitude, should have *permits*, authorizing them to get ten gallons of rum, and ten only, from any merchant vessel coming into the harbour; that is, they were allowed to purchase for their private use to that extent. But such was the corruption of the officers, that it was easy to make such terms with them as would make the same permit last several trips to the vessel. One man acknowledged that thus he made his ten gallon order run up to three hogshheads. Of course, all this would become material for clandestine trade, for at that period none was authorized to dispose of alcoholic drinks.

Then it was, to correct the abuses of this system, that the licenses came into vogue. They were granted with great caution, and to persons supposed to be trustworthy; so dangerous was the traffic even then felt to be in the community, notwithstanding the deterioration of morals, and the universal propensity to alcoholic indulgence. The same watchfulness was supposed to be

exercised by officers throughout the country. It was expressly asserted that a few such public-houses would be sanctioned, on purpose to arrest the clandestine sale. If that was the object, it signally failed; for, upon the introduction of taverns, so cautiously originated, so jealously guarded, the sly grog-selling progressed more than ever. The material was to be procured with less difficulty, and, therefore, more entered into that irregular but profitable pursuit.

As the first publicans did so well, others were importunate for a share of the advantages. The Government, though a little shocked for the time, saw the demand for licenses with secret pleasure, as it furnished the treasury without trouble; men willingly paid for licenses, and as willingly paid duties levied upon the liquors. When once the license system was formally established, this financial reason at once upheld and encouraged it. A Tasmanian historian thus remarks upon it: 'The specious advantage to the revenue exhibited by our colonial statistics, protected a vice so useful. The influence of this interest cannot be overstated; to put down spirit drinking would, in equal proportion, disturb colonial finance.' It was soon after 1810 that public-houses were sanctioned by law. The duty levied upon spirits was seven and sixpence a gallon British, and ten shillings foreign. When, for a short time, the experiment of colonial distillation was allowed, the duty upon the home-made product was one-half that upon the British one. This was in 1828. It is a curious fact that one of the colonial distilleries, situated near Hobart Town, was purchased by Government, about the year 1826, and converted into a place of confinement for female prisoners. This was a sort of cause and effect transition, pretty well understood even in this day. The state protection, and even fostering, of the liquor-traffic, so unfortunately conspicuous in colonial legislation, would be found to exist, for the same financial reasons, in this latter half of the nineteenth century, in the most civilized and Christian nation in the world. It becomes us, then, to suspend hasty judgment of condemnation in our early colonial rulers, in the infancy of a rude state of society.

These primitive inns were not more remarkable for their propriety of conducting,

ducing, than for the comfort of their accommodation. Some of them were in their original rough state upon our first acquaintance with Tasmania, in 1841. They were miserable in structure, size, furniture, and keeping. A few of the Osteria sort in Rome might possibly compare with them. They were essentially drinking places, intended for the lowest characters. One, writing thirty years ago, says: 'I remember when I arrived here first, the public-houses were filled with convicts night and day, tippling, gaming, and concealing robberies. It was often dangerous to walk the streets in day-time.' And yet the law declared that any publican permitting prisoners to get drunk in their places would be fined twenty dollars for each offence. When these men of the barrel were spoken to about the enormity and danger of supplying liquor in such quantities to this class, especially upon Sundays and unseasonable hours, they pleaded the claims of self-interest. Gorgenson tells us: 'They pleaded, in defence of suffering convicts in their houses at all hours, that they dared not offend them, for that they derived their principal profits from money spent by the prisoners.'

It is not surprising that the publicans became soon important members of the colonial aristocracy. Wealth is honoured in Britain, without fastidious inquiry as to the means by which it is acquired; some indulgence, then, may be granted to a penal settlement in its recognition of the public claims of riches. Spirit dealers were the leading merchants of the day. We were personally cognizant of the fact of several of the leading publicans being the chief lenders of money. Their principal customers in this department of their trade had been the most frequent visitors at their drawing establishment. A mortgage would be readily granted to persons of that class for three particular reasons: affection to their thirsty friends, the provision of twenty to thirty per cent. interest, and the high probability of the property, from non-fulfilment of the deeds, coming into their hands some day at a cheap rate. Gratitude to the man who extricated him from difficulties, at such a rate of usury, led the poor inebriate to spend a little more cash for the benefit of the dealer.

We have before our minds the story of those early residents, who rose to

opulence upon the ruin of others through drink. One of these, forsaking a more respectable trade, opened a groggery in a place renowned for devotion to Bacchus. Had a person desired to conduct business respectably, as it is called, here, the state of society would have prevented it. Where all was coarseness, refinement could not be assumed. It is but justice, however, to this gentleman to say, that though uneducated himself, and not too particular at first about the house he kept, he sought to add the attractions of literature to the seductions of liquor, to increase the popularity of his business, and the weight of his gains. He succeeded, and took a position of credit and influence. At the present moment he is one of the leading men of Australia, and for years has identified himself with means for the improvement of his fellows. A second became also a wealthy man. The third established one of the largest landed estates in the country. Both of these two commenced their rum trade in the humblest manner. They each managed somehow to procure two gallons of spirits; and it was with this moderate supply that they hoisted their signs.

The terrible consequences of this extension of the traffic awoke the thoughtful to a sense of coming destruction. The resources of the colony were being absorbed in drink, the time was wasted through it, crime was alarmingly increased by it, and deaths were almost wholly occasioned by it. The Rev. Mr. Horton wrote home in 1821 a dismal tale of horrors. Referring to one locality he says: 'Of the deaths there, all except two are attributed to accident or drunkenness.' He might have added that the accidents were usually the fruits of intemperance. Dr. Ross made but a cautious statement when he wrote thirty odd years ago: 'One-half of those that die in the colony at the present time perish directly or indirectly through drunkenness.' When the Governor Arthur arrived, he sought in this, as in other ways, to effect moral reform. But, as a harsh military man, of stern principles, and high-handed rule, he placed too much reliance upon the force of proclamations. He sought to do all by the aid of constables, those wretched convicts who were thus enlisted in the administration of law. He resolved to deal

deal a death-blow to the sly grog-sellers, the supposed primary source of mischief. These parties were always more obnoxious than others to government officers, because, though, from the secret way they effected their sales, they could not be so injurious to the peace of the community as those over whose public course of trade there was little or no restraint, yet they never took out licenses, and so failed to contribute to the coffers of the treasury. This greatly increased the criminality of their conduct in the eyes of financial rulers. In 1827, therefore, we find that, armed with a warrant, a constable could break open any place of which he had, or said he had, suspicions, and there search for beer or spirits. These were seized. If the owner were unable to satisfy the magistrate as to the quantity found, the whole would be forfeited. Any one charged by one of these convict constables with clandestinely selling drink, would be summarily sentenced to very heavy penalties, and, in default of the payment, be sent to perpetual imprisonment, or until the fine was forthcoming. This cruel edict of Governor Arthur's, so arbitrarily exposing men to the malice and avaricious wickedness of prisoner police, was subsequently mitigated. It was also easy by a prudent *douceur* to avoid prosecution and silence slander. Thus, the really offending escaped, and the impracticable, though innocent, fell into the snare.

It is pleasing to record, just in passing, that a great change took place in the pretty island in reference to this feature of the social economy. If not acquainted with the people during the epoch to which our remarks referred, we were resident there twenty years ago, and can speak with some confidence upon their state. We dare assert that, in spite of its convictism, its numerical majority of bondsmen, its antecedents of reproach, Tasmania exhibited ten years since a development of temperance superior to what existed in Britain. Even now, in spite of the retrograde influence of the gold discovery, Tasmania need not be ashamed of comparison for sobriety with any other Anglo-Saxon people.

A few words will explain the POLITICAL CONDITION of Van Diemen's Land in the early times.

Established wholly as a penal settlement, no one could land thereon but

with a permit; it was truly, 'No admittance except on business.' It was not till 1813 that the disability was removed. In that year the Home Government threw open the island. Any might go thither 'without any license whatever.' The mercantile class would be the first in the field. Then came the capitalist for money lending on easy terms of twenty, thirty, and forty per cent. At the close of the great European war, officers of the army and navy flocked there, to take advantage of grants of land, and labour at small cost. The favourable report of the country by a Wesleyan missionary visitor, drew a number of that religious communion to this field of money making and usefulness. Other classes followed. Thus did the free element gain progress. At the same time, the convicts were gradually working through their term of first punishment, gaining their emancipation, and taking their place among the free men.

As might be supposed, the discipline and laws were arranged only for a penal establishment. The advent of immigrants, respectable and intellectual as most of them were, even in comparison with other colonies, and with other immigrations, causing at first no change in the administration of affairs, which pressed heavily enough upon that portion of the community. The rise of the prisoner class to freedom, also, seemed to necessitate a change. But the desire of power is natural, and the love of the retention thereof common to all ages. Governors felt no wish for encroachments upon their glorious prerogatives, and the Home Government was led by the representations of officials more than by the petitions of questioned individuals. The evils of the primitive rule of despotism, therefore, remained to a late period in Van Diemen's Land, and no little martyrdom was experienced before the blessing of liberty was obtained.

Though nominally the governor was assisted by a council, all the members of which, however, were appointed by himself or predecessor, yet he was not bound to abide by their decisions, nor act upon their advice, if he deemed the circumstances, for instance, of a character to endanger the peace of the settlement, or insufficient for the repression of what he might regard as a mutinous

mutinous sign. Of this condition of things he was to be sole judge, and might then act upon his individual responsibility, even against the united will of his nominee council.

Magistrates were appointed by the governor, but removable at any moment. Originally they received no pay, but had an allowance of rations for four convict servants, which assisted them in their farm, or helped to maintain their family. The power used by these men of justice was often most arbitrary. It is a matter of regret that the first chaplains of the townships, who served as the earliest justices, were not always noted for their mercy, much less their justice. Busied in their farms, they were not too lenient in the treatment of supposed neglect or insubordination with servants. The punishment was flogging, and that given in a very summary way. The tale is told that magistrates, being in a hurry to attend to their business or pleasure, would sometimes not trouble to hear either charge or evidence against a fellow brought before them; but, charitably hoping the best, would cry out, when rushing off, 'Give him two dozen and send him back to his master.' As witnesses were usually convicts, if they failed to give the evidence expected or desired in the conviction of an offender, the lash was freely administered afterwards as a warning for the future.

If the magistrates possessed little knowledge of law, the head of the Supreme Court, the Deputy Judge Advocate himself, had little more. One of these primitive presidents, upon being most humbly told that his recent decision was quite contrary to the principles of common law, hastily exclaimed, 'I am no lawyer, and don't want to be bothered with law.'

The first debt court was in 1816. Two assessors were appointed by Government. These were for the term. Acquainted with the causes before they came into court, they had abundant opportunities of forming their judgments beforehand, and also of receiving suitable suggestions, in words or cash, to influence their opinions. To make all perfectly right, no appeal against their adjudication was allowed. Of course, *trial by jury* was not to be thought of. An earnest petition for this great boon was presented in 1827, but not then granted. A military jury

of seven officers on service—that is, under the Government and connected with it—tried all great criminal cases. These gentlemen were supposed not to be immaculate. If not to be gained by money, a direct, and often more successful attack was made, through the medium of that common and disreputable connection which stood in the stead of honourable marriage.

All trials in life or death matters were conducted in Sydney, as Van Diemen's Land was then placed under the government of the older New South Wales. The Judge Advocate of Hobart Town was simply a deputy of the one at Port Jackson. Considerable delay and expense were not the only inconveniences attending the voyage for justice. It gave time and opportunities for tampering both with witnesses and officers under that corrupt *régime*. To increase the difficulties of justice, the constables were all convicts themselves, often appointed more from favour than from a sense of their superior conduct. These men, ill supported, were especially open to bribery; and immoral in their lives, were susceptible of all improper influences. To gratify a revengeful impulse, they would often combine against an innocent man. The value of the oath of men, foresworn with frequency and shame, may be easily calculated. As we have lived ourselves under the reign of convict constables, we were fully able to appreciate their worth in the community.

It may be interesting to state something of the origin of that class, so much required and contemned in our age of progressive civilization,—the *lawyers*—the *barristers*. At first, each man made his own tale the best he could. But the advantages of presence, of words, of tact, of power, are not granted to all persons; and hence the rise of legal practitioners. The earliest gentleman of this order, the first to carry the blue bag, was one who was at the time a prisoner of the crown. The first *free* pleader appeared in the Hobart Town Court in 1822. He had been a schoolmaster; but, on arrival, finding little scope for the exercise of his faculties in his old line, and seeing the golden prospect in another, he seized a blue bag, and, without any acquaintance with Blackstone, but with a great belief in himself, he stood before the terrible representative of justice,

tice, the defender of the unfortunate. He was a man of singular capabilities. Untroubled with the subtleties of law, he hewed himself a path through a charge, and upon principles best known to himself argued vehemently for his client. This favoured illuminator of the judgment seat was sometimes required by his honour to perform an extra service. After he had exhausted human ingenuity in pleading one side for pay, he was requested, for the pleasure and enlightenment of the judge, to declare all that could be said for the other party. The latter duty was sometimes so successful as to bring the verdict against his own client. He had the satisfaction, however, of displaying his eloquence in court, and still securing his fee.

There were many vexatious interferences with individual liberty that sorely tried the early settlers. The manifestation of a liberal spirit was sufficient to make one a marked man. There were many ways of annoyance. Government patronage was withheld. His trade suffered, his produce was unsold, his business lacked servants, his assigned workmen were arbitrarily withheld or removed, and his grants were subject to constant obstructions. The quit-rent was rigidly enforced from him when not pressed upon others. A word uttered or written, supposed to reflect upon the honour of Government, would at once subject him to an action for slander and treason; and his hopes for fair treatment on trial were slight indeed. A heavy fine or a prolonged imprisonment silenced his objections, and closed the mouths of others.

In spite of all this persecution, there were some who from factious spirit, or love of freedom, never ceased to be thorns in the side of the governor. The clamour for trial by jury, and some shadow of representative government, grew louder and louder. It was caught up by gathering numbers of respectable settlers, and got a faint echo in England from such men as Mackintosh and Wilberforce. There were not wanting others who repudiated with scorn and contempt these efforts to obtain British institutions. Even down so late as 1840, we find a clergyman in England recording the condition of Australia, ridiculing this desire for the extension of liberty in such words as these: 'A people who live in a land almost free from taxes, and quite exempt from

tithes and poor rates, can without much difficulty conjure up complaints of taxation and oppression not less piercing than those which are heard in a kingdom where tax-gatherers, tithe-proctors, and aristocrats still exist.' He adds still more unkind words reflecting upon our colonial press, so long galling with the yoke of bondage: 'A corrupt press and incessant agitation are instruments suitable enough to accomplish the works of darkness, for which they are usually employed.' Had that worthy man lived, as we have, under an irresponsible government, and had seen, as we have, the moral disorders consequent upon a non-elective administration, he might not have been so hard upon our colonial struggles to be free.

This leads us naturally to reflections upon the Van Diemen's Land press. Its father was Andrew Bent. The first editor was Mr. Emmett, whose friendship we had the honour to claim, and whose intelligence and virtue attracted our regard. Unprovided with sufficient means to establish the 'Derwent Star and Hobart Town Gazette,' which was to be recognized as the Government organ of intelligence, the treasury advanced a loan to purchase materials. It was a single leaf, and contained, of course, no political news and no information, beyond advertisements, saving a notice of births, deaths, and marriages. Even when years after it ventured upon a statement of colonial affairs, no discussion of their merits was permitted, much less condemnation of policy. Venturing at last upon a very humble intrusion of opinion, poor Bent was dismissed his office, and heavily fined in the bargain. As the great struggle for the freedom of the press came on during the reign of Governor Arthur, especially after 1827, we forbear entering upon this tempting subject in our detail of the very early times of Van Diemen's Land. It is sufficient to say that no paper could be established without a license, and without good security. This license was liable at any moment to be revoked, and the poor printer imprisoned as well as ruined. The same argument was employed then in Tasmania, as of late in France and Germany, that the people were not fit for the freedom of the press. Personally acquainted with one editor who suffered several months' imprisonment for his advocacy of the rights of the people, who lost some thousands

thousands of pounds in his martyrdom, and who had ever borne the character of a virtuous member of society, and no wild, unprincipled demagogue, we are not without our sympathy for the cause of a shackled press, and our pleasure in the fall of its chains. It is but justice to record that, bad as was the moral position of the community, and great as were the temptations to adopt a style of writing that should flatter the vicious propensities of a depraved people, few instances occurred in which the early Tasmanian press thus lost its self-respect. The name of Dr. Ross is a sufficient guarantee for purity of morals and independence of feeling. We cannot forbear, however, noticing the grand style assumed by the early writers. One thus describes his sentiments at the serious responsibility of his situation: 'We esteem ourselves a beacon placed by divine graciousness on the awfully perilous coast of human frailty.' Another writes: 'We contemplate ourselves as the winnowers for the public.' A third says: 'We desire to encourage the cloudless flames of rectified communion.'

As there was primarily a great difficulty in the expression of public opinion, ingenuity devised a scheme by which the satirist could make himself known and felt by those who had excited his displeasure. In the centre of the town the road was in a very primitive condition, and huge stumps of trees lingered in the best thoroughfares. One of these had a good barrel, and was in a most conspicuous situation. It was, in fact, a common lounge—a place where officers and citizens met for idle chat, or to discussion of topics of business. This was the post selected by the Pasquins of the day for affixing their caricatures of individuals, their witticisms upon passing events, and their expression of official tyranny. These were generally put up at night, to avoid detection and penalty. The posters were not always fortunate in their escape, and not a few thus caught were subjected to the vigorous fall of the lash as a punishment for slanderous bill-sticking. The old colonists are fond of referring to this age of 'Punch,' and detail with great glee the couplets and bon mots of the times.

The means of communication were sadly wanting. Hobart Town and Launceston, distant but 120 miles from each other, were as much separated as Lon-

don and Naples at the present time. The country was certainly of an impracticable nature from the elevation of hills, the density of scrub, and the immensity of forests. An adventurous individual undertook to place the two settlements *en rapport* in 1820. He established himself as a foot messenger, and undertook to be no more than a week in the conveyance of letters and parcels. It was years after before a vehicle could be driven through. In our own time of residence, though twenty years after the passage was thus opened by the postman, the journey by coach occupied two days, and the road was much in the same state in which it had been as originally marked out by blazed trees.

Commerce was managed in a very simple manner. The possession of small quantities of few articles constituted a merchant. A couple of kegs of nails made an ironmonger; a sheep or two a week would serve a butcher, and some prints and ribbons would fill the boxes of the draper, and an uncommon small store sufficed for the wholesale establishment. The medium of exchange, when not rum, was less coin than promissory notes. These bits of paper, issued by all tradesmen, underwent various degrees of discount, according to the credit of the party, and were valued from threepence upward. Even when provided with coppers it was expedient to give notes in change, as they would probably suffer damage in the pocket, light a fire in mistake, or be liable to repudiation as a forgery by the merchant upon their presentation for payment. The coin was less English than foreign. Even in our own time, we used the Spanish and American dollars; and we manufactured a couple of media by cutting out the centre of a dollar, so that the piece or dump may stand for a quarter, and the ring dollar for three quarters. A curious difference in the exchange then existed. We can remember the time when we could gain threepence upon the silver coin by taking it past the half-way house on the road to Launceston from Hobart Town. The Van Diemen's Land Bank was established in 1823. The rate of discount was high: private discounters of bills sometimes got forty per cent.

Many articles of export were unheeded then. The hides were thrown aside as useless: the skins of sheep were

were pitched upon the dunghill. We knew a neighbour of ours whose antipathy to manure was such, that he would never allow any to be put upon his land to poison it, as he said. Produce fluctuated greatly in price; and the uncertain advent of vessels made objects of consumption from without very high in value at one time, and absurdly low at another. Tea was sold, even as late as 1825, at 40*l.* the chest. Flour has been up to 110*l.* the ton. In 1807 wheat was 4*l.* the bushel, and in 1809 it was down to 15*s.* In 1816 there were 3000 acres in wheat, 180 in barley, and 240 in potatoes. The imports always exceeded the exports considerably. In 1824 the imports amounted to 62,000*l.* The first sheep introduced by Col. Paterson, were of the Secs-water, Leicester, and Bengal breeds. In 1820 some merinoes were procured from Sydney, of Mr. Macarthur. As late as 1819 wool was regularly burned for manure by the careful, and thrown aside to perish by others.

The state of morals in that early colonial epoch was not one answering to the expected Millenium. A nation of convicts and expirers would hardly be recognized as a model of the virtues. The ameliorating influences of latter days were then so wanting that no suitable language could describe the moral darkness of that early period. Far be it from us to depreciate, for slander sake, the lovely little island. A residence of several years there has taught us the moral worth of its sons and daughters too well not to feel impelled to say a kind and tender word for it, and a hearty approval of its society, its free inhabitants, who would not suffer in comparison with any other community. But still, at the time of our story, darkness prevailed rather than light, and the very want of humanizing and Christian agencies deepened the gloom of the social circle.

The first prisoners were unfortunately without proper moral supervision. It is true that a chaplain was attached to the expedition, who thus became the first, and for many years the only minister in the colony. But as his chief claim upon the goodwill of his flock arose from his conviviality of manners, and his non-recognition of their peccadilloes, his influence was small indeed in the restraint of vice or the inculcation of piety. The introduction of the Rev. Dr. Bedford, after the

colony had been established nearly a quarter of a century, in conjunction with the administration of Governor Arthur, became the inauguration of a better state of morals among those in official positions, and the forerunner of progress among those of a lower grade.

Not only was intemperance the plague of that primitive order of society, but a general looseness of law and morals prevailed. It might have been supposed that such a band of men as formed that population, would be disposed to rebel against authority, and seize that island gaol as their own. But in the very early times the coercion was so slight, from the weakness of Government and indifference about discipline, that few inducements were offered to agitation and violence. The very state of immorality among all classes prevented the direction of thought toward politics of any kind. When the reins were drawn tighter, especially during the administration of Colonel Arthur, the police arrangements were much improved, and a strong armed force was in available proximity. The general mistrust of each other, as well as the advantages of treachery and betrayal, kept down anything like organization of revolt, and defeated attempts at rebellion. The wilder spirits were content to rush off to the bush, and maintain there a while an armed defiance of the resident power. Even when, in a subsequent period, a union of four-and-twenty mounted bandits took place, under the command of an educated and chivalrous leader, there never seemed a thought of anything beyond the indulgence of joyous freedom, and the robbery of settlers as a means of supporting that life.

Strange is it that, during that fearful period of colonial history, that first score of years, no silver lining appears on the cloud that overshadows them; it is unmingled gloom. No Howard comes to soften the rigour of those iron fetters; no Wilberforce has words of liberty to breathe; no hand of Florence Nightingale there soothes the brow of sufferers; no gentle tones of Elizabeth Fry can reach those female outcasts; no Vincent de Paul is there to cherish little ones; no Raikes regards the Sabbath vagrants; no Whitfield and no Wesley break those stony hearts with tears of love, with words of saving power. Unheeded by the Christian

land from which, as vile carrion, they were flung, and unwarned, unloved, on that distant, barbarous shore, upon which those festering ones were stranded, they felt, if they felt at all, as banished ones of earth and heaven, with demons as companions here, and no better prospective society hereafter.

Even when, in later days, the evangelist did come, the social difficulties arose like the wild vines in the forest, closing the path to the traveller. Dr. Ross, writing as late as 1835, says of the minister of God's gospel there: 'He has to grapple at the very gates of hell if he would rescue a soul from the headlong ruin to which he is hurrying. He has to struggle with the enemy in close combat, face to face, and foot to foot.' But that day was as a May morning to November gloom, compared with the early times. Alas! still darker shadows thickened than ever Ross observed, and these well known to the writer, when Britain remorselessly sought to stifle every colonial effort for moral emancipation, by desolating our lovely home with shiploads of criminals, and herding them in vast cancerous groups of crime. Having passed through that dark valley, we are able better to understand the moral shade of the very early days.

Almost universal licentiousness reigned then. From the governor downward, concubinage was the rule. The females, as they arrived, were drafted off as sheep for slaughter. Women, who had thus fallen beneath the burden of the law, but had never lost the modesty of the maid or the honour of the wife, here found it next to impossible to maintain their virtue. They were slaves. They were taken by masters, nominally for servants, but really for mistresses. It was the story of the Southern States. With no redress, with no means of release from service, with no counsellors but evil ones, with no hope for the future, is it surprising that they sank like others in that abyss, and justified the words of a governor that 'women who come here virtuous will be prostitutes in a fortnight!'

The introduction was unfortunate. In that early time the convict vessels were under little or no surveillance. Shippers undertook to convey the prisoners at so much per head, and the Government to protect them from mu-

tiny. When women were so sent, the way was often open from the cabin to the fore-castle. It was nothing better than a floating brothel. As Captain Bertram tells us: 'The captain and each officer enjoys the right of selection.' When, as it often happened then, males were in the same vessel with females, the maintenance of order and propriety was no easy task. Our maritime authority goes on with his sketch. We blush to copy this record of the early social state of one of England's colonies, founded by a Christian commonwealth, ruled by a Church-and-State confederacy. He then goes on with his story of the passage out: 'The unhappy male convicts are denied, save occasionally, these profligate liberties. Occasionally, however, they range into the quarter assigned to the women. The males, accustomed in London to indiscriminate license, discover the greatest regret at the restraint of their passions in the grossest oaths, and in the coarsest language. The females, who rather resemble the brutes than rational creatures in their excesses, answer their reproaches, and rage with equal effrontery and unbounded impudence. It is a scene like pandemonium, a second hell.'

This wild licentiousness of the passage usually destroyed the little remaining good in the poor creatures, and prepared them for their convict home. On one occasion, the insubordination of these floating hells reached a climax. The women on board the 'Jane Shore' were so well pleased with the freedom they enjoyed with the libertine crew and guard, that they persuaded them to seize the vessel, so that their unholy connection might not be dissolved. Urged by these wretched women, the sailors and soldiers rose against the officers, shot the captain, and threw the mate overboard. Then, turning the helm, they directed their course to South America.

If so little care was taken of the morals of the women in their passage out to the colony, it is not surprising that their state was so bad after arrival. The unblushing impudence with which the officials carried on their licentious intercourse astonishes us. They got an order, passed by the governor, exempting from church attendance upon a Sunday the ladies of their respective establishments, so that their  
amours

amours might not be disturbed by the regulations of penal discipline. The avenue to success in trade, as well as removal of disabilities, lay in courtesy to these convict mistresses. It was worse than France under Louis XIV., or England under George II. Old Gorgenson might well relate: 'In former days pardons were easily obtained; the best passports were to lend money to public officers, or make presents to their concubines.'

It is sickening to go on in such recitals. The same state of corruption was observed in the so-called free society. Marriage was the exception. The clergyman seemed not to heed this system of living. It was far different under the second chaplain, Mr. Bedford. He boldly condemned the practice. Not content with pulpit exhortations and private appeals, he halted not in his crusade until he had obtained a Government order commanding all persons in official positions to cease their illicit connexions, to marry their mistresses and the mothers of their children, or to resign their situations. Most unrelenting was the pitiful persecution to which this good man was exposed by his fearless conduct, but most grateful did every true-hearted man and woman feel for his heroic defence of virtue. From that time public sentiment seemed to turn, and vice became less conspicuous in society, though not chased from its borders. Disorders of a less heinous character, however, prevailed long after. It was no uncommon circumstance for wives to exchange protectors, nor for men to barter their partners. We hear of one who bought a wife for a hundred sleep, and found he had paid very dear for his whistle.

The increased supply of women tended naturally to a relief of some of the disorders of the community. The paucity of wives must ever be a cause of libertinism and a darker crime. As the females were the property of the State, though they might indulge privately in vice, they could not marry but with the consent of the authorities. We have ourselves, on several occasions, appended our names and certificate to a memorial for marriage. The

standing order was a residence of one year in service without getting *into trouble*, so called to insure the marriage permit. But in such a corrupt condition of things, bribery achieved what law objected to. Other remedial measures followed. No publican was permitted to have a convict woman assigned to him, and no single man could have that privilege without being known to the authorities, or recommended for his character. Thus the times mended; and we gradually emerged from that curious exponent of Christian civilization, so aptly set forth in an old colonial newspaper marriage-notice. After giving their names, the journalist adds: 'They had cohabited together fourteen years, verifying at last the old adage, "*Better late than never.*"'

We owe great thanks to Mr. Commissioner Bigge for his unsparing delineation of the immorality of those early times. Appointed by the Home Government to report upon New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, he made a visit to the island in 1822, and afterwards described scenes which, but for the high sanction of his name, and the appearance of the tales in a Parliamentary Blue Book, could not have been credited. We content ourselves with a single extract from that official document. He was at Launceston, the northern capital of Tasmania, when he saw that which he describes in these words: 'The female convicts, for want of any separate room in the prison, were placed in a small wooden hut near the blacksmith's forge, now converted into a church, and a constable was placed over them to prevent their escape. This mode of punishment was found so ineffectual that latterly the female convicts were sent to George Town, where they cohabited with the Government convicts.'

We forbear making further remarks upon this sad story. We have told the simple tale of the past as an illustration of a social state perhaps unparalleled. It remains only to say, that now, and for some years past, Tasmania can present features of moral purity and social order which justly place her upon an equality with any other place.

## ART. VII.—SOCIAL STATISTICS.

THERE has recently been printed, by order of Parliament, a 'Statistical Abstract for the last Fifteen Years,' which contains many items of social interest.. We make a few extracts.

## No. I.—INCOME and EXPENDITURE of RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES for 1860-61.

	Income.			Expenditure.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Bible Society . . . . .	167,941	14	7	165,462	12	2
Church Missionary Society . . . . .	149,182	0	0	145,822	0	0
Wesleyan Missionary Society . . . . .	140,678	9	9	..		
London Missionary Society . . . . .	85,363	7	3	81,199	6	0
Baptist Missionary Society . . . . .	30,468	15	4	29,684	8	11
Religious Tract Society . . . . .	103,127	16	11	102,311	14	5
City Mission . . . . .	35,018	0	0	..		
Colonial and Continental Church Society . . . . .	30,036	10	3	..		
Church Pastoral Aid Society . . . . .	41,220	4	8	42,627	5	11
London Society for Jews . . . . .	35,460	11	2	35,155	12	1
Irish Church Missions . . . . .	26,196	17	6	27,357	0	5
Turkish Missions Aid Society . . . . .	3,681	19	4	3,466	19	3
Primitive Methodist Missionary Society . . . . .	14,858	17	8½	..		
Home Missionary Society, Congregational . . . . .	6,428	11	0	4,516	19	0
Additional Curates Society . . . . .	27,293	8	4	..		
Army Scripture Readers Society . . . . .	9,972	19	9	8,024	4	3
Home and Foreign Schemes of Established Church of Scotland . . . . .	19,860	0	0	..		
Income of the Free Church of Scotland . . . . .	329,383	3	11¾	..		
Thus divided:—						
I. Sustentation Fund . . . . .	113,462	17	7	..		
II. Building Fund . . . . .	36,539	8	11½	..		
III. Congregational Fund . . . . .	100,134	6	1½	..		
IV. Missions and Education . . . . .	62,487	4	5	..		
V. Miscellaneous . . . . .	16,759	6	11	..		
United Presbyterian Church Congregational Fund . . . . .	157,627	13	1½	..		
Missions and Benevolence . . . . .	40,152	9	4	..		

No. II.—TOTAL AMOUNT RECEIVED and PAID by TRUSTEES OF SAVINGS BANKS  
from and to DEPOSITORS, and of the CAPITAL of SAVINGS BANKS.

—	ENGLAND.	WALES.	SCOTLAND.	IRELAND.	UNITED KINGDOM.
	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1846 { Received	5,522,539	140,563	562,976	1,074,289	7,300,367
1846 { Paid	5,497,318	104,476	498,048	1,155,812	7,255,654
1846 { Capital	26,759,817	674,657	1,383,866	2,924,910	31,743,250
1847 { Received	5,191,831	139,361	495,202	822,614	6,649,008
1847 { Paid	6,877,070	134,890	733,037	1,315,078	9,060,075
1847 { Capital	25,838,109	697,840	1,182,518	2,488,713	30,207,180
1848 { Received	4,826,671	115,012	415,678	505,381	5,862,742
1848 { Paid	6,368,770	139,773	545,880	1,598,685	8,653,108
1848 { Capital	24,985,730	692,495	1,080,110	1,355,801	28,114,136
1849 { Received	5,205,673	104,871	485,945	400,394	6,196,883
1849 { Paid	5,381,512	139,144	444,025	558,079	6,522,760
1849 { Capital	25,480,508	678,313	1,154,338	1,223,851	28,537,010
1850 { Received	5,226,778	103,673	612,164	421,075	6,363,690
1850 { Paid	5,755,550	151,620	477,197	375,961	6,760,328
1850 { Capital	25,655,145	648,669	1,325,063	1,302,105	28,930,982
1851 { Received	5,620,388	111,792	620,457	429,422	6,782,059
1851 { Paid	5,276,875	123,537	497,160	407,994	6,305,566
1851 { Capital	26,770,457	659,387	1,488,707	1,359,103	30,277,654
1852 { Received	6,041,533	122,089	648,363	469,192	7,281,177
1852 { Paid	5,624,231	118,471	536,259	405,945	6,684,906
1852 { Capital	27,967,641	681,614	1,645,040	1,459,966	31,754,261
1853 { Received	6,231,989	153,095	736,640	531,796	7,653,520
1853 { Paid	5,985,281	112,155	582,882	436,012	7,116,330
1853 { Capital	29,182,776	742,483	1,837,856	1,599,145	33,362,260
1854 { Received	5,988,328	161,151	735,790	514,872	7,400,141
1854 { Paid	6,603,104	129,457	674,048	549,738	7,956,347
1854 { Capital	29,400,685	795,829	1,931,928	1,607,638	33,736,080
1855 { Received	5,853,145	165,678	720,506	448,882	7,188,211
1855 { Paid	6,331,363	142,535	695,748	484,487	7,654,133
1855 { Capital	29,771,139	842,432	2,033,925	1,615,639	34,263,135
1856 { Received	6,335,285	177,122	722,202	506,844	7,741,453
1856 { Paid	6,561,221	164,825	853,504	444,033	8,023,583
1856 { Capital	30,404,870	878,844	1,938,572	1,723,726	34,946,012
1857 { Received	6,240,909	175,303	652,734	512,469	7,581,415
1857 { Paid	6,820,415	181,075	866,372	507,233	8,375,095
1857 { Capital	30,694,646	898,260	1,776,746	1,775,915	35,145,567
1858 { Received	6,450,849	169,938	780,023	501,115	7,901,925
1858 { Paid	6,498,481	185,973	649,863	505,586	7,839,903
1858 { Capital	31,533,736	907,301	1,960,902	1,818,423	36,220,362
1859 { Received	7,435,248	194,216	815,034	577,409	9,021,907
1859 { Paid	6,085,052	159,038	648,651	442,608	7,335,349
1859 { Capital	33,810,564	968,792	2,210,710	2,005,810	38,995,876
1860 { Received	7,814,270	204,764	861,975	597,576	9,478,585
1860 { Paid	6,851,149	167,320	723,092	516,860	8,258,421
1860 { Capital*	35,747,348	1,034,410	2,415,381	2,144,948	41,342,087

\* The Capital for 1860 is an approximation only.

No. III.—NUMBER

**NO. III.—NUMBER OF CRIMINAL OFFENDERS COMMITTED FOR TRIAL, CONVICTED, AND ACQUITTED.**

—	YEARS.	COMMITTED FOR TRIAL.			CONVICTED.	ACQUITTED, exclusive of persons found and detained as insane.
		Males.	Females.	TOTAL.		
ENGLAND AND WALES.	1846	19,850	5,257	25,107	18,144	6,935
	1847	22,903	5,930	28,833	21,542	7,251
	1848	24,586	5,763	30,349	22,900	7,423
	1849	22,415	5,401	27,816	21,001	6,786
	1850	21,548	5,265	26,813	20,537	6,238
	1851	22,391	5,569	27,960	21,579	6,359
	1852	21,885	5,625	27,510	21,304	6,176
	1853	20,879	6,178	27,057	20,756	6,265
	1854	22,723	6,636	29,359	23,047	6,274
	1855	19,890	6,082	25,972	19,971	5,967
	1856	15,425	4,012	19,437	14,734	4,672
	1857	15,970	4,299	20,269	15,307	4,927
	1858	13,865	3,990	17,855	13,246	4,576
	1859	12,782	3,892	16,674	12,470	4,175
	1860	12,168	3,831	15,999	12,068	3,907
SCOTLAND.	1846	2,901	1,168	4,069	3,065	948
	1847	3,320	1,315	4,635	3,558	1,040
	1848	3,490	1,419	4,909	3,689	1,196
	1849	3,228	1,129	4,357	3,274	1,063
	1850	3,301	1,167	4,468	3,363	1,081
	1851	2,892	1,109	4,001	3,070	907
	1852	2,949	1,078	4,027	3,018	975
	1853	2,768	988	3,756	2,821	907
	1854	2,883	1,111	3,994	2,989	979
	1855	2,568	1,062	3,630	2,689	902
	1856	2,591	1,122	3,713	2,723	951
	1857	2,743	1,097	3,840	2,920	898
	1858	2,718	1,064	3,782	2,850	891
	1859	2,402	1,070	3,472	2,589	880
	1860	2,306	981	3,287	2,441	846
IRELAND.	1846	14,204	4,288	18,492	8,639	9,822
	1847	23,552	7,657	31,209	15,233	15,952
	1848	26,765	9,757	36,522	18,206	20,286
	1849	31,340	10,649	41,989	21,202	20,767
	1850	22,682	8,644	31,326	17,108	14,203
	1851	17,337	7,347	24,684	14,377	10,288
	1852	12,444	5,234	17,678	10,454	7,206
	1853	10,260	4,884	15,144	8,714	6,390
	1854	7,937	3,851	11,788	7,051	4,711
	1855	6,019	2,993	9,012	5,220	3,777
	1856	5,097	2,002	7,099	4,024	3,064
	1857	5,458	1,752	7,210	3,925	3,273
	1858	4,708	1,600	6,308	3,350	2,940
	1859	4,462	1,403	5,865	2,735	3,109
	1860	3,996	1,390	5,386	2,969	2,393

*Note.*—The decrease in the Number of Persons committed for Trial in England and Wales since 1855, is partly to be attributed to the operation of the Criminal Justice Act of 1855, which authorizes Justices to pass sentences for short periods, with the consent of the prisoners, instead of committing for Trial to the Sessions.

## ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

THE past quarter has been crowded with events of the most pulse-stirring and thought-exciting character. The press, day by day, has been borne down, as it were, with the weight of its mighty and fearful intelligence of civil war in America, famine in India, massacres in Poland, rebellion and war in New Zealand, riots in Newfoundland, an earthquake at Modena, and the death of Count Cavour in Italy.

Nor has all been placid and uneventful in the home circle. We have had the annual budget battle to fight; and Mr. Gladstone this year has come off conqueror, on the same field on which, last year he sustained a partial defeat—paper duties. The last excise impost upon useful articles of home manufacture is now repealed for ever. The Commons have so decided, and the Lords no longer demur. There now remains nothing under the claws of the revenue officer connected with the industry and manufacturing capital of Great Britain and Ireland, except those most exceptionable ‘commodities’ connected with the liquor-traffic of the country. The progress of social science, political economy, and fiscal policy, has at last brought our statesmen and the Cabinet to the conclusion—long arrived at by temperance reformers—that the traffic in intoxicating liquor cannot be placed in the category of useful or ordinary trade; but that it is an anomalous system, not responsive to the laws of political and commercial science, any more than to the claims of social justice, public morality, and Christian principle.

The thanks of the friends of temperance and social progress are due to Mr. Gladstone for his persistent and courageous determination to rescue paper from the contamination and thralldom it endured, whilst subject to the grasp of the Inland Revenue Office, in juxtaposition with intoxicating liquors.

In the Customs department there is yet a work to do; and it must be the aim of social reformers to rescue sugar, tea, coffee, and other really useful articles of importation from the ignominy of being taxed by the side of such noxious articles of demoralization as

tobacco, rum, gin, and wine. Villiers, Cobden, Bright, and Gibson, who laboured so long and well for cheap food for the people, should not leave it to politicians of the opposite camp to take up the popular cry and just demand for cheap sugar and tea.

The new and long contended for Bankruptcy Bill has been printed, as altered by the select committee to whom the measure was referred by the Lords. The bill, when it left the House of Commons, provided for the appointment of a chief judge in lieu of the present commissioners in London. The object of this provision was to insure uniformity in the decisions and practice of the court, to provide an economical and satisfactory court of appeal, and to procure for the administration of the bankruptcy laws the same decorum that is observed in other courts of justice. The select committee have struck out this part of the bill, and leave the law to be administered by the existing commissioners. The bill provided that the creditors should decide whether a bankrupt's estate should be realized by agents chosen by themselves or the official assignee. The select committee refuse to give the creditors such option, and leave the estate to be realized as at present. The bill provided that the creditors should be periodically informed of the course of liquidation of a bankruptcy estate by receiving a statement from the official assignee. The select committee refuse to assent to such information being conveyed to them. The bill provided that any debtor might petition the Bankruptcy Court for an adjudication against himself. The select committee will allow any non-trader to do so, but only those trader-debtors whose estates will realize 150*l*. The bill provided in the cases of trust deeds for giving validity to such deeds where the holders of bills of exchange could not be discovered. The select committee refuse to permit private arrangements to be effected unless all the creditors can be found. These are some of the changes made in this important measure, and will justify the observation of the Lord Chancellor that they might more aptly be termed alterations than amendments.

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A most excellent and useful bill, if carried, has been introduced by Sir L. V. Palk, Bart., M.P., entitled 'The Labourers' Cottages Bill.' The measure is sound in principle, and calculated to diminish a great and crying evil — the insufficiency of dwelling accommodation for the rural labourers who till the soil.

Another most useful measure for The Drainage of Land, has been brought in by Mr. Clive and the Home Secretary, by which the Queen is to be empowered, on the recommendation of the Enclosure Commissioners, to establish Commissioners of Sewers in all parts of England, and to assign areas to them. The bill is permissive, and the commissioners are only to act after a petition from the district has been presented to them; but if the owners of one-third of the land in the proposed district dissent, the petition is to be dismissed. The Drainage Board, under this Act, is to be elected by the persons in the district rated to the sewers rate. A private land-owner needing an outfall for his drainage through another person's land may apply to such person for permission, and, if he does not consent, may refer the matter to arbitration, as under the Railway Clauses Act.

On the motion of Sir S. Northcote, a select committee has been appointed 'To inquire how the education of destitute and neglected children may be most efficiently and economically assisted by any public funds.' He, Sir S. Northcote, differed from the recommendations of the commissioners with regard to ragged schools, and he disputed the evidences by which the recommendations were sustained. Mr. Hanbury, M.P., entered into a glowing eulogium on ragged schools.

In the House of Lords the Earl of Shaftesbury moved for the production of evidence on which the part of the Report of the Education Commissioners which relates to ragged schools is founded. His lordship complained that the commissioners were unfair in their statement of facts and unfriendly in their tone. The Duke of Newcastle defended the honesty of the report, whatever error as to facts it might contain. After debate the motion was withdrawn. It is to be hoped that the select committee in the Commons will both do justly and love mercy. Rag-

ged schools have peculiar claims on our sympathy and aid.

The Post Office Savings Bank Bill has passed through both houses, with some amendments in the Lords. A protest has been entered by Lord Montagu on the journals of the House of Lords against the bill.

The Government have also introduced a Lace Factories Bill, which aims to place the employment of women, young persons, youths, and children, in lace factories under the regulations of 'The Factories' Act.' The bill passed a second reading in the Commons on the 7th June.

The question of cotton supply never assumed a more momentous and pressing aspect than at the present moment. In Manchester the Cotton Supply Association held its fourth annual meeting on the 11th ult. in the Town Hall. The President, John Cheetham, Esq., was in the chair, and said:— 'The principle on which that association was founded was, that it was unwise in a great manufacturing trade of this country, upon the continuance and extension of which so large a number of population and of varied interests were concerned, year after year to allow it to continue in almost total dependence upon one source for the supply of its raw material. It was further said, in reference to that principle, that that great source of supply was connected with a mode of employing labour in its cultivation which could not, if they were believers in truth and righteousness, ultimately be continued, but might at some moment, unexpected to them all fail and break down, leaving them in the direst emergency.'

Mr. Henry Ashworth said, 'It was his firm conviction that if proper attention were given to this subject by the Indian Government, we should be transferring to that country annually from twenty to forty millions of money which were now carried away by the United States. He complained that the governors of India were only just now adopting the suggestions, which had emanated from the Manchester Chamber of Commerce for the last thirty years, and argued that if India were as well governed as Ceylon and Java she would not only be able to supply us with cotton, but be capable of purchasing almost every yard of cloth

cloth we manufactured at this moment.'

The Rev. Mr. Arthur, from India, said that there was more cotton wasted in India than was grown in America. According to the returns of 1859 the total exports of cotton from India amounted to about one-third of the imports to England from the United States. In India all the people were clothed with cotton; every man had on his head an immense cotton turban; and the women, more or less, were clothed in cotton; the halters for the horses were of cotton, and saddles, &c., were stuffed with cotton. Cotton was most extensively used, and the waste was beyond calculation. Supposing the ryot was asked, 'Why don't you sell your cotton for 2*d.* per lb. instead of for 1½*d.*?' the answer would be, 'Because there is no demand.' Demand was not necessity, but the offering the holder an inducement to sell. It was calculated that of the 200,000,000 of people in India, every man, on an average, consumed 10 lb. to 12 lb. of cotton annually, and yet there was as much wasted. If it could only be got at, 1,000,000,000 lb. of cotton could be laid down at Liverpool without any trouble. The railways would help towards doing this, but a cheaper mode of carriage would be by water. If the Cotton Supply Association had been properly aided when it was first started, it might, by opening the rivers of India, not only have secured a supply of cotton, but have made from 30 to 200 per cent. upon the money expended. The river Godavery ran through a cotton district four times the size of Ireland, whilst the American cotton field was only about the size of Yorkshire. If he were the Government he would not allow the Manchester manufacturers to have possession of the waterworks of the Godavery, because he believed they would prove an admirable investment; on the other hand, if he were the manufacturers of Manchester, he would tell the Government, 'You shall not have these works; we will develop them by private enterprise.' By opening up this river they would open the best cotton field in the world. More than that, it was a field for flax, rice, and other produce; an immense population would throng into it; and by this means slavery in

America would be brought to a natural end, and the slave trade in Africa would become impossible.

Dr. Beke, who has been a traveller in Abyssinia, said, whilst every portion of the habitable globe had been put forward as a competitor for the supply of cotton to England, there was one country which had not hitherto found an advocate in public. Yet it was superior to most other parts of the world as a cotton-producing country, and certainly second to none. The region to which he alluded was that portion of North-Eastern Africa contiguous to the shores of the Red Sea, lying south of Egypt and Nubia, and within the limits of the tropical rains. It might in a general way be called Ethiopia or Abyssinia, though the limits of the country commonly known by the latter name did not extend quite so far northward as the Ethiopia above Egypt of the ancients. It was an historical fact that in former times the region in question was famous for the cotton it produced, for Pliny in his *Natural History* told us that 'Ethiopia, the country adjoining Egypt, possesses scarcely any trees of importance except those bearing wool.' He contended that Ethiopia was capable of furnishing an almost unlimited supply of cotton, and he exhibited two samples of the raw material which he recently obtained from the Abyssinian coast, where the plant grew wild, or nearly so. The Abyssinians were essentially an agricultural people; the people were Christians, not savages, and labour was to be had at almost a nominal rate. The pressing demand in England for what was in former ages the staple production of Ethiopia offers a simple but effectual means of restoring her to her place among Christian nations. The establishment of a factory at the edge of the elevated table-land of Abyssinia, in the immediate vicinity of the sea coast, with agencies in the interior, would soon induce the inhabitants to turn their attention to their extensive and valuable cotton fields; and he was quite willing to put down 1,000*l.* for this purpose if twenty-four gentlemen would join him with a like sum, and he would go out himself to establish the factory.

An important question with regard to the licensing powers of borough and county

county magistrates, which has been long agitated in Sunderland, has been recently decided in the Court of Queen's Bench, by which it was ruled that in towns corporate without a separate quarter sessions the borough justices have no power to grant spirit licenses. The case tested was *Candlish v. Simpson*. Mr. Manisty, Q.C. (with whom were Mr. W. D. Seymour, Q.C., and Mr. S. Pope), argued the case for the borough justices. A meeting of the borough magistrates at Halifax has been held on this decision, and a deputation appointed to wait on the borough members and Sir G. C. Lewis, the Home Secretary, to press on them the necessity of some remedy for this anomalous state of things. This is another illustration of the rotten and complicated state of the license system. We trust the right remedy, because the only efficient one—prohibition, by the will of the people, will be soon conceded.

Lord Brougham, on the 11th ult., presented a petition from a meeting of the inhabitants of Plymouth, including the mayor, magistrates, and many leading citizens, praying, in the interests of public morality and sobriety, that any measure receiving the sanction of the legislature, respecting the sale of wine, beer, or spirits, might contain a clause conferring upon two-thirds of the ratepayers of cities, boroughs, parishes, and townships, the power to prevent the granting of any license. The noble and learned lord, after reciting the contents of the petition and reading its prayer, stated that it proceeded from a great public meeting, presided over by the mayor, and representing to a large extent the inhabitants of Plymouth. His lordship expressed his entire concurrence with the averments of the petitioners, which, he said, were the opinions of the judges and all who had an opportunity of observing the causes of crime. The petitioners therefore appealed to their lordships as the highest court of criminal justice, for protection against the evils created by the trade in intoxicating liquors; and he added that the evils of the existing licensing laws were such that it was desirable that, in any measure for the licensing of public-houses of any description for the sale of fermented liquors, there should be inserted a provision that two-thirds of the inhabitants of a district should have the power of

suspending or prohibiting the licenses of those houses, by adopting what was called the 'permissive system.' The noble lord entered at some length into the subject, and concluded by stating, that the great town of Plymouth had been carefully canvassed on this subject before the meeting at which the petition was passed was held, and it was found that an immense majority of the inhabitants were in favour of the measure. It was remarkable that in this inquiry it was proved that the proportion in favour was much the greatest in the body of the working classes, and less in the highest and the most degraded classes of the community. The corresponding petition, which had been presented to the House of Commons, was signed by upwards of 12,000 of the inhabitants of Plymouth. The same universal approval of the principle of the petition, the permissive system, had been found in the other great towns, such as Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, and Leeds; and it was devoutly to be wished that it might be acted upon by the Government and the legislature.

During the last few weeks an agitation has been going forward on behalf of a bill to be shortly introduced into the Commons, to close public drinking houses during the whole of the Lord's Day. The movement is mainly being promoted by the British Temperance League, and petitions are being got up by its auxiliaries, and by numerous religious congregations. We hope the bill will be shortly introduced and speedily carried.

Numerous other topics and matters of social interest invite our attention, at home and abroad:—the emancipation of the Russian serfs; the abolition of passports in France; the new Indian budget; the recent May meetings; the convict outbreaks; the factory and trade strikes; the co-operative movements; the transportation of convicts, and fifty other questions full of interest for the social reformer. But our space will not admit them. We cannot, however, close our rapid sketch without a brief and most sympathetic notice of what is going on among our friends and brethren of the United States of America. Every true-hearted Englishman must feel intense emotion in the contemplation of the fearful struggle now going on between the Northern  
Free

Free States and the Southern Slave States. The issues involved are vaster, it may be, than any imagination has yet conceived. The interests at stake are incalculable. No one can tell when or where the 'irrepressible conflict' will end. It has gone beyond the control of cabinets, commanders, or any earthly potentate. Nothing, we fear, but a horrible deluge of blood, shed by hands that a short time since were clasped in friendly compact and brotherhood, can appease the fierce spirit of licentious rebellion on the one hand, and of outraged humanity on the other. Every Englishman's heart must go with the North and Freedom, and pray God to defend the right! We give an extract from a recent letter addressed to a friend in Manchester, by the Hon. Neal Dow, who is well informed as to the feelings and policy of the New England States and of the Federal Cabinet:—

'I know you must all be very much interested in many ways in the atrocious rebellion now existing in the Slave States against our Government. It required something like this to show you and us how much we are interested in each other's welfare and prosperity. Any serious calamity to England would be felt by us almost as much as if it should befall our own country; and so this madness of the South will touch the English almost as sensibly as it does and will us of the Free States. I assure you that we all regret it very much. In all the North, the feeling is so thoroughly kind towards England, that there has been, and is, much talk of permitting the cotton to go to you freely, to mitigate, as much as possible to your country, the evil effects of this war. And yet we see that it is really for your interest as much as ours that this rebellion should be crushed out in the shortest time possible. To do this effectively, the South must be sealed up hermetically—like *La Diable Boiteau*—in a bottle, cutting off entirely and absolutely all its trade, excluding from it the very breath of life. This policy will greatly shorten the war, and save a vast amount of blood and treasure. The probability now is, that the Administration will act upon this policy, though it will inflict great inconvenience and loss upon the North as well as upon you—for our thousands of cotton mills must stand idle as well as

those of England. Set yourselves, then, to work in earnest, to increase to the utmost your cotton supplies from other sources than America. In this way you will most surely promote your own interests, and at the same time help us to strike a deadly blow at slavery. We are quite surprised to notice the want, in England, of accurate information in relation to events as they transpire here, and to the nature of our constitution and government. We notice that the Southern news is often taken as true and reliable, and the Southern view of our constitution as just. The truth is, all the Southern papers carefully exclude every item of intelligence unfavourable to their side, and invent and circulate the most absurd and atrocious falsehoods in order to mislead the Southern people. They say, and you adopt it as true, that our Union is made up of independent States, any of whom have a right to secede from the compact at any time. This is not true at all. The Union is a homogeneous and compact country and government, as much as England or France, except that the States are independent in the management of their own domestic and internal affairs. No State has a right to secede from the Union, more than Cumberland or Northumberland, or Normandy or Provence, have to secede from England or France. My friends in England write me, that it is wiser and far better to permit the disaffected States to go off into a confederacy of their own; that there can be no union between the North and South any more, even after the latter shall be subjugated and broken down. We do not wonder at all that you should take that view of the matter, not knowing precisely the facts. If the South, in pursuance of their intention to secede, had shown that it was the will of the people there to do so—as it was not—and had pursued their object by peaceful methods and constitutional measures, the North would have met the proposition in a similar spirit. But this was not done. On the contrary, the South seized our forts, arsenals, and mints—and ships of war, dockyards, navy yards, and public property of every kind—took captive and even murdered our people, and fired upon our flag. All this changes the question very materially. It is no longer, whether the South may secede in peace,

peace, but whether we have any Government at all, to be respected and obeyed by the nation; and we are resolved, heaven helping us, to demonstrate to all the world, that our system is not the worthless, helpless thing that such conduct assumes it to be, but that it is endowed with a vitality sufficient to preserve itself from disintegration,

and to command the respect of all who might otherwise insult or attack it. This is a war for our very existence as a nation, and in all the North, there is only one feeling about it—and that is, to pledge all we are and we have upon the issue. The time for negotiation, compromise, arrangement of whatever kind is passed.

## ART. IX.—REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*Life Story: A Prize Autobiography.*  
By James J. Hillocks. London:  
Tweedie.

THIS is a most interesting record of the pursuit of knowledge, and of philanthropy under difficulties. The author describes his struggles with a manly energy and with a touching pathos. His tale is genuine, and exhibits what hard poverty, trials, and toils humble genius have to pass through in aspiring to a higher intellectual sphere. This essay surpassed eighty competitors, and is well worthy of being presented to the public in a permanent form. The author's struggle is not yet over, but we trust that a way is now being opened up before him in which the path may be less thorny and the reward more according to his merit.

*Mental and Moral Excellence, and how to attain it: Memorials of John Hessel.* By Joshua Pricstley. Fourth Edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1861.

MR. PRIESTLEY wrote a few years ago a very able and graphic life of the sister of his present subject, and obtained high commendation for the manner in which he presented the inner history of a life devoid of outer incident. In the volume before us he has achieved a similar success. We are not aware which book was the earlier production. This, judging from the time of Mr. Hessel's death, we suppose to be first published. The departed student and preacher—for such he was—is allowed to speak for himself in an autobiography worthy of the study of aspirants to the Christian ministry.

*Lectures on Homiletics and Preaching, and on Public Prayer, together with Sermons and Letters.* By Ebenezer Porter, D.D. London: Ward and Co.

THE publishers did a great service to the clergy generally when they included this admirable work of a transatlantic divine in their standard series of Christian authors. There is great good sense in the counsels which Dr. Porter addressed to the candidates for the sacred office who were under his care. A number of years has now elapsed since they were first issued, but every *concio ad clerum* from Chrysostom on the *Priesthood* to Bridges on the *Christian Ministry*, including Bernard's *Speculum Episcopi*, Herbert's *Country Parson*, Baxter's *Reformed Pastor*, Burnet's *Pastoral Care*, cannot be too often reprinted or reperused.

*The Homilist.* Vol. II. New Series. Conducted by the Rev. David Thomas. London: Ward and Co. 1861.

THIS volume contains much good thinking expressed in a form free from all theological conventionalism. There is no good reason why religious thought should be stereotyped; but as Christian truth is always the same, great care must be taken that the new words imply the old meaning. It is the danger of some modern divines that they employ the current phraseology with rationalistic idea; and, on the other hand, there are those who conscientiously abjure the language of the schools, with the view of circulating what is called a more liberal theology. The *Homilist* belongs to this latter class.

Words

*Words of Comfort for Parents bereaved of little children.* By William Logan, author of 'The Moral Statistics of Glasgow.' With an Introduction by the Rev. William Anderson, LL.D., Glasgow. London: J. Nisbet and Co. 1861.

THIS is the best book upon the subject of parental sorrow which we have met with. It is a compilation of almost all that has been printed before, and of much that has been expressly written for the volume. It contains a narrative of a promising life early ended, letters of consolation to the bereaved, extracts on infant salvation, and on the comfort of the mourning parents, and almost all the poetry written on the subject. It is a book full of matter on a theme which many families painfully realize, and it is thus eminently fitted to prove a solace of sorrow in the house of affliction.

*The Illustrated History of England.* By Thomas and Francis Bullock, authors of 'Popular Education,' Manchester: John Heywood. 1861.

THIS is a condensed history of England, written in a lively and interesting style. The preface gives twenty 'prominent features' which distinguish it; nor does the performance come much short of the profession. It is an excellent school history, and contains accurate facts, treated always from a Christian point of view. The illustrations are well designed, and were the work printed on better paper, would add greatly to its worth.

*Homeric Translations in Theory and Practice.* A Reply to Matthew Arnold, Esq., Professor of Poetry, Oxford. By Francis W. Newman, a Translator of the Iliad. London: Williams and Norgate. 1861.

IT is quite refreshing to peruse this piece of scholastic gladiatorship. Professor Newman has been touched on a theme where he can put forth strength, and he wrestles against his opponent with scholarly and masculine vigour throughout the hundred pages of this nervous treatise. All admirers of Homer who have read Mr. Arnold's lectures will find a treat in the perusal of this work. Professor Newman takes a grasp of his reader's intellect, and adduces so many arguments as make one believe that they hit hard and keen.

*Sunshine and Shadow.* By A. P. Carter. London: S. W. Partridge and Co. 1861.

VERY many of the volumes of versification now published are still-born, and fall into early oblivion. They are not deficient in rhythm or rhyme, or even good sentiment, but they want the poetic genius. The volume before us is respectable, and contains excellent matter, clothed in appropriate verse.

*Thoughts on Woman and her Education.* By Miss Dickinson. London: Longman and Co. 1861.

FEMALE education is rising in importance, and emerging from mere ornament and pretence into real cultivation of mind and hand. The authoress of this work has a true conception of education, and has been labouring with considerable success to carry it out in the pupils committed to her care. For this she deserves her meed of praise and of reward. In the brochure before us there is too much of quotation and personal object to warrant public literary notice.

*Ragged Homes and How to Mend them.*

THIS work is being extensively circulated, and we are happy to notice a new edition. It is eminently calculated to open up a way of benevolent labour to ladies who desire to be useful, and it holds out the encouragement needed to sustain the philanthropist when struggling with difficulties in the outset of home mission work.

#### PAMPHLETS AND SERIALS.

*The Uses and Abuses of the Turkish Bath.* By Edward Haughton, M.D. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1861.

THIS pamphlet will repay perusal.

*The Pew System, and the injuries which it inflicts on the Church of England.*

ONE of the vexed questions of church policy is ably discussed in this paper.

*Temperance in France, Italy, and Switzerland.* A Series of Letters. By James Bonwick, Esq., late Inspector of Schools, Victoria. Manchester: United Kingdom Alliance.

THESE letters on the temperance aspect of the countries indicated in the title are all well written, and full of information.

The

*The Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks.*  
By T. K. Wilkinson.

THIS paper was read before the section for Statistics and Sociology of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, and is very worthy of separate publication. Its facts and arguments are telling.

*The Temperance Dictionary.* Nos. 1 and 2. By the Rev. Dawson Burns. London: Caudwell.

THE design of this work, now publishing in parts, is admirable, and the execution highly creditable to the author. The information is accurate, and all the matter is viewed entirely in a temperance light.

*A Popular Explanation of the 'Permissive Bill' for the Suppression of the Liquor Traffic.* By the Rev. John William Kirton. Stafford.

THIS ought to be extensively circulated. It shows the necessity of the proposed measure, and explains it in a manner well suited to the popular mind.

*Address to the Electors and Rate-payers of Scotland, by the Scottish Permissive Bill Association.*

THERE is lucid reasoning in this address, which can scarcely fail to promote its object.

*Maine Law and English Liberty; or, the Licensed Victuallers' Association and the United Kingdom Alliance Contrasted.* By Cephas. London: Caudwell.

*The Duty of Christians in relation to the Temperance Movement.* London: Alliance Depot.

*The New Discoveries on the Action of Alcohol.* A reprint from 'Meliora.'

*Fallacies of the Saturday Review.*

THESE pamphlets enter into the discussion of temperance and prohibition with great spirit and good argument.

*Temperance Reformer and Telegraph.* St. John's, New Brunswick.

THIS is a weekly paper, various numbers of which have been forwarded to us. We rejoice to know that a paper so well printed, and so ably written, appears weekly in one of our colonies which has shown great zeal in the temperance cause.

*The Bunch of Keys.* Conducted by the Rev. William Knox. London: Elliot Stock.

THE claims of this serial to public encouragement are very small; but there are good articles in it.

*National Education: Reasons for the rejection in Britain of the Irish System.* By the Rev. William Fraser, Paisley. London: Nisbet and Co. 1861.

WHATEVER proceeds from so eminent an educationist as Mr. Fraser deserves very careful consideration. His voice of warning in this pamphlet is such as should stir the conscience.

*The Baptist Magazine.* London: Pewtress and Co.

THE numbers of this serial published since the new editors came into office reveal an earnest purpose, well carried out, to the advantage of the denomination to which they belong. It deserves the general support of the Baptists of the United Kingdom.

*The Origin, Nature, and History of Wine; its use as a Beverage lawful and needful to civilized Man.* A lecture by Charles Ellis. London: Ellis. 1861.

THIS is a defence of wine-drinking by a wine merchant. Teetotallers would do well to get it, that they may learn how much is to be said on the other side. Most of the argumentation is entirely beside the question.

*The Magdalen's Friend, and Females' Home Intelligencer.* A Monthly Magazine. Edited by a Clergyman. London: Wertheim, Macintosh, and Hunt.

GREAT service is being rendered to the philanthropic movement in aid of fallen females by this monthly magazine.

*On the Licentiousness of Scotland, and the Remedial Measures which ought to be adopted.* By Alex. Thomson, of Banchory.

*Preventive and Reformatory Work in Aberdeen.* By the same. London: Nisbet and Co. 1861.

THESE papers were read before the Social Science Association at Glasgow in September last. They discuss the questions raised by them with great wisdom and sagacity. Mr. Thomson is a practical philanthropist, and has devoted much of his time to further social reform, both on his own estate and in the county of Aberdeen.

*The Temperance Spectator.* London: Caudwell.

THIS monthly holds on its way, and continues to propagate valuable information on the great question of the day.

# Meliora.

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## ART. I.—SHAKESPEARE ON WINE.

IN a previous number \* we suggested that great benefit might be derived from the perusal of our best poets, with a view of discovering their thoughts on the effects produced upon man by the use of stimulants and corporeal means of excitement. We took the liberty of questioning whether wine was the highest source of poetic inspiration, and drew attention to the fact, that Milton, Wordsworth, and others, had referred bardic exaltation to a better origin. But as those poets were notoriously abstinent, their evidence might be looked upon with suspicion by certain persons; and we prefer, on this occasion, to consider the utterances of one who was not remarkable for extremes in any particular; one who has been termed the ‘many-sided man,’ and who was distinguished by that moderation which is characteristic of the highest genius. Our readers will easily understand that we refer to William Shakespeare, who, of all modern poets, most largely combined the spirit of modern civilization with the calm philosophy of the old Greek drama. In looking over his works, with a view to our present inquiry, the only difficulty was to choose from among the numerous passages which abound. As a matter of course, there are very many thoughts which might occur in other writers: as, ‘It was excess of wine that set him on’ (Hen. V. 2. 2); ‘Give me a bowl of wine; I have not that alacrity of spirit, nor cheer of mind, that I was wont to have’ (Rich. III. 5. 3). We might fill whole pages with quotations of this kind; but it will be necessary to adopt some principle of selection, and we make the following divisions: (1.) The effects of wine upon the human mind; (2.) The remorse of the drunkard; (3.) The introduction of stimulants among uncivilized tribes.

I. *The effects of wine upon the human mind.*—Perhaps no passage gives a more powerful description of these effects, than the following from Macbeth, 1. 7 :—

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\* No. 11, October, 1860.

‘ His two chamberlains  
Will I with wine and wassel so convince,  
That memory, the warder of the brain,  
Shall be a fume, and the receipt of reason  
A limbeck only: When in swinish sleep  
Their drenched natures lie, as in a death,  
What cannot you and I perform upon  
The unguarded Duncan?’

To Shakespeare, who never forgot the aboriginal dignity of man, ‘How noble in reason, how infinite in faculties, in action how like an angel, in apprehension how like a god,’ the falling off must have seemed vast indeed, when the guardian of the brain became a mere fume, and the receptacle of reason a distilling machine. The words which he employs throughout the passage keep up the same idea; *drenched in swinish sleep, as in a death.*

Similar contempt is expressed by Portia (Merch. of Ven. 1. 2), who says of the young German, the Duke of Saxony’s nephew, that she likes him ‘very vilely in the morning when he is sober, and most vilely in the afternoon when he is drunk; when he is best he is little worse than a *man*, and when he is worst he is little better than a *beast* ;’ and she adds, lest he should choose the right casket and claim her in marriage, ‘Therefore set a deep glass of Rhenish wine in the contrary casket; for if the devil be within, and that temptation without, I know he will choose it. I will do anything, Nerissa, ere I will be married to a *sponge*.’

The French are very fond of asserting that the heaviness, which they are pleased to attribute to the English, results from the frequent use of beer and other malt liquors, tending to besot the brain; whereas their own vivacity is ascribed to the generous juice of the vine. Shakespeare has not omitted to notice this stroke of Gallic vanity; for in Hen. V., 3. 5, he makes the French Constable say—

‘ Dieu de battailés! where have they this mettle?  
Is not their climate foggy, raw, and dull?  
On whom, as in despite, the sun looks pale,  
Killing their fruits with frowns? Can *sodden water*,  
A drench for sur-rein’d jades, their *barley broth*,  
Decoet their cold blood to such valiant heat?  
And shall our quick blood, *spirited with wine*,  
Seem frosty?’

By the contemptuous terms ‘sodden water’ and ‘barley broth,’ fit only for horses, he means ale or beer; and asks whether such a compound can fire the cold English blood, while the wine-inspirited French are not kindled to deeds of arms. It were well, perhaps, if the English did confine themselves to beer; but since Shakespeare’s time, the use of ardent spirits has increased upon us to an amazing extent; and it is observed in France, that the English workmen employed in constructing railways are not content with wine; they mostly drink brandy, and that with a freedom which  
astonishes

astonishes the French. We can hardly doubt that the *kind* of liquor consumed has a various influence upon mind as well as body ; and there may be some truth in the statement that beer is a besotting beverage : but it is beyond all doubt that the increased consumption of ardent spirits has produced a train of nervous disorders, delirium, and other frightful maladies unknown to our forefathers. How many an old man, tottering on his peevish ways, would be glad to say with Adam, in *As You Like It* (2. 3)—

‘ Though I look old, yet I am strong and lusty :  
For in my youth I never did apply  
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood ;  
Nor did not with unbashful forehead woo  
The means of weakness and debility ;  
Therefore mine age is as a lusty winter,  
Frosty, but kindly.’

The old English word ‘lusty,’ like the German *lustig*, originally signified ‘pleasant’ or ‘cheerful.’ Thus the German Swiss, in speaking of a road across the mountains, say, *Der weg ist lustig*, ‘The way is lusty,’ meaning that it is an agreeable road. So here, a ‘lusty winter’ signifies a cheerful, exhilarating winter, frosty, but genial.

The hot and rebellious liquors are in keeping with many remarks in Shakespeare, upon the heating effects of wine : ‘I’ll heat his blood with Greekish wine to night’ (*Troilus*, 5. 1) ; ‘I had rather heat my liver with drinking’ (*Ant. and Cleop.*, 1. 2) ; ‘Thou art going to Lord Timon’s feast . . . to see meat fill knaves ; and wine heat fools’ (*Timon*, 1. 1). But the most elaborate description is given by Falstaff (2 *Hen. IV.*, 4. 5), in that mock-philosophic style which so much enhances the humour of the old rogue. He is speaking about Prince John of Lancaster, and says : ‘Good faith, this same young sober-blooded boy doth not love me, nor a man cannot make him laugh ; but that’s no marvel, he drinks no wine.’ According to Falstaff’s notion, none of these demure boys come to any proof ; for thin drink doth so overcool their blood, that they are generally fools and cowards, ‘which some of us should be too, but for *inflammation*.’ Then he breaks out into praise of a good sherris-sack : it ascends to the brain, dries up the foolish vapours, and gives birth to excellent wit : next, it warms the blood, which before was cold, leaving the liver white and pale, the badge of cowardice ; but the sherris warms it, and summons the vital commoners to their captain the heart, who, great and puffed up with this retinue, doth any deed of courage ; and this valour comes of sherris. ‘Hereof comes it,’ he adds, ‘that Prince Harry is valiant : for the cold blood he did naturally inherit of his father, he hath, like lean, sterile, and bare land, manured, husbanded, and tilled with excellent endeavour of drinking good, and good store of fertile sherris ; that he is become very hot and valiant. If I had a thousand sons, the first human principle

ciple I would teach them, should be—to forswear their potations, and addict themselves to sack.’

This is only to be paralleled by his disquisition upon honour (1 Hen. IV. 5. 1). A character of deep wit, and shrewd observation, who knows the right but does the wrong, and exercises all his ingenuity to make the worse appear the better cause. In all real wit, there is an argument expressed or understood; hence ordinary minds, carried away by the brilliancy of the one, allow themselves unconsciously to be influenced by the other. And if any persons, desirous of investigating truth, begin to discuss the latent argument, the very effort produces such a revulsion of feeling in the minds of individuals, that the attempt is generally hopeless. And thus it is, that the pot-valiant Falstaff, though proved guilty of cowardice on numerous occasions, has been forgiven a thousand times over for all his faults, in consideration of his amusing qualities.

II. *The remorse of the drunkard.*—The strongest instance in Shakspeare is the case of Cassio; but to understand the whole bearing of it, as indeed properly to appreciate the entire tragedy, it is necessary to examine the character of Iago, who is contrasted on the one hand with the generous, impulsive Othello, and on the other with the self-indulgent Cassio. We should remember that avaricious and ambitious men are rarely under the dominion of gross debauchery. It is not merely that self-indulgence would interfere with their schemes; but they are consumed by other passions, which, however injurious to their moral nature, have, at all events, the effect of preserving them from downright sensuality. The hawk has not the vices of the hog. Hence there is little merit in the abstinence of such men; they obey the necessity of their nature. Iago describes his own character (Othello, 1. 2) when speaking to Roderigo, who talks of drowning himself for love. He asserts that he ‘never found a man that knew how to *love himself*’: for his own part, rather than drown himself for love of a guinea-hen, he would change his humanity with a baboon. The principle of cool, calculating self-interest pervades the whole man. His conviction is, that the reason and the will must rule the passions. ‘Our bodies are our gardens; to the which, our wills are gardeners: so that if we will plant nettles, or sow lettuce . . . either to have it sterile with idleness, or manured with industry; why, the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills. If the balance of our lives had not one scale of reason to poise another of sensuality, the blood and baseness of our natures would conduct us to most preposterous conclusions. But we have reason to cool our raging motions, our carnal stings, our unbitted lusts.’ If Iago had been an honest man these principles would have rendered

dered him a noble character; but though he can rule his bodily passions he cannot control his avarice: for in the same breath he advises Roderigo to put money in his purse, that he himself may 'make the fool his purse.'

To serve his own purposes (1. 3) Iago persuades Cassio to drink; the latter excuses himself on the ground that he has very poor and unhappy brains for drinking, and could well wish courtesy would invent some other custom of entertainment. Iago suggests 'but one cup;' and the other rejoins, 'I have drunk but one cup to-night, and behold what innovation it makes here. I am unfortunate in the infirmity, and dare not task my weakness any more.' At length Iago prevails, and chuckles to himself—

'If I can fasten but one cup upon him,  
With that which he hath drunk to-night already,  
He'll be as full of quarrel and offence  
As my young mistress' dog.'

The carousal begins; Iago leads the revel, and sings songs which he says he learned in England, where they are most potent in potting, being easily able to overthrow Danes, Germans, and Hollanders, who are 'nothing to your English.' In a short time Cassio begins to prove that he is not drunk, which is always one of the surest symptoms that a man distrusts his own sobriety. We have seen a man sit down in the open streets, and exclaim, 'Well, a man's a man, let him go where he will;' and there are a hundred stages of similar moral reflection before an individual is so far gone that he will crawl upon the door-steps, lie down, and 'thank God that he is in bed at last.' Cassio proceeds from the argumentative to the quarrelsome stage; a brawl ensues; weapons are drawn; Othello appears, receives a hypocritical account from Iago, and says to Cassio, 'Never more be officer of mine.'

Then Cassio comes to his senses. 'Drunk? and speak parrot? and squabble? swagger? swear? and discourse fustian with one's shadow?—O thou invisible spirit of wine, if thou hast no other name to be known by, let us call thee—devil. O, that men should put an enemy in their mouths, to steal away their brains! that we should, with joy, revel, pleasure, and applause, transform ourselves into beasts!' Iago says he wishes this had not befallen; but, 'since it is as it is, mend it for your own good.' 'I will ask him for my place again,' says Cassio: 'he shall tell me I am a drunkard! Had I as many mouths as Hydra, such an answer would stop them all. To be now a sensible man, by-and-by a fool, and presently a beast! O strange! Every inordinate cup is un-bless'd, and the ingredient is a devil.' Iago replies that wine is a good familiar creature if it be well used; that we ought not to exclaim against it; and that the best plan is to importune Othello's wife to use her influence for his restoration. From this point the plot:  
of

of the play is developed, and thus it is made to arise out of an incident in a drunken brawl. Iago, himself a moderate drinker, knew how far to go, yet he could simulate sufficient enthusiasm to excite others. This misleading of the weak Cassio was an easy game, and not for a moment to be compared with his influence upon Othello; but, in its own way, it is a masterpiece, and proves how carefully, in the more finished plays, Shakespeare worked up his subordinate scenes, making them subservient to the main action. We cannot fail to notice the weakness of Cassio, conscious of infirmity, yet unable to resist solicitation. If he had possessed but a little of the strong will which Iago speaks of he would have been safe; but self-indulgence undermines the will, and easy compliance too often passes for good nature. In this sense the old proverb is true, that 'A good-natured man is little better than a fool.' That Cassio was acquainted with higher principles is proved by the indignation—nay, the revenge, which he denounces against himself after his fall. Here, again, was a man who knew the right but did the wrong; yet he does not seek, with Falstaff, to justify the wrong. For a time he mourns over it, though liable to fall again under a future temptation. There is all the difference in the world between a repentant sinner and a sinful penitent. A wolf howls when he is caught in a trap.

III. *The introduction of stimulants among uncivilized tribes.*—The conduct of Christian nations towards savage races is one of the blackest chapters in modern history. True it is that the roughest specimens of our European civilization have generally been the first to come in contact with the natives of Africa or America; but the comfortable merchants at home inquired little about the interests of the savages abroad if they themselves could make money. If slaves paid, they bought them; if whiskey left a profit, they shipped it; and certainly the temptation was great. Articles of small value were sent out from England, exchanged for slaves upon the coast of Africa, and resulted in a rich cargo of rum or sugar from Jamaica. But we sometimes see retributive justice working on a large scale; and nations should learn that in the long run honesty is the best policy.

In Shakespeare's time America was emphatically a new world. The strangest reports were circulated about its inhabitants: while the spirit of the adventurer was stirred to seek the land of gold, the imagination of the poet drew gorgeous pictures of the country, and the philosopher speculated on the future destiny of colonists and natives. Considerable attention was excited by an account which was published of the shipwreck suffered by part of a squadron on the Bermuda Islands, on which narration Shakespeare is supposed to have founded his play of the *Tempest*; and there

there is good reason to suppose that in the savage and deformed slave Caliban he drew a picture of the natives of the western continent, borrowing from the exaggerated descriptions current at the time. The savage is taught the use of wine by drunken fellows; and it is worth our while to follow Shakespeare in his delineation of the effects produced, remembering that the abuse of stimulants has caused the destruction of whole tribes and races of North American Indians.

Caliban, who complains that his own island has been taken from him, groans under servitude to Prospero, and wishes, if possible, to shake off the yoke. He is met by Stephano, a drunken butler, and Trinculo, a jester (*Tempest*, 2. 2), and begs them not to torment him. 'Do not torment me, pry'thee; I'll bring my wood home faster.' Stephano rejoins: 'He's in his fit now, and does not talk after the wisest. He shall taste of my bottle; *if he have never drunk wine afore* it will go near to remove his fit: if I can recover him and keep him tame I will not take too much for him; *he shall pay for him that hath him*, and that soundly.' Here we see the two curses introduced by civilized nations among the uncivilized—drunkenness and slavery.

When Caliban has tasted the wine, he exclaims, 'These be fine things, an' if they be not sprites: that's a brave god, and bears celestial liquor; I will kneel to him.' He swears upon that bottle to be a true subject, for the liquor is not earthly. He will show Stephano every fertile inch of the island, will kiss his foot, and beseeches him to be his god:—

'I'll show thee the best springs; I'll pluck thee berries;  
I'll fish for thee and get thee wood enough;  
A plague upon the tyrant that I serve!  
I'll bear him no more sticks, but follow thee,  
Thou wondrous man!'

On which Trinculo remarks, 'A most ridiculous monster, to make a wonder of a poor drunkard.'

In considering the history of early discoveries it is important to inquire what the savages thought of their visitors. Many of the American natives were well disposed until they found by bitter experience that confidence was misplaced. They were amazed by the ships, the fire-arms, the equipments, and in some instances believed that the strangers were gods, who had come from the rising sun to visit them. So, too, the wine which they introduced seemed a nectar, or drink of the gods, possessed by these wonderful beings; and what wonder if, in their ignorance, they were ready to fall down and worship the possessors! This was one among the many powers which the Europeans held in their hands, and was by them abused for the vilest purposes, to win gold and to enslave the unsuspecting savages.

Caliban enters into a conspiracy with his two superiors to murder  
Prospero

Prospero and to regain the island. The scheme fails, of course, and at the end of the play even Caliban gains knowledge enough to see that he has been grossly deceived (5. 1):—

‘I’ll be wise hereafter,  
And seek for grace. What a thrice double ass  
Was I to take this drunkard for a god,  
And worship this dull fool!’

In spite of missionaries and all the efforts of philanthropists, very few of the American Indians have been equally enlightened: the fire-water, as they expressively term it, was too strong for them, too deadly a foe; and it has been calculated that the ravages of rum, whiskey, and other stimulants have been more destructive among the red-skins than war or disease. A hundred years ago there were about sixteen millions of Indians in North America; now there are barely two millions, and the number decreases every year. It is remarkable, however, that the evils of the ‘fire-water’ have signally reached upon the ‘pale faces’ themselves, the descendants of those who first introduced it; so much so that, in this very America, attempts have been made to stay the plague by legal enactment. The Maine Liquor Law, as it is commonly termed, whether wise or unwise as a legislative measure, is convincing evidence that the tremendous evil has recoiled upon the introducers of stimulating drinks; for if the abuse had not reached an alarming height, the mind of man would never have thought of limiting individual action, and appealing to the interference of government.

It is surprising that Shakespeare should have touched upon a point which has had such important consequences upon the native tribes of the western continent; but it is only another proof, if proof were wanting, that the highest poet is the highest philosopher: he beholds the past, the present, and the future: the past, to see what has been, and to derive instruction; the present, to improve and make it better; the future, to divine what will be, and to speculate upon the destinies of humanity.

ART. II.—*A Vindication of Secession and the South, &c.* By B. M. Palmer, D.D., New Orleans. Columbia, South Carolina. 1861.

NOTWITHSTANDING the expressions of sorrow for the threatened dissolution of the American Union, with which the newspaper and other periodical exponents of English public opinion have almost invariably set out when discussing the matters at issue between the seceding States and the National government of the Republic, the *practical* tendency of their remarks, with few exceptions,

exceptions, has been to give encouragement to the rebellious States, and to strengthen them in the belief, that, however difficult it may be for them to attain their independence, and however many reverses they may at present, and in the immediate future, experience, in their efforts to organize and establish a rival confederacy, still that, ultimately, they cannot fail to succeed.

This position of our press is not always the fruit of an avowed sympathy with the cause of the Secessionists, nor yet of dislike to the North; but arises sometimes from a misconception of the real questions at issue; sometimes from a lack of knowledge of the constitutional relations between the States and the national government; and sometimes from the tone in which the subject is approached, and the measures of the Washington administration criticised.

Some writers altogether ignore the great principles at stake, and look upon the struggle as simply premonitory of the downfall of Democracy, and as such an event to be welcomed rather than otherwise. Others, looking at the matter from an equally sinister point of view, talk of the impending dissolution as a meet recompense to the American people and government for what is termed the impudence and arrogance which have almost uniformly characterized their conduct towards Europe in general and Great Britain in particular. With two republics, we are told, we shall have more reason and less bombast. The rival nations will have enough to do in watching the movements of each other, and will both have an interest in observing a more civil demeanour towards the great powers of Europe. These insinuations, though intended to be applicable to both North and South, manifestly affect the latter but little, save in helping it in its treason, inasmuch as it is the North alone which is endeavouring to prevent a disruption of the country. The accusation, therefore, in plain English, amounts to this—the Free States are seeking, through the preservation of the Union, to perpetuate an insolent and overbearing foreign policy, whilst the Slave States are endeavouring, through the destruction of the Union, to inaugurate a civil and gentlemanly diplomacy. Now whatever may be the effect upon the American people as to the mode of carrying on their foreign affairs (and it is purely speculative to suppose that any change will take place at all), should a separation of the conflicting sections occur, it is unjust to charge the North with the bad manners of American diplomatists in times past, the offending parties having pretty nearly always hailed from the South. It was not the freemen of the North, but the slaveholders of the South, and their contemptible and unprincipled organ, the 'New York Herald,' that made all the noise about the affairs of Central America a few years ago, and created all the bad feeling about the right of search still more recently.

It was the South which bullied Spain into selling Florida; which let loose the Fillibusterers who got up the Mexican war, and 'annexed' (including Texas and California) something like a thousand millions square miles of territory. It was the South which invaded Cuba, and attempted to revive the African slave trade. None but Southern politicians have talked of bringing 'abolitionist old England to her senses,' by cutting off her cotton supplies. Even at the present time, as if conscious of the badness of their cause, as if aware that they can expect no sympathy from the outside world, they seek to coerce England into recognizing their 'Confederacy' on the pain of riot and starvation in Lancashire and Yorkshire, and yet these are the people who are to be let alone! whose every demand, however outrageous, is to be conceded!

Another class of writers oppose the present war on the grounds that the policy of the Unionists is inconsistent with the principles of the 'Declaration of Independence;' and they tauntingly ask the Lincoln Cabinet why it refuses to accord to the Secessionists the right of self-government, claimed and obtained by the colonists from the mother-country in 1776. Such a carping spirit can have no other effect than to give offence to the proverbially sensitive people of America, more especially as the analogy attempted to be drawn between the present war and the rebellion of eighty-five years ago, fails in every essential feature. 'The Declaration of Independence' exhibited a long string of grievances; but the Secession Ordinances are miserable imitations of a great original, and remarkable only as exhibiting an utter failure to point out a single instance in which the rights of the Southern people have been infringed upon by the National Executive.

As to the cause of the present troubles, it should be distinctly understood, that though there is a difference of opinion between the North and South as to whether the institution of slavery should be extended or restricted, and though there may have been a considerable amount of ill-feeling engendered between the people of the two sections by the intemperate agitations of the extreme abolitionists on the one side, and the ultra pro-slaveryites of the other, still the object of the present war is not the abolition of slavery, for the North has never on any occasion expressed an inclination to interfere with the rights of the Southern slaveholders. Indeed, the Free States have been very justly censured for their indifference in the matter, and for the manner in which they have on many occasions given their support to measures which have added to the possessions of slavery, and increased the power of the institution in the national council. Nevertheless, we are repeatedly told that the present war is a contest between slavery and freedom; that it was the attempt of the Northern States to abolish the peculiar institution of the South, which has caused the leading politicians

politicians of the Slave States to band themselves together for the purpose of breaking up the Union ; that, however the matter may have been disguised, it was the intention of President Lincoln, had he been allowed uninterruptedly to assume the executiveship of the entire Union, to commence such proceedings as would have resulted in the forcible abolition of negro slavery in the States where it at present exists ; and this position is assumed in spite of the disclaimer contained in the 'platform' of the Republican party six months before the secession movement had fully set in, and its subsequent reiteration by President Lincoln in his inaugural address. 'I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists ; I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so,' said Mr. Lincoln, in a speech delivered before his inauguration ; and 'I now reiterate these sentiments, and in doing so, I only press upon the public attention the most conclusive evidence of which the case is susceptible, that the property, peace, and security of no section are to be in anywise endangered by the incoming administration,' said he, in his inaugural message.

But even if President Lincoln had adopted the line of policy he is accused of, it would not have materially altered the case, for there are constitutional obstacles to such a course of conduct, which it would have been impossible for him to have overcome save by revolution. The object aimed at could not be attained through the action of Congress, nor yet by means of a convention of the people, except by a vote of two-thirds of the members or three-fourths of the States ; and such a vote would require the concurrence of the whole of the senators from the Free States and the senators of four Slave States ; whilst for its ratification the consent of the legislatures of seven of the Slave States would be necessary. Ultra-secessionists, indeed, say, that what they call the black republican party would not stand on constitutional forms, but would endeavour to at once set free the negroes by revolutionary force, and thereby introduce all the horrors of a servile war. This doctrine is too outrageous to need refutation on either the North or Great Britain ; but there is no doubt that it is believed by a considerable portion of the Southern people, deceived as they are by their lying journals and unprincipled nest of political conspirators. There may be a few fanatical abolitionists in some of the New England States who advocate such an atrocious policy, but they are extremely limited in number, and are as cordially detested by the great mass of the Northern people as by the slaveholders themselves.

If any proof be required that the abolition of slavery forms no part of the political programme of the Lincoln administration, it is amply supplied by the conduct of the government since its accession

cession to power. On the 16th July a resolution was passed by the House of Representatives, and a similar one was subsequently passed by the Senate, to the effect that it was no part of the object of the present war to interfere with the institution of slavery. Numerous instances have occurred in which fugitive negroes have been returned to their owners by the officers of the federal army; and General M'Dowall, in an order of the day, warned the division of the army under his command to give no succour to fugitive negroes. It is merely puerile, therefore, to assert that the conflict now going on is a war between abolitionists and slaveholders.

Another circumstance which, it is said, has been a source of considerable annoyance and oppression to the South is the protectionist direction which has been given to the fiscal policy of the government in consequence of the preponderating influence of the Northern States in the Congress, and whereby the prices of certain articles of manufacture have been kept much above their natural value. From the manner in which this question has been brought forward, we would suppose that the Slave States have always been an unit in their advocacy of free trade, and that the Free States have been equally unanimous in their defence of protection; but a reference to the votes of Congress will show that there has always been a large number of free traders in the Northern States, and a considerable number of protectionists in the Slave States. John C. Calhoun, though originally an ultra-protectionist, allied himself, towards the latter part of his political career, with the free traders, and became as violent an advocate of the one system as he had previously been of the other. The Tariff Bill of 1842 was opposed by the great South Carolinian, yet one-fourth of the senators of the Slave States voted against him. The Bill of 1846 received the sanction of Calhoun, but was, nevertheless, opposed by one-third of the Southern senators. The Bill of 1857 received only eight negatives, thirty-three Northern and Southern senators voting together in the affirmative. But in spite of these facts the contrary notion has been so long and so successfully harped upon by designing Southern demagogues, that a considerable number of the people have been led to believe that they have been immensely victimized by the cupidity of Northern manufacturers; and for this reason they demand the right to secede in order that they may adopt a tariff more favourable to foreign nations, and better calculated, in their opinion, to advance their own interests; but instead of following up their promises, they have adopted a scale of duties differing very little from the United States Bill of 1857; and in addition thereto have proposed to mulct the spinners of Europe by an export duty on cotton, to be followed, as is said, by a similar raid on the foreign consumers of tobacco! Away, then, with this bugbear of the tariff: it, like  
slavery,

slavery, is a mere party cry, got up in order to disguise the real motives of the Secessionists, and to give their proceedings a character in the eyes of the world. In writing thus we must not be understood as advocating the principle of protection, nor yet as defending the Morrill tariff passed by Congress this year; which ill-timed measure, it should not be forgotten, was ratified by a pro-Southern president, and has proved quite as offensive to a majority of the Northern people as to the people of the South. It is pretty certain that it will be repealed during the next congressional session, and the more moderate Bill of 1857 fallen back upon. Down to the period when the latter tariff was passed, the policy of free trade had been in the ascendant; and if the slaveholders, instead of ignoring everything except their sectional interests; if instead of irritating the North by their attempts to extend the institution of slavery into the free territories of the Union, and legalizing it even in the Free States themselves, they had confined their attention to matters of national importance, there is not the slightest doubt but that protection would have lost ground in place of gaining it as it has done, for in addition to the Slave States all the great States of the West are attached to the doctrines of free trade.

The present war, then, is not a conflict between rival industrial, commercial, or social interests. It is a struggle between great and antagonistic principles—between government and anarchy, freedom and despotism. The attitude taken by the Unionists is the declaration of a great people that it will not allow its government to be annihilated, its flag to be trampled upon, and its dearest interests to be sacrificed to satisfy the ambition of an unscrupulous clique of politicians, smarting though they may be under the infliction of a constitutional defeat.

True, the 'Southern Confederacy,' so called, avers that the secession movement is not a work of revolution, but the exercise of a lawful right reserved by the States when they ratified the United States Constitution in 1787. The best defence of this position we have met with is contained in the pamphlet of Dr. Palmer of New Orleans, the title of which will be found at the head of the present article.

The groundwork of the argument is the assertion of the sovereignty of the States in the highest sense of the term; and, according to an interpretation peculiar to politicians of the secession school, Dr. Palmer accuses the Unionists of mistaking the nature of the United States government; and he maintains that the American Union is not a nation in the proper meaning of the term, but merely a congress of sovereign and independent republics, which have agreed to delegate certain of their powers to a common executive, such delegated powers to be enjoyed by the said common executive only so long as it pleases any or all of the sovereign

sovereign republics not to recall them. The States joined the Union voluntarily, says the Doctor, and they may therefore leave it voluntarily. Who ever heard of such a corollary as this? It means that a contract voluntarily made is not binding upon the parties who made it! What sort of a contract then *is* binding? Surely not an *involuntary* one. If the doctrine which Dr. Palmer advocates was allowed to govern the intercourse between nations and individuals, the morality of society would be completely upturned.

Dr. Palmer wastes a great deal of very energetic argument, and gives vent to a considerable amount of rhetorical flourishing to prove what no one ever questioned—namely, that the thirteen original States were not coerced into the Union. During his remarks he draws particular attention to the dilatoriness of North Carolina and Rhode Island in signing the present Constitution of the United States, the former having waited two, and the latter three years after the ratification of the instrument by the people of the remaining States in 1787; and he asks with an air of conscious triumph, which is sometimes adopted by controversialists when they have, or think they have, cornered an opponent,—Suppose the two States had withheld their assent to the Constitution—what then? Would you have coerced them into the Union? Certainly not; because they were then what they are *not* now—sovereign and independent States, and had the option of either joining or not, as they pleased, the new Union. But they did enter the Union. Why? Simply because they found that it would conduce to their prosperity and safety to do so. Had they refused their assent they would have remained separate and independent nations, enveloped amidst a great and progressing people. They would never have held any other than a subordinate position in the world. They would have seen their late compatriots extending their territory west and south until they had increased it from less than three hundred thousand square miles to over three thousand two hundred million square miles! from the advantages of which the two isolated States would have been for ever excluded. They would have seen the United States shoulder to shoulder with the great powers of the old world in the race of national progress, whilst they would have found themselves somewhere at the tail end of the course, and literally of ‘no account’ (to use an American vulgarity). North Carolinians and Rhode Islanders could appreciate the benefits to be derived from being component parts of a great nation, and, in consideration of being allowed to participate in the advantages of the Union, consented to give up their insignificant sovereignties. Henceforward they no longer prided themselves on being North Carolinians or Rhode Islanders, but citizens of America, owing allegiance to no other government than that of the Union, and to no other flag than that of the stars and stripes.

stripes. They styled themselves subjects of the United States, not of the particular States of North Carolina and Rhode Island. By joining the Union they became entitled to all the privileges of the citizens of the various States, as per the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution, and as a people they were as effectually amalgamated with their sister States as Scotland is to England, or Savoy and Nice to France: they retained their municipal institutions and the control over their own domestic affairs; but to speak of them as sovereign communities is as great a solecism as to speak of the independence of Scotland or the sovereignty of Wales. The States were sovereign before they united themselves under the present Constitution; but by the act of unity they relinquished their sovereignties, ceased to be separate republics, and became one nation undivisible, except by mutual consent or revolution.

If the States had desired to retain the privilege of withdrawal from the Union whenever they thought proper to do so, it would have been very easy for them to have had the Constitution worded in such a manner as to give them that option; but they did not as a body express such a desire: on the contrary, when the States of New York, Virginia, and Rhode Island, in giving their adherence to the Constitution, asked for such a permission, the request was peremptorily refused by the other States, and the delegates from the three States named modified their sentiments accordingly. Instead of declaring that the States reserved unto themselves individually the right of withdrawal, they contented themselves with proclaiming a very self-evident truism: 'That the powers granted under the Constitution being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury and oppression;' which means simply that the makers of the government could unmake it if they found that their work was being turned against them. Notwithstanding the plain import of the phrase 'people of the United States,' the modern Secessionists have interpreted it to mean 'the people of *any* of the States,' making the Union to be, as President Lincoln has said, a sort of free connection, to be broken up at the caprice of any of the parties, and not a regular marriage, legally binding upon all. But supposing that the Secessionists are correct in their interpretation of the Constitution, upon what grounds do they assume that the powers delegated to the central government have been 'perverted to the injury and oppression' of the South? Can they point out a single instance in which such injury and oppression have been inflicted? The only reasonable, or rather unreasonable, answer we have met with to this question is, not that the government has done the South any injury, but that it is going to do so! or, to transcribe more literally, the Northern people have elected a sectional president, and

and mean to inaugurate a sectional policy! There would be some reason in the conduct of the Cotton States if these fears had the slightest foundation; but even then they would not be justified in resorting to forcible secession until they had first expended every constitutional remedy to prevent their rights from being infringed upon. As it is, it is they who have been the aggressors, not the North.

A brief comparison of the compact which preceded the present Constitution with that instrument will prove that the States have to-day no claim to sovereign rights. 'The Articles of Confederation' were made by 'we, the delegates;' the 'Constitution' by 'we, the people' of the United States. The first were called 'Articles of Confederation *between* the States,' and the second was denominated 'A Constitution *for* the States,' the object of which was 'to form a more perfect Union.' The third article of the first document says: The States 'hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other,' 'binding themselves to assist each other' against common enemies; and the second article says each State 'retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence;' but in the Constitution neither the word 'sovereignty' nor the word 'league' are to be found. A synonym of the latter term does occur once, viz., in the tenth section of the first article, where the States are told that they cannot, without the consent of Congress, enter into any agreement or compact, either between themselves or with a foreign power. The word 'confederation' occurs twice, once in the section just alluded to, where it is said that 'no State shall enter into any treaty or alliance, or confederation,' &c. To talk of the sovereignty of a State under such circumstances is simply an abuse of language. The second place in which the term 'confederation' is found is in the sixth article, in which it is said that 'all debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation;' plainly implying that the ratifiers of the Constitution considered that they had established a form of government very different from that which had preceded it. They had ceased to be a *confederation* governed by *articles of union*, and became a people—a *nation*, governed by a *constitution*, a fundamental law. The 'Articles of Confederation' partook of the nature of a treaty between independent peoples, and were made between the legislatures of the States as sovereign governments; but the Constitution bears not the slightest resemblance to a compact, and was not made between the legislatures of the *several* States, but was ordained and established by the people of the *United* States. Under the Confederation, members of the Congress voted by States, but under the Constitution the distinction is obliterated, and on voting a State representation is as often found divided against  
itself

itself as are English towns and counties in the British House of Commons. This result is quite in accordance with the intentions of Washington when he recommended the Constitution to the consideration of the people, his great aim being to extinguish all party politics founded on 'geographical discriminations.'

It was because the States were sovereign under the Articles of Confederation that the government of the country could not be carried on, and which made the adoption of the present Constitution a grave necessity. The old Congress was embarrassed in its work because of the feebleness of its powers, and it soon became apparent that either a stronger government must be formed, or else that disintegration and anarchy would take place. In the words of Dr. Palmer, the old Confederacy 'was found to be breaking down from its own imbecility, and the necessity of a more perfect union was becoming apparent,' simply because (to again quote Dr. Palmer) 'the people were accustomed to act, not as an organic whole, but as constituting separate States.' The weakness of the Congress was especially manifested in its inability to raise a revenue sufficient to meet the expenses of government, and in its failure to provide those regulations essential to the prosperity of the trade and commerce of the country and the general welfare of the people.

'The incompetency of the Articles of Confederation for the management of the affairs of the Union at home and abroad was demonstrated to them by the painful and mortifying experience of every day. Washington, though in retirement, was brooding over the cruel injustice suffered by his associates in arms, the warriors of the revolution; over the prostration of the public credit and the faith of the nation in the neglect to provide for the payment even of the interest upon the public debt; over the disappointed hopes of the friends of freedom; in the language of the address from Congress to the States, of the 18th April, 1783, "the pride and boast of America that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature."'—*Williams' History of the Union*, in '*The Statesman's Manual*.' 1860.

Various attempts were made to improve upon the Articles of Confederation, but without success—the evil was radical, the disease chronic. At last, chiefly through the instrumentality of Washington, it was resolved to call a convention of delegates from the various States, independent of the Congress, whose exclusive duty it would be to consider the defective condition of the federal compact, and to suggest a remedy for the same. The first meeting was held at Annapolis in September, 1786, but being attended by delegates from only five out of the thirteen States, viz., Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, and finding the powers intrusted to them entirely inadequate to the work before them, they recommended the States' legislatures to appoint a new Convention, to be attended by delegates from all the States, and having more ample powers than any yet conferred.

'The Constitution of the United States was the work of this Convention. But in its construction the Convention immediately perceived that they must retrace their

their steps, and fall back from a league of friendship between the sovereign States to the constituent sovereignty of the people—from power to right—from the irresponsible despotism of State sovereignty to the self-evident truth of the Declaration of Independence. From the day of that declaration the constituent power of the people had never been called into action. A confederacy had been substituted in the place of a government, and State sovereignty had usurped the constituent sovereignty of the people.

‘The Convention assembled at Philadelphia had themselves no direct authority from the people. Their authority was all derived from the State legislatures. But they had the articles of confederation before them, and they saw and felt the wretched condition into which they had brought the whole people, and that the Union itself was in the agonies of death. They soon perceived that the indispensably needed powers were such as no State government, no combination of them, was, by the Declaration of Independence, competent to bestow. They could emanate only from the people. A highly respectable portion of the Assembly, still clinging to the confederacy of States, proposed, as a substitute for the Constitution, a mere revival of the Articles of Confederation, with the grant of additional powers to the Congress. Their plan was respectfully and thoroughly discussed, but the want of a government, and of the sanction of the people to the delegated powers happily prevailed.’—*History of the Union*.

The Constitution, as it at present stands, was therefore adopted. The document was signed by George Washington, President of the Convention, and deputy from Virginia, and by the whole of the States delegates, and was forwarded, along with a letter from the great patriot, and two resolutions from the Convention, to Congress.

In his accompanying letter the President states that in all their deliberations the object which the members had kept steadily in view was the ‘consolidation of the Union,’ in which, he said, was involved ‘the prosperity, felicity, safety, and perhaps national existence of the country.’ This consolidation the Articles of Confederation had failed to secure, and the Convention had come to the conclusion that an entirely ‘different organization’ was necessary to accomplish the object in view. The distinctive feature of this ‘different organization’ was that a national government should be formed in which the ‘power of making war, peace, and treaties should be fully and effectually vested,’ and not merely delegated, as under the Confederation—should be given, not lent.

Under the Articles of Confederation the powers held by the Congress had been given to it, not by the people direct, but by the legislatures of the States; but the first of the two ‘resolutions’ mentioned above suggested that the proposed Constitution should be ratified, not by the States’ legislatures, but by the citizens of the States; and that the powers given to the Congress should be vested, not by the legislatures independent of the people, as were the ‘Articles of Confederation,’ but by the people independent of the legislatures. ‘The Constitution of the United States’ was thus created by the people of the United States direct, through conventions chosen by themselves for that purpose. Hence the difference in the wording of the new form of government: ‘We, the people,’ not ‘We, the delegates;’ ‘We, the people of the *United States*,’ not ‘We, the delegates,’ of the States of New Hampshire, and

and so forth to the end of the list; nor 'We, the people of the *Confederate States*' (as the 'Southern Confederacy' has it) 'do ordain and establish this Constitution;' not 'do agree to certain Articles of Confederation.' By this act the States ceased to be a confederation, and became a nation ruled by a sovereign government entirely independent of the control of the States government, and responsible for its acts to the people of the Union as citizens of America, and not as citizens of any particular State: the government being created by the people, and not by the States. The Union is thus one and indivisible, and no part or parts of it have the legal right of withdrawal: such a doctrine would be the very essence of anarchy.

'To the efficacy and permanency of your Union,' said George Washington in his 'Farewell Address,' 'a government of the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict between the parties, can be an adequate substitute: they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former one for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed—adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim upon your confidence and your support.'

The Unionists, then, are right when they maintain that the Constitution is not a compact between the several States, 'each State in its sovereign and independent character,' but a government made by the people of all the States in their national capacity, and as such to be annulled only by the people of the United States, and not by the people of any particular State. With this intent the Congress is clothed with all the powers and attributes of sovereignty, whilst the States are deprived of every power bearing the semblance of sovereignty. The Congress has the power to levy and collect taxes, duties, &c.; to borrow money on the credit of the United States; to regulate commerce; to coin money; to declare war; to raise and support armies; to provide and maintain a navy; and to do a variety of other things which appertain only to sovereign powers; whilst the States are prohibited from doing any of these things. The members of the several States' legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers of the several States are bound by oath or affirmation to support the Constitution; and the Constitution is declared the supreme law of the land, anything in the States' constitutions to the contrary notwithstanding.\*

What may be the end of the present struggle it is impossible to tell. The recent reverses experienced by the Union army have

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\* Compare Section viii. of Article I. with Section x. of the same article, and the second and third paragraphs of Article VI. of the Constitution.

gone far to give countenance to the idea that the two sections will never be united again under the one government. With better management on the part of the United States War Department, the battles of Bull's Run and Springfield might have been differently written; but still it does not follow that because at first unsuccessful, the Washington government cannot be ultimately victorious: and even should secession be accomplished by the South, it would not detract one iota from the right of the North to prevent its consummation.

The threatened curtailment of our cotton supplies has from the first made the war extremely unpopular in England, and if the merchants and brokers of Liverpool, and the spinners and weavers of Lancashire were polled on the subject, our belief is that the majority would vote on the side of secession; nevertheless the fact is, that we were never in a better position to meet the cessation of American imports. Our stocks of goods and yarn have long been heavier than is compatible with a profitable trade, whilst the chief markets of the world have been completely glutted by the enormous exports of the past two years. A resort to short time, then, will be anything but unmixed evil to our manufacturers; and we have the authority of Messrs. Du Fay and Co., the extensive Manchester merchants, for saying that short time must be adopted, not only because of the American war, but to reduce the stocks at home and abroad, 'in order to bring the prices of cotton and those of the articles produced therefrom to due proportions.' The general opinion is, that the entire trade will shortly go to four, if not three days a week. This would reduce the requirements of the country from 46,000 bales of cotton per week to about 30,000 bales; exporters would probably want more than their usual quantity out of the Liverpool market, say 15,000 bales, against a past average of 10,000 bales per week. This would give a total of 45,000 bales per week, or 1,305,000 bales from to-day (September 6th) to the close of March next year, by which time it is confidently expected that hostilities will have ceased. To meet this consumption, there are 200,000 bales in the hands of the trade; 886,000 bales in Liverpool; 227,000 bales already on the way, and to arrive from India by the end of November; to be followed by at least 300,000, to arrive from the beginning of December to the end of March; and 150,000 bales to arrive from other countries, making a total supply of 1,763,000 bales to meet a demand of 1,305,000 bales, leaving a surplus stock of 458,000 bales to go on with until the arrival of the new crops from India, Egypt, the Brazils, and the West Indies, due about the middle of the year. By giving the mills three-fourths time, instead of only two-thirds, as suggested above, the stock on the 31st March would be 317,000 bales.

So far the policy of the Lincoln government has been directed exclusively to the preservation of the Union on a constitutional basis, and the question of slavery has been carefully excluded from the war programme; but who can say that non-intervention with the Southern institution will continue to be adhered to by the Northern people? Already the temper of the Free States is assuming a new phase; and though, at the commencement of the war, they were loud in their denial of an abolition crusade, their protestations have been growing more and more feeble, and we should not be surprised to see the conflict become, what it was never intended to be, a struggle between slavery and freedom. Let us hope that such may not be the case, for great as is our detestation of slavery, our heart's desire and prayer is, that the cause of all the nation's troubles may be got rid of, as is practicable, by peaceful means, and that the people of the South may be spared the horrible occurrences which would take place on the outbreak of a servile war.

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ART. III.—*The Encyclopædia Britannica*. Eighth edition. Edited by Thomas Stewart Traill, M.D., Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh. Twenty-one volumes 4to, and Index. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black. 1852-61.

THE publication of 'The Encyclopædia Britannica' is of national interest. The edition just finished, we are told, 'is the largest literary enterprise ever undertaken by one single house in Great Britain.' Whether we consider the talent employed in the preparation of its matter, the knowledge contained within its compass, or the capital invested in the undertaking, it is worthy of general regard. Three hundred and forty writers, whose names are given, numbering in their ranks the most eminent in all departments, besides others of whom there is no record, have united their learning to make this gigantic storehouse of knowledge. Almost all subjects—theological, historical, philosophical, political, scientific, mechanical, artistic, and literary—are discussed within its pages. The index alone fills a quarto volume of two hundred and thirty pages of small print, arranged in four columns on each page; while on the two editions issued during the last thirty years, twenty of which have been consumed in the publication, 184,421*l.* have been expended by the spirited proprietors. It is illustrated by nearly five thousand engravings on wood, and four hundred on steel. The possession of such a work is a library, for its matter is equal to one hundred ordinary octavo volumes. No library of English literature is complete without this Encyclopædia.

Two expressions have been used to denote such a compendium  
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of knowledge as is contained in the work before us—‘Cyclopædia’ and ‘Encyclopædia.’ The latter is to be preferred as being etymologically more correct and definite. Turning to the term in its proper place, we are informed that ‘Cyclopædia may mean “the instruction of a circle,” as Cyropædia is “the instruction of Cyrus;” whereas in Encyclopædia, the preposition determines the meaning to be “instruction in a circle.”’

The General Preface affords some information respecting this class of works, and from it chiefly, as well as from independent sources by way of supplement, we compile the following article.

It is only since the inductive philosophy held sway that collective digests of knowledge have been prepared. Pliny alone of all the ancients attempted an Encyclopædia in his ‘Natural History;’ but his books bear no comparison with the class of publications usually designated by the term now. In the tenth century of the Christian era, an Arabian philosopher, Alfarabius, ‘the great ornament of the school of Bagdad,’ compiled a work with the same title, a copy of which in manuscript exists in the library of the Escorial in Spain. But we have to come down to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before we find any work worthily bearing the comprehensive term of Encyclopædia :—

‘The most noted and valuable of the early Encyclopædias was that of John Henry Alstedius, a Professor of Philosophy and Divinity at Weissembourg in Transylvania, and who is said to have been the author of about sixty other works, though he died at the age of fifty in 1638. His Encyclopædia, by which alone his name is remembered, appeared in 1630, in two folio volumes. A smaller and less comprehensive work of the same kind, which he published ten years before, served as the groundwork of this more extensive undertaking; in which he professedly aimed at the formation of a complete Encyclopedia. It consists of thirty-five books, of which the first four contain an explanation of the nature of the various subjects contained in the rest. Then follow successively, six on philology; ten on speculative, and four on practical philosophy; three on theology, jurisprudence, and medicine; three on the mechanical arts; and five on history, chronology, and miscellaneous topics. This work was held in high estimation till the close of the century in which it appeared.’

This work of Alsted had not the dictionary form, and was not arranged in alphabetical order. Another century had to elapse before these improvements were introduced. The first attempt at the dictionary form was made by Dr. Harris in his ‘Lexicon Technicum,’ which was issued in two folio volumes in the years 1706 and 1710 respectively. It was limited to the sciences, mathematical and physical; but was replete with accurate information. It was reprinted five times in the course of thirty years. The alphabetical plan was introduced by Ephraim Chambers, a native of Kendal in Westmoreland. He was educated for business, and apprenticed to a globe-maker in London. During his stay with Mr. Senex, for such was his master’s name, and who was a skilful mechanic, young Chambers acquired that taste for learning which marked his future career. Even then he conceived  
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the design of the work which was to make him famous, and he actually wrote several of the articles behind the counter. Globe-making had to give way to the construction of a universe of knowledge, and Mr. Chambers quitted his employer that he might devote himself entirely to his *Cyclopædia*. Many years were consumed in his work, which was entirely written by himself. It was published by subscription in 1728, and dedicated to George II., who had lately ascended the throne. Chambers was not a man of profound knowledge, but was possessed of much general information. His work procured him the honour of a Fellowship of the Royal Society. A second edition was called for in ten years, followed by a third in the succeeding year. The author did not long enjoy his fame, for he died in 1740; but he obtained a burial in Westminster Abbey, where the modest inscription which marks his resting-place, and which was written by himself, may recal to the reader the memory of the first alphabetical encyclopædist of England. Its popularity drew forth similar works. This work, after five editions had been printed, was remodelled and enlarged, so as to keep its ground until the beginning of the present century. The Rev. Dr. Abraham Rees, an able divine, and mathematical tutor at Coward's College, Hoxton, was engaged by the proprietors to superintend and enlarge the new issue, which appeared in 1785. In 1802 the first volume of another edition came forth, embellished with illustrations in the highest style of art. The work extended to forty-five volumes in quarto. Chambers' *Cyclopædia* was translated into Italian and French. The French translation, however, was never published, but it suggested the famous '*Encyclopédie*' which extended to seventeen volumes in folio, and eleven volumes of plates and descriptions. It was edited by D'Alembert and Diderot, and appeared during the years 1751-65. A supplement in four volumes, with one of plates, appeared in 1776-77. The whole work consisted of thirty-three volumes.

In this country the success of Chambers brought out several rivals. In 1751 appeared Barrow's '*New and Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*,' and in 1754, a '*New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*,' by 'a Society of Gentlemen,' in four octavo volumes; and in 1766, '*The Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*,' compiled by the Rev. Henry Croker, Dr. Thomas Williams, and Mr. Samuel Clerk. Goldsmith prepared a prospectus of a '*Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*,' in which he was to be assisted by eminent men of his day, but his death prevented the accomplishment of his purpose. All of these were incomplete, several classes of subjects being omitted, and others treated without sufficient care or accuracy.

French philosophers projected and carried out a work of the same kind towards the close of the eighteenth century. It was called

called the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique.' Lacroix wrote the portion on logic, metaphysics, and ethics, in four volumes, published in the years 1788-91. He was a counsellor of Parliament, and one of the editors of the Grand Repertory of Jurisprudence and of the 'Mercure de France.' In 1787, he was a member of the Committee to reform the penal code. At the Revolution he was a moderate man, and, during the ascendancy of Robespierre, retired to private life, and devoted himself exclusively to literature. Marsais, Marmontel, and Beuzec contributed the articles on grammar and literature, in three quarto volumes, published in 1789. Marmontel was associated with D'Alembert and Diderot in their famous 'Encyclopédie.' Bergier, a canon of Notre Dame, supplied the dictionary of theology, which has long been considered one of the most complete. He was an author of a work against materialism, and exhibited in all his works 'a logical arrangement and precision which well qualified him for being the strenuous opposer of the modern philosophers of France. Yet this did not prevent them from engaging him to write the dictionary of theology for the 'Encyclopédie Méthodique;' but there was some guile in this, as it served as a cloak for the infidelity insinuated in other parts of the work.' His portion was published in six quarto volumes in 1788. The whole formed fourteen volumes.\*

The 'Encyclopædia Britannica' was planned by Mr. William Smellie, a printer in Edinburgh, but also a man of science, and an eminent naturalist, and was published in 1771 in four quarto volumes. 'Instead of attempting to elucidate the sciences by a number of separate articles corresponding to their technical titles or sections, introduced in the order prescribed by the alphabet, and with no continuity of explanation other than could be obtained through references from one head to another, it treated each science completely, in a systematic form, under its proper denomination: the technical terms and subordinate heads being also explained alphabetically, when anything more than a reference to the general treatise was required.'† At first it was little more than a dictionary of arts and sciences; but a second edition, begun in 1776, and containing ten volumes, embraced biography and history. The third edition, published in 1797, in eighteen volumes, was greatly enriched by separate treatises on grammar and metaphysics by the Right Rev. Dr. Gleig, one of the bishops of the Scotch Episcopal Church, and father of the present Chaplain-General to the Forces; on philology, mythology, and mysteries by Dr. Doig; and on physical science by Professor Robison. Two supplementary volumes were added, 'in which Professor Robison supplied the

\* The contents of this great work may be seen in Brunet's 'Manuel du Libraire.' Paris, 1842.

† Preface to 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' p. xii.

contributions wanting to complete that series which he had commenced when the principal work was far advanced.' The work then rose very high in public esteem, and it has kept its position ever since, by being skilfully adapted to the advanced state of knowledge in its successive editions. The name of Professor Robison was sufficient to give it fame. He was, as M. Arago called him, 'the most illustrious contributor' to the *Encyclopædia*. While yet a student at the university of Glasgow, he exercised a great influence on the application of natural philosophy to the mechanical arts. It was he who first directed the attention of James Watt—with whom he was linked in a mutually admiring friendship—to the steam-engine, on which the fame of Watt and the glory of the nineteenth century are founded. Robison, after several adventures in the navy and in Russia, in which country he filled a post of professor of mathematics at Cronstadt, became professor of natural philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. For this office he was admirably fitted. James Watt, who knew him well, said this of him: 'He was a man of the clearest head and the most science of anybody I have known.' He possessed a great amount of scientific knowledge, and had an unusual skill in generalizing his information for the purpose of instructing others. His contributions to the '*Encyclopædia Britannica*' amounted to forty-six articles on subjects of natural philosophy. 'But his great strength lay in the articles in which just mechanical principles were applied successfully, and often with marked originality, to practice, as in arch, roof, carpentry, and strength of materials; resistance, rivers, waterworks; seamanship, steam, and steam-engine; machinery, telescope, and watchwork.'

The fourth edition of the *Encyclopædia* was published in 1810 in twenty volumes, under the care of Dr. James Miller, who gave it a character from the articles on his own favourite studies—chemistry and natural history—then rising into new importance. The valuable papers of Professor Robison, in the supplemental volumes of the previous edition were, however, omitted. But the mathematical papers of Professor Wallace gave a permanent value to the work. The fifth and sixth editions were little more than reprints of the fourth.

During this pause a spirited attempt was made to meet the demands of the age by a rising philosopher, who still lives to enjoy his honours, and to pursue his favourite studies. In 1808, Dr. (now Sir David) Brewster began the '*Edinburgh Encyclopædia*,' which extended to eighteen quarto volumes, and was completed in 1830. Sir David had peculiar fitness for conducting a work of such high pretension. He was then in his twenty-seventh year. He was one of a galaxy of illustrious men who have long cultivated science and philosophy. In 1799 he was induced by Mr. (now Lord)

Lord) Brougham to repeat Newton's experiments on the inflection of light. In 1808 he heard of the great discovery of the polarization of light and reflection, made by the French philosopher Malus. On account of the war he could not gain correct information; but he pursued independent researches on light, and made some most remarkable discoveries. Sir David was not a man of one idea; his general knowledge was extensive, and he enlisted into his staff some of the most illustrious men of the day in the production of his *Encyclopædia*, which still contains most valuable matter in its scientific department. The work was not republished; and the eminent abilities of Sir David have been given in aid of the national *Encyclopædia* of which we have been writing. Sir David and Lord Brougham survive as the last of the illustrious band that adorned Edinburgh in the beginning of this century.

In 1815, another work was begun which departed from the alphabetical arrangement, and classed its articles in what was considered the most natural and philosophical order; first pure, then mixed and applied sciences; thirdly, history and biography; fourthly, geography; and, lastly, lexicography. This was called the '*Encyclopædia Metropolitana*,' and extended to twenty-six volumes, with three volumes of plates and an index volume. Very eminent names were associated in its production, among whom may be mentioned Coleridge, Whately, Whewell; Airy, Babbage, Bonnycastle, Sir John Herschel, Dr. Lardner, Capt. Kater; Arnold, Maurice, Hampden, &c. The editors were the Rev. Edward Smedley, the Rev. Hugh James Rose, and the Rev. Henry John Rose. Much of this work is of permanent and standard value, and has been issued in separate volumes during recent years.

These attempts stimulated the proprietors of the '*Encyclopædia Britannica*' to adapt their great work to the times. It had passed into the hands of the enterprising publisher, Mr. Constable, who projected a Supplement in six volumes. It was edited by Mr. Macvey Napier, who long and honourably filled the chair of Conveyancing in the University of Edinburgh. The greatest names, both of Great Britain and France, were attracted to this work. Professor Dugald Stewart wrote a Preliminary Dissertation on the History of the Sciences. Contributions were added by the following illustrious men—Playfair, Jameson, Sir John Leslie, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Walter Scott, Lord Jeffrey; Drs. Thomas Thomson, and Thomas Young; Messrs. Ricardo, Malthus, Mill, and Wallace; and MM. Arago and Biot, the distinguished French savans. The issue was commenced in 1815, and was completed in 1824.

In 1830, the copyright passed into the hands of Messrs. Adam and Charles Black, who immediately announced a seventh edition,  
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to be under the care of Professor Macvey Napier, who had superintended the publication of the supplement, assisted by Dr. James Browne. The work now assumed that character which distinguishes it above all other compendia of information.

‘The attention of the editor was early directed to the completion of those Preliminary Dissertations on the History of the Sciences which had been published in the Supplement. They were intended to form two distinct dissertations, each divided into two parts. The first was to contain the history of Metaphysical, Ethical, and Political Philosophy; the second, that of Mathematical and Physical Science. The one was undertaken by the late Dugald Stewart, the other by his friend and colleague, the late Professor Playfair; and incomplete as they were left at the death of these eminent men, they yet, to a considerable extent, supplied a great desideratum in British literature. The idea of a continuous delineation of the progress of the human mind in the discovery of truth and the correction of error, as an Introduction to a work in which the sciences are examined in detail, was for the first time exemplified in the discourse prefixed by D’Alembert to the French Encyclopédie; and nothing of the kind of acknowledged merit had, in any shape, been given to the world, in our own language, prior to these dissertations. . . . Stewart had originally intended to trace the history of all the principal branches of philosophy connected with the knowledge of mind; but his plan was completed only in as far as regarded the fundamental or metaphysical branch; the others, with the exception of some valuable observations occasionally introduced in the former, concerning the ethical and political notions of the sixteenth and early portion of the seventeenth centuries, having been left untouched. Fortunately, however, the portion completed and published had received, before the death of the venerable author, a careful revision and some additions of moment from his own hand. The history of the Mathematical and Physical Sciences, again, was at Professor Playfair’s death brought down only to the period rendered memorable by the names of Newton and Leibnitz; thus leaving the discoveries of a century, eminently progressive in scientific knowledge, to be detailed by other hands. It was the wish of the editor to procure such continuations as should complete the plan which the original masters had sketched out; and, in as far as concerns mathematical and physical science, this may be considered as having been in great measure accomplished by the animated and instructive sequel to Professor Playfair’s treatise, written by the successor to his academical chair, the late Sir John Leslie.’\*

Sir James Mackintosh also prepared a most lucid and comprehensive, though imperfect sketch of the progress of ethical philosophy, chiefly during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was a new attempt in the English language; and had Sir James possessed sufficient time, none was more able to have done it full justice. He was then fully engaged with his history, and did not accomplish all that he desired. The history of the progress of political philosophy was omitted, as was also that of the ethical philosophy of the Continent. Such as it is, however, it is *instar omnium*, and a repertory of information of the highest value. These preliminary dissertations, taken as a whole, are unrivalled, and many a student, in his undergraduate career, has received very material benefit from their information. The writer cannot help pausing to acknowledge his personal obligations to these noble works while studying philosophy in Edinburgh, his veneration

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\* Preface *ut supra*, pp. xvi-xviii.

for the memory of their illustrious authors, and his gratitude to the editor and publishers, who were the means of their production. They will long continue to direct the studies of the schools, and to aid in advancing the progress of philosophy. The edition of the *Encyclopædia* in which these masterpieces appeared, contained other new and valuable papers by men of first ability in their several spheres, and incorporated the supplement of the sixth edition. It also embraced what the two former issues had lacked—the splendid articles of Professor Robison, which had been published separately under the editorial care of Sir David Brewster. The time occupied in the publication of the seventh edition was twelve years, from 1830 to 1842. Its success was equal to its merits, and ten years only elapsed when it was found to be necessary to issue another edition.

The publishers confided the work to the editorial superintendence of Dr. Thomas Stewart Traill, Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in the University of Edinburgh, assisted by a most efficient staff. 'From the beginning it was resolved that the revision and extension of the articles should be more thorough than had ever been attempted in any previous edition of the *'Encyclopædia Britannica.'* The old arrangement was maintained—as for all practical purposes the best. Each science is, however, treated completely and apart. So much of fresh matter has been added, we are informed, 'that nine-tenths of its contents may be said to be entirely new.' The preliminary dissertations have been enriched by considerable additions, and by two entirely new contributions, one by Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, '*On the Rise, Progress, and Corruption of Christianity,*' and the other by Dr. Forbes, then Professor of Natural Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, but now Principal of the United Colleges of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, St. Andrews, '*On the Progress of Mathematical and Physical Science, principally from 1775 to 1850.*' Both are worthy of their authors, but that of Principal Forbes is a vast compendium of information, and occupies two hundred quarto pages closely packed with matter. It comprehends a century of scientific progress—the greatest yet seen in the history of man. It includes the most eminent names in scientific study; and the author, while keeping a strictly methodical arrangement, has 'allowed the biographical principle to predominate—thus giving as much as possible a historical character to the whole, and endeavouring to introduce the reader to the intellectual acquaintance of the eminent men who are selected for notice.' The Dissertations now fill a volume of a thousand quarto pages, and contain a repertory of historical information on science and philosophy not available elsewhere.

Throughout the work the most eminent writers of the day have  
a place

a place. The subjects discussed are no compilation, which any writer can condense from standard works; but are themselves standard, and proceed from the masters in each department. Their names are given in the index volume, and by initials at the end of their respective articles to enable the reader to identify them with ease. The following list of the most illustrious may interest our readers and evince the high character of the productions from their pens. In Theology and Ecclesiastical Literature, there are the Archbishop of Dublin as already specified; Dr. Lindsay Alexander on Theology and Scripture, Baron Bunsen on Luther, Isaac Taylor on Jesuitism, Principal Tulloch on Gnosticism. In Philosophy there are, in addition to those named, Dr. Hampden, Bishop of Hereford, Professor Mansell, and Lord Jeffrey. In Politics and Sociology we have M'Culloch, Mill, Ricardo, Malthus, Hill Burton, Drs. Letheby and Lankester. In pure Mathematics there are Professors Wallace, Swan, and Kelland. In Natural Philosophy, there are Sir John F. Herschel, Bart., on the Telescope, Sir David Brewster on Optics, &c., Rev. Robert Main, and others on Astronomy. In Natural History, James Wilson—brother of the Professor, the Christopher North of Maga—occupies a distinguished place from the part he bore, while around him are Professors Owen, Gregory, Balfour, and Dr. Latham. Medicine and Surgery are treated by these living celebrities, Professors Miller, Laycock, Traill, Christison, and Simpson. Philology and History are discussed by Latham, Donaldson, Masson, Merivale, Layard, &c. Biographies have been written by Lord Macaulay, Sir William Hamilton, Bart., De Quincey, Henry Rogers, Caruthers, Hepworth Dixon, Kingsley, Cairns, Walter Thornbury, W. H. Russell, &c. In Geography, are the contributions of Petermann, Strang, Hooker, Ellis, Barrow, Sir John Richardson, J. L. Porter, Sir J. Emerson Tennent, &c. The Fine Arts are described by Hazlitt, Haydon, Westmacott, Dr. Doran, &c.; the Useful Arts by James Caird, M.P., Dr. P. Neill, Charles Mackintosh, J. C. Loudon; the Mechanical Arts, by Robert Stephenson, M.P., Thomas Tredgold, Charles Tomlinson, E. B. Denison, Q.C., &c. In Manufacture, cotton lords, and heroes of furnaces and factories figure in print, T. Bazley, M.P., W. Fairbairn, James Napier, Charles Cowan, &c. Civil and Military Engineering are discussed in their several branches by Lieut.-Col. Hamilton Smith, Sir John Barrow, and others. Besides all these there are hundreds of well-skilled pens whose names are all embalmed in this national work for the admiration and gratitude of posterity.

It would be as impossible as it would be presumptuous to attempt to criticise the productions of the eminent men now mentioned. Their names are a sufficient guarantee for the excellence

cellence of their productions, and afford abundant testimony to the merits of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' and its claims to be considered a national work. All who want the most accurate and philosophical information on any great department of learning or science can have it in these volumes. It is a vast storehouse for all minor matters of knowledge. Besides the alphabetical arrangement of its contents, reference is greatly facilitated by the comprehensive and most minute index appended to the whole, and which has been compiled with great care and accuracy. It is a monument of great and patient research, and we are glad to observe that the name of the compiler, the Rev. James Duncan, of Denholm, is given in the list of contributors.

Since the first edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' nearly a century has elapsed, and numerous have been the changes, and vast the progress of history, science, and philosophy during that period; but this work, while it retains all that belongs to past knowledge, gathers up and presents to view all that characterizes the present. It is the greatest collection of literary wealth ever compiled, and the greatest investment of wealth in literature ever made. Several items respecting the latter were given by Mr. Adam Black, M.P., at an entertainment liberally provided by him for a number of the most eminent contributors to the work during this summer. The following are the chief amounts paid for the two editions published by his house during the past thirty years: Amount paid to contributors and editors, 40,970*l.*; cost of paper, 52,503*l.*; of printing and stereotyping, 36,708*l.*; of engraving and plate-printing, 18,277*l.*; of binding, 22,613*l.*; of advertising, 11,081*l.*; of miscellaneous items, 2,269*l.*, making a total cost of 184,421*l.*

Of these two editions there have been printed above 10,000 copies. The amount of duty paid upon the paper, calculated at 1½*d.* was 8,573*l.*; but 3*d.* per pound was paid on a considerable part of the seventh edition. These figures indicate the magnitude of the literary enterprise.\* It is gratifying to be able to record the success which the spirited publishers have obtained by the sale of copies, which, considering their great outlay and liberal conduct throughout, is eminently deserved. Such publishers do much for their country, and enshrine by their works, their names among the memorable.

While upon the subject of Encyclopædias, we may mention that there are other claimants to the favour of the public in the publishing world. Messrs. Blackie and Son have issued 'The Popular Encyclopædia,' and which is an admirable compendium of information. It contains dissertations on the Progress of Science,

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\* 'Athenæum,' June 15th, 1861.

by Dr. Thomas Thomson, Professor of Chemistry in the University of Glasgow, on the Progress of Literature, by the late Sir Daniel K. Sandford, Professor of Greek, and on the Fine Arts, by the late Allan Cunningham, Esq. It is published in seven large octavo volumes and profusely illustrated. Dr. Dionysius Lardner edited a Cyclopædia which extended to one hundred and thirty-one small octavo volumes. It contained several valuable works on Natural Philosophy, Arts, Manufactures, History, Biography, &c. The ablest writers in each branch contributed to the work, among whom may be mentioned, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir Walter Scott, Sir John Herschel, Sir David Brewster, &c. The volumes are still highly prized and circulated. But the Cyclopædia does not carry out the idea of the great work we have been describing. Cyclopædias on separate branches also abound. In Commerce we have M'Culloch's great work; on Arts and Manufacture, Dr. Ure's, and Charles Tomlinson's; on Practical Medicine, one by Drs. Forbes, Tweedie, and Conolly; on Anatomy and Physiology, by Dr. A. T. Thomson; on Surgery, by Dr. Costello. In Theology, too, we have the 'Biblical Cyclopædia,' edited by Dr. Kitto, and contributed to by the first divines of the present age, European and continental. Herzog's Encyclopædia, now being issued in this country and America, and translated from the German, is the fullest and most comprehensive yet published. In English literature we have Chambers' Cyclopædia.

Bibliography is a science in itself in which there is abundant room for research and production. The history of books in general, or of an individual book, possesses peculiar interest, and will always repay the inquirer. No attempt has yet been made to compile an Universal Bibliographical Dictionary. Perhaps it will never be attempted. There are, however, many works more or less connected with the subject, but the greatest have been issued in foreign countries—in France, Germany, and Italy. In 1763-68, was published at Paris a work by G. F. De Bure, in seven octavo volumes, entitled, 'Bibliographie Instructive; ou, Traité de la Connoissance des Livres rares des singuliers.' It is arranged under five divisions—Theology, Jurisprudence, Sciences and Arts, Belles Lettres, and History. De Bure published a supplement in two volumes in 1782, and an index to anonymous works was added by another compiler. Altogether the work was highly creditable to the learning of the collector, who was a bookseller in Paris. In 1810 appeared a work of great value by Monsieur J. C. Brunet, 'Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur de Livres; contenant, 1. Un nouveau Dictionnaire Bibliographique; 2. Une Table en forme de Catalogue Raisonné.' It has been supplemented by additional matter, and was re-issued by the author in 1842 in five large octavo volumes.

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In this country one of the earliest bibliographical efforts was made by Dr. Adam Clarke, a man of great scholarship and excellence. In 1803, he published 'A Bibliographical Dictionary, containing a chronological account, alphabetically arranged, of the most curious and useful books in all departments of learning, published in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and other Eastern languages.' The work contained six volumes, extended by two more in 1806. 'The Bibliographer's Manual of English Literature,' was compiled by W. T. Lowndes, and issued in four octavo volumes in 1834. It has the merit and the defect of being the first of the kind, but it exhibits considerable accuracy and research.

The 'Cyclopædia Bibliographica,' by Darling, not yet complete, is a great undertaking, and affords ample information of books, their authors, and their subjects. The first volume of authors contains 3,328 columns of small print, entirely descriptive of the theological productions of the writers who swell the alphabetical enumeration. It is, nevertheless, on the principle of selection. In the second volume, biblical subjects, of which part first is published, are enumerated. It has been well said, 'He that *will* be so original as to scorn to borrow from others, may indeed acquire the wisdom of age, but he throws away the wisdom of ages. In this world that originality is sufficiently original, which, having first acquired the knowledge and practice of others, improves on them—adds one story to the original edifice.' These works of Darling are a treasure to the divine. Few men can ever attain encyclopædic knowledge; but it should be the ambition of most to possess, either in their own or their public library, an Encyclopædia, which brings within their reach any information they may desire to gain. It is to aid our readers in this that we have specified at length the features and merits of the works mentioned in this paper, and specially that we have described the recently completed and highly valuable work of national importance—the 'ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA.\*'

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\* With regard to the demerits or faults of this great work, we have had our attention called to one omission, which, as sociologists, we are bound to notice. There is no account given in the Encyclopædia of the temperance movement. Literary men must have heard of this Cause. Its advocates and adherents have long been the butt of post-prandial talk; and they have been collected into societies which have a good position in the country, and ought to have been known to literary men. When a future edition is issued we believe the Temperance Reformation will have its principles expounded and its history written in this national work. In the course of the work we occasionally meet with some expressions which cannot but be offensive. We take an instance that turned up in our casual reading. Cupar-Angus, 'in addition to the parish church, contains chapels for the Free Church, United Presbyterians,' &c. In Scotland it is not the custom to call the places of worship belonging to any Presbyterian church by the name of chapels. It is offensive to draw this distinction where it will not be allowed. We observe it is frequently repeated throughout the work. Church is the most proper appellation for a place of worship, and the Scotch almost universally use it in preference to chapel. Their old '*meeting-house*' is more becoming than '*chapel*.'

ART. IV.—*Om Ædrueligheds Tilstanden i Norge.* (*The State of Sobriety in Norway.*) Af Eilert Sundt, Theol. Cand. Christiania, 1859.

THE growth of public opinion in Norway in favour of temperance may be traced in the deliberations of the Storting. The means of checking the sale of intoxicating liquors forms one of the chief subjects of discussion in every session of that body, a bill for the absolute prohibition of brandy having in 1848 been thrown out by a majority of only 38 against 30, even the opposing majority having little to urge against the prohibition, except the exceeding difficulty of making the law effective. Every succeeding session has shown that the views as to this question remain the same, and each one has sanctioned the introduction of new restrictions to be imposed on the manufacture and sale of the poison, which, previous to the temperance movement, seemed rapidly destroying the physical and mental energies of the people.

Where so much unanimity exists as to the desirability of an object, and the difficulties to be overcome for its accomplishment are, in consequence, merely of a practical character, a thorough knowledge of the circumstances amid which the people live, and the bearing of the legislative measures upon these, becomes the points of the utmost importance to ascertain; for to know every symptom and circumstances of the disease is almost tantamount to having found the remedy. Feeling this, Mr. Eilert Sundt, who has for many years held a foremost place among the men who have exerted themselves to raise the state of social morality in Norway, conceived the plan of the work before us, the object of which we give in his own simple terms, as he explains it in a letter addressed, in the autumn of 1857, to the popular schoolmasters in the rural and urban districts throughout Norway, whose co-operation he invites.

‘There is a vicious habit,’ says this letter, ‘which, above all others, has been called the misfortune of our country and the bane of our people, I mean the abuse of strong drinks. We all know how much concern this vice has caused, and still causes, every true philanthropist.

‘Yet it seems to me that we are still far from being sufficiently acquainted with the details of this national evil. I mean, more especially, that the degree in which it prevails in the different parts of the country is not as yet correctly ascertained.

‘It is a fact proved by experience, that in regard to those obnoxious customs, and that laxity of social restraints that lead to other immoralities and crime, there are decided differences between the various localities; and it is probable that the same is the case as regards the abuse of strong drinks. But we have no certain information on this point.

‘Such information would however be very useful. If it were known that drunkenness were more prevalent in one locality than in another, further investigation might lead to the discovery of certain circumstances in the life of the people, which lie at the root of this deplorable result, and this may again render

it possible to devise means for eradicating the unfortunate cause, and thus obviating the disastrous result.'

Having next pointed out how such knowledge might be obtained through the class whom he is addressing, and in whose power and desire to discriminate the truth he is willing to trust, the letter goes on to request that every schoolmaster whom it may reach, will furnish the writer (whose appeal was endorsed by the directing committee of the 'Association against Brandy Drinking in Norway,' and was distributed by the aid of Government) with a list of the number of married men and widowers in his district, discriminating between those that he considers habitually intemperate, those that are 'uncertain,' or liable to become intoxicated under peculiar inducements, and those who are decidedly sober, without this being meant necessarily to imply that they abstain altogether from the use of strong drinks, or that they are members of a temperance society; and distinguishing likewise between those belonging to the proprietary class (in which he includes all government officials, peasant proprietors of all grades, skippers, traders of various grades, manufacturers and others considered as belonging to the upper classes), and those who belong more essentially to the working class (such as farm servants and cottagers, factory labourers, day labourers, sailors, village craftsmen, &c.). Added to this is a wish that as many of the persons addressed as have time and feel themselves competent, would further furnish him with as full accounts as possible, of the customs and habits prevalent in their particular locality in respect to the use of brandy and other strong liquors at convivial meetings, in cases of sickness or of unusually hard work, on journeys, at auctions, &c.; of the changes that have taken place in these customs and habits; and of the causes that have led to such changes.

The reasons assigned for limiting the inquiry to married men and widowers, are the necessity, in case unmarried men were to be included, of fixing a limit of age, and the difficulty of 'doing' this under the peculiar circumstances, except by choosing the period of confirmation (which in Norway is compulsory and must not be postponed beyond the sixteenth year, we believe), as the criterion, which would, however, be objectionable, as at that tender age the habits of life cannot be said to be formed, and the returns would, in consequence, become less reliable; whereas the state of temperance or intemperance among the married men being known, that of the unmarried may easily be inferred, as the habits of the heads of families cannot fail to exercise a decided influence on the morality of their children and dependents, while, on the other hand, the habits of a man's youth will, as a general rule, be traced in his more mature age.

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When it is taken into consideration that every parish (*Præstegjeld*) in Norway is divided into school-districts, that, in consequence, there is not an isolated homestead or hovel in town or country that is not included in one of these districts, and that the population, in the rural school-districts at least, is very sparse, so that the schoolmaster cannot fail to become personally acquainted with every family belonging to it, it will be seen how complete, and how important might be the returns asked for by Mr. Sundt; and the result shows that he had not made a false calculation when thus appealing to the philanthropy and public spirit of this class of his countrymen. However, before entering upon this, and in order to enable the reader fully to understand the bearing of the questions put by Mr. Sundt, it may perhaps be as well to preface all further remarks with a sketch of the natural features of Norway, and of the consequent constitution of Norwegian society, which is in many respects peculiar.

Stretching from Cape Lindesnæs, its southernmost point in  $58^{\circ}$ , through  $13^{\circ}$  of latitude, till terminating in the North Cape in  $71^{\circ}$ , Norway has a coast line of very nearly one thousand miles in length, while the average breadth of the country, for nearly two-thirds of this extraordinary length, does not exceed seventy-five miles. Over this vast area is spread a population of less than one million and a half of souls, of which about 197,000 are gathered in the towns, while the rest are scattered over an expanse of country, intersected in every part by mountain ranges, which sometimes shelve down abruptly to the shores of the numerous fjords that run high up into the land, sometimes spread out in vast *plateaux*, whose loftiest peaks, rising to an altitude of from 5,000 to 7,000 feet, are capped with perpetual snows; while the slopes and the table-lands are partly covered with almost impenetrable forests, and the rocky clefts are occupied by foaming mountain torrents, which precipitate themselves in stupendous cascades into the calm waters of the great inland lakes, which here and there are gathered in the bosom of the mountains, and which, together with the fjords or bays (for the rivers or elves are mostly too rapid for navigation) afford most welcome means of intercommunication in tracts where intercourse by land is almost impossible; even the great high roads of the country being carried over elevated mountain-passes, where tempests of wind and rain are frequent at all seasons. Town is separated from town by distances of three hundred or four hundred English miles, over roads such as these, and valley from valley by perpendicular walls of rock, or by gradually ascending ridges scaled by pathways at times all but inaccessible even to the hardy mountaineers, or by vast and dreary table-lands.

'Dim mountains, silent forests, and lonely lakes,' present the general features of Norway; but softer lineaments and milder beauties are not wanting in that country of strong and sudden contrasts; for while the broad valleys and slopes, and the banks of the lovely fjords and lakes in the southern division of the kingdom more especially, present many a scene vying in freshness of verdure and richness of fertility and culture with the most luxuriant landscapes of happier climes, even in the most rugged alpine districts, and in the midst of the densest forests, the traveller may come upon some verdant dell, some grassy slope, some small clearing, which, with its homestead, surrounded by patches of corn land and potatoes, or its hamlet in the midst of green pastures, offers to the eye a cheering picture of simplicity and contentment. For the Norwegian Bonde, who was never subjected to the feudal system, and who is now, as he ever was, absolute possessor of the land he holds, is essentially agricultural and pastoral, though the dwellers on the coast take readily to the sea, as did their fathers of old, who did not either disdain to combine the life of the farmer with that of the *viking*.

Unfortunately, however, with this taste for agricultural pursuits and a seafaring life, many of the other habits of their rude forefathers have descended to the Norwegian peasantry, and among these that of hard drinking is one of the most conspicuous and the most deplorable. Now, as of yore, the men but too often pride themselves upon their powers in this direction, more especially at the entertainments with which, according to ancient custom, they celebrate weddings, christenings, and burials, the two latter having retained the names by which they were designated among the ancient Scandinavians, viz., *barnsöl* and *gravöl* (child's ale and grave ale), which sufficiently indicate their character. Modern science has, however, substituted fiery brandy for the homely and somewhat less potent brew of the ancients; and to the facilities which for a long time existed for the home distillation of this baneful spirit may be attributed the fearful pre-eminence in drunkenness which the Norwegian people long enjoyed, while from the time of their discontinuance dates a period of gradual improvement. Each farm has, or used to have, its so-called *bedelag* (invitation district), within the limits of which all dwellers must be invited to the ceremony, whether wedding, christening, or funeral; and what the amount of the drinking must be on these occasions, which generally extend over several days, may be judged by one instance, a wedding, mentioned by one of Mr. Sundt's informants, at which the guests numbered about eighty, including children, and the merry-making was carried on for four consecutive days; and for which they had brewed several barrels of beer, and purchased three ankers of brandy (containing about ten gallons each), which did

did not, however, suffice, and 'they considered themselves very fortunate in being able to borrow some more.' Drinking not only goes on at the bride's home before and after the marriage, but in many places the brandy bottle is even taken to church and handed round immediately after the ceremony, uninvited strangers present being likewise allowed to partake, but for a consideration. Even on ordinary occasions of church attendance on Sundays, it is customary (numbers of the people having come from afar), to send round the supposed strengthening draught among the groups of gossips assembled along the 'church dike,' before and after service, and the young lasses make themselves agreeable to their 'beaux' by bringing a small flask especially for their use. At funerals it is customary for every invited guest, before the corpse leaves the house, to walk up to the coffin, and empty, in honour of the dead, a glass of brandy and a glass of beer, which is handed by the master of the ceremonies, or kooking-master (*kjögemester*), as he is termed; and this being subsequent to the general feasting that has been going on, it is not surprising that the funeral cortège should at times arrive reeling at the churchyard; the more so as so much importance is attached to due liberality being exhibited on these occasions, that instances are mentioned of peasants having prescribed beforehand how much beer was to be brewed, and how much brandy purchased, for their own funeral entertainments.

Regular brandy shops are happily rare in the more sparsely-populated tracts of the country; but the spirit of gain, ever on the alert to improve opportunities, avails itself more especially of sales of household furniture, &c., which in these remote localities gather together a number of people, to establish there retail booths for brandy, inducing the young people, even after the business of the day is over, to remain on the spot to drink, by getting up dancing, which exercises an irresistible charm over Norwegian youth; and these sales, therefore, count among the inducements to intemperance in the country. The dealers in general wares in the towns or at the country trading stations, likewise avail themselves of the people's love for drink, to purchase customers at the expense of a few quarts of brandy, it being usual to bestow a present of this kind on every peasant coming from afar, and thence it is that frequent journeys to town rank among the brutalizing instead of the civilizing events in a Norwegian peasant's life.

But the brandy bottle is not only the heightener of convivial merriment, it is also the common resource in sickness, and more especially in cases of childbirth, no woman being considered safe after delivery, until she has had a draught of this supposed *elixir vite*, which is looked upon as the unfailing restorer and supporter of

of strength, and therefore also partaken of in double quantities whenever especial fatigue is to be endured.

Where such habits of intemperance exist, other vices, we know, must follow; and, indeed, the picture of the general morality of the Norwegian peasantry afforded by the book before us, is very melancholy: the vice of unchastity, however, which more especially prevails, being as much the consequences of the indecent home arrangements and lax social customs, as of the intemperate habits.

We now return to Mr. Sundt's investigations as to how far the vice of drunkenness really pervades the nation.

According to the official returns of 1853, there are in the rural districts of Norway 419 stationary schools, and 2,012 school districts, the schoolmasters of which have no fixed abode, but live by turns with the farmers belonging to their respective districts. Of these 2,431 schoolmasters, 2,008 responded to Mr. Sundt's appeal,\* while from the masters of the urban schools he obtained returns from only 21.

The number of persons (married men and widowers) included in these returns is—

In the rural districts . . . .	177,325
In the towns . . . . .	5,143
Total . . . . .	<u>182,468</u>

or about three-fourths of the entire number of married men and widowers in the rural districts throughout the kingdom, and about one-sixth of the entire number of the same classes in the towns, the census of 1855 having given the numbers for the whole kingdom as follows:—

	Married Men.	Widowers.	Total.
In rural districts . . . .	210,456	20,756	231,212
In towns . . . . .	29,608	2,870	32,478
Total . . . . .	<u>240,064</u>	<u>23,626</u>	<u>263,690</u>

As regards the rural districts, the numbers comprised in the returns are therefore sufficiently large to allow of their being considered as representing all the heads of families belonging to the rural population throughout Norway, and consequently of the most essential portion of the Norwegian nation; for those school districts and parishes from which no returns were sent in, are pretty equally distributed through all parts of the country; and it is therefore legitimate to conclude that the state of things within their limits is similar to that of the districts that surround them, from which

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\* To which number may be added twenty more returns which came in too late to be included in his calculations, and twenty which were excluded because of their evident inaccuracy.

returns have been furnished. As to the state of sobriety, the sum total of the returns in the rural districts is—

Sober . . . . .	111,174
Uncertain . . . . .	59,434
Drunkards . . . . .	6,717
Total . . . . .	<u>177,325*</u>

Giving a per centage of—

Sober . . . . .	62·7
Uncertain . . . . .	33·5
Drunkards . . . . .	3·8
	<u>100·</u>

Calculated by *provstier* (archdeaconries), in number fifty-four, each comprising several *præstegjeld* (parishes), each of which again contain several school districts, the per centage of habitual drunkards among the married men and widowers varies from 2·1 to 8·8, the average per centage being about 3·6. This calculation is, however, exclusive of Finmarken, the per centage of habitual intemperance in that provsti being so abnormally large, viz. 16·5, that Mr. Sundt sets it aside for special investigation.

In order to obtain greater certainty, and to facilitate a general view, the fifty-four provstier just alluded to, are next gathered into twelve larger groups, which, as they form the basis of a great number of Mr. Sundt's subsequent calculations and reflections, we subjoin :—

- Group 1. Christiania stift,† east of the Christiania fjord, and as far as the Mjösen lake.
- Group 2. The eastern uplands in the same stift.
- Group 3. The western uplands in the same stift.
- Group 4. The tract west of the Christiania fjord in the same stift.
- Group 5. Christiansands stift, east of Cape Lindesnæs.
- Group 6. Tho same stift west of Cape Lindesnæs.
- Group 7. Bergens stift, south of the Sognefjord.
- Group 8. The northern division of the same stift.
- Group 9. Thronhjems stift's coast districts.
- Group 10. The inland districts of the same stift.
- Group 11. Tromsø stift, exclusive of Finmarken.
- Group 12. Finmarken.

The last-mentioned group is in point of population far below the

\* To which must, however, be added for the districts, the returns from which came in too late :

Sober . . . . .	1,244
Uncertain . . . . .	486
Drunkards . . . . .	86
Total . . . . .	<u>1,816</u>

† The stift is the largest subdivision of the country, and answers pretty nearly to our county. There are, however, in Norway but five stifts, which are, in consequence, of considerable extent.

others,

others, but the per centage of habitual drunkards, as shown in the table of the provstier, being so abnormal, it has been considered advisable in this grouping to keep it distinct.

According to this division, the results of the returns are as follow :—

Group.	Filled Returns.	Married Men and Widowers.				Per Centage.			
		Total.	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.	Total.	Sober.	Un-certain.	Drunkards.
1	155	14617	8118	5923	576	100	55·5	40·5	4·0
2	185	20287	11550	8032	705	100	56·9	39·6	3·5
3	200	20171	12611	6893	667	100	62·5	34·2	3·3
4	168	14688	9219	4898	571	100	62·8	33·4	3·8
5	228	14571	7303	6472	796	100	50·1	44·4	5·5
6	208	15043	9344	5110	589	100	62·1	34·0	3·9
7	184	14552	11088	3170	294	100	76·2	21·8	2·0
8	196	15457	10699	4222	536	100	69·2	27·3	3·5
9	145	14158	8685	5004	469	100	61·4	35·3	3·3
10	177	17502	11070	5890	542	100	63·2	33·7	3·1
11	137	14052	10448	2999	605	100	74·4	21·3	4·3
12	25	2227	1039	821	367	100	46·7	36·9	16·4
Kingdom	2,008	177,325	111,174	59,434	6,717	100	62·7	33·5	3·8

It will be readily understood that in forming these groups no attempt has been made (with the exception of Finmarken) to group together such of the subdivisions (provstier), in which the proportion of sober men was the most favourable or the reverse. Nevertheless, it will be observed, that this table, like that of the provstier, shows great variations in the per centage of the intemperate. Setting aside Finmarken, we find that the per centage of habitually sober men is smallest in group 5 (the eastern division of Christiania stift), and largest in group 7 (the southern division of Bergens stift), viz., 50·1 in the former, and 76·2 in the latter, while, at the same time, it appears that the former group has the highest per centage of habitual drunkards, viz. 5·5, and the latter the smallest, viz. 2·0.

The divergencies shown in this table are not, however, greater than may be expected to exist between the different parts of a country; but admitting that they are not yet fully proved to be in accordance with the exact truth, because the returns being merely the expression of each schoolmaster's individual opinion as to the character of the men in his district, and, in consequence hereof, being liable to be influenced by the greater or less severity with which these functionaries were inclined to view the vice of intemperance, Mr. Sundt subjects his numbers to a new test. Taking into consideration that the temptations to inebriety in a locality in a great measure depend upon the general social conditions of the population, and that these are most frequently similar

similar in places immediately adjoining each other, he separates the returns into two classes (distinguished as the Letter Class and the Number Class), so as to include in each class a district immediately adjoining one in the other, and the application of this method gives in the rural districts the following result :—

Group.	Number Side.					Letter Side.				
	Number of Returns.	Number of Persons.				Number of Returns.	Number of Persons.			
		Total.	Sober.	Un-certain.	Drunk-ards.		Total.	Sober.	Un-certain.	Drunk-ards.
1	78	7398	4050	3037	311	77	7219	4068	2886	265
2	95	10362	5688	4294	380	90	9925	5862	3738	325
3	100	10259	6456	3420	383	100	9912	6155	3473	284
4	85	7826	5157	2373	296	83	6862	4062	2525	275
5	116	7220	3743	3079	398	112	7351	3560	3393	398
6	105	7818	5014	2501	303	103	7225	4330	2609	286
7	93	7021	5454	1432	135	91	7531	5634	1738	159
8	99	7818	5409	2145	264	97	7639	5290	2077	272
9	74	6997	3976	2782	239	71	7161	4709	2222	230
10	93	9299	5672	3328	299	84	8203	5398	2562	243
11	69	7578	5755	1535	288	68	6474	4693	1464	317
12	12	1213	599	449	165	13	1014	440	372	202
Kingdom	1019	90,809	56,973	30,375	3,461	989	86,516	54,201	29,059	3,256

## CALCULATION ACCORDING TO PER CENTAGE.

Group.	Number Side.					Letter Side.				
	Number of Returns.	Number of Persons.				Number of Returns.	Number of Persons.			
		Total.	Sober.	Un-certain.	Drunk-ards.		Total.	Sober.	Un-certain.	Drunk-ards.
1	—	100	54·7	41·1	4·2	—	100	56·3	40·0	3·7
2	—	100	54·9	41·4	3·7	—	100	59·1	37·6	3·3
3	—	100	62·9	33·4	3·7	—	100	62·1	35·0	2·9
4	—	100	65·9	30·3	3·8	—	100	59·2	36·8	4·0
5	—	100	51·8	42·7	5·5	—	100	48·4	46·2	5·4
6	—	100	64·1	32·0	3·9	—	100	59·9	36·1	4·0
7	—	100	77·7	20·4	1·9	—	100	74·8	23·1	2·1
8	—	100	69·2	27·4	3·4	—	100	69·2	27·2	3·6
9	—	100	56·8	39·8	3·4	—	100	65·8	31·0	3·2
10	—	100	61·0	35·8	3·2	—	100	65·8	31·2	3·0
11	—	100	75·9	20·3	3·8	—	100	72·5	22·6	4·9
12	—	100	49·4	37·0	13·6	—	100	43·4	36·7	19·9
Kingdom	—	100	62·7	33·5	3·8	—	100	62·6	33·6	3·8

which shows considerable agreement between the two divisions, and leaves it, therefore, to be justly inferred that the returns have not been falsified by any undue leniency or severity in the parties from whom they have been obtained.

Having

Having thus far established the credibility of the returns as to the point on which they were most open to cavil, Mr. Sundt proceeds to examine the second point which he had requested his informants to observe, namely, the distinction in regard to sobriety between the proprietary class and the working class. The aggregate numbers of the returns for the rural districts under this head, are—

Proprietary class . . . .	99,100
Working class . . . .	78,225
Total . . . .	<u>177,325</u>

the relative proportions of the three grades in both classes being—

	Proprietary Class.	Working Class.
Sober . . . .	63,875	47,299
Uncertain . . . .	31,460	27,974
Drunkards . . . .	3,765	2,952
Total . . . .	<u>99,100</u>	<u>78,225</u>

Giving a per centage of—

Sober . . . .	64·5	60·5
Uncertain . . . .	31·7	35·7
Drunkards . . . .	3·8	3·8*
Total . . . .	<u>100·</u>	<u>100·</u>

The very names of these classes bring to the mind considerable differences in pecuniary means, in daily avocations, in modes of life, in culture, and in manners, and with these great differences in the temptations to which the two classes are exposed; yet here are upwards of two thousand men intimately acquainted with the life and habits of the people whom they judge, establishing by their returns, that the amount of drunkenness is, proportionately to their numbers, exactly equal in both classes, while among the labouring class there are fewer decidedly temperate men than among the proprietary class, and a greater number of ‘uncertain,’ or of those prone to yield to temptation.

However surprising this result, it is borne out by the various tests to which Mr. Sundt puts these numbers like the preceding ones, giving first the numbers of the three grades in each class in each provsti comprised in the returns, then in the twelve groups

\* The proportions in the returns sent in after Mr. Sundt's calculations were completed, are—

	Proprietary Class.	Working Class.
Sober . . . .	694	550
Uncertain . . . .	275	211
Drunkards . . . .	47	39
Total . . . .	<u>1,016</u>	<u>800</u>

of

of provstier, next in the classification distinguished as Letter division and Number division, containing in each division one of two adjoining districts throughout the country, the prevailing circumstances in which must be assumed to be pretty nearly the same, and ultimately the groups as they appear on the Letter side and Number side, according to this latter arrangement.

In running the eye over the per-centage table referring to the provstier, a twofold difference between them becomes evident. 1st, The unequal proportions between the numbers of the temperate and intemperate generally, which were shown in the previous tables, and 2ndly, The unequal proportions in the amount of sobriety between the proprietary class and the labouring class in the several provstier. In some there is a greater number of habitual drunkards in the former than in the latter class; in others there is, on the contrary, a greater number of drunkards among the labouring class than among the proprietary class; and while this latter class has, as a general rule, the greatest relative number of habitually sober people, there are, nevertheless, instances in which the favourable proportions are on the side of the working class.

According to the per-centage table of the twelve groups of districts, it appears that there are five groups of the twelve in which there is a smaller per centage of habitual drunkards in the working class than in the proprietary class, viz. the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 9th, and 10th, and in two of these groups (1 and 10) the proportions are so favourable on the same side, that they show not only a smaller number of habitual drunkards, but also of the 'uncertain' class, and a larger number of habitually temperate persons.

Group.	Number of Persons.							
	Proprietary Class.				Working Class.			
	Total.	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.	Total.	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.
1	7329	3989	3015	325	7288	4129	2908	251
2	9421	5636	3402	383	10866	5914	4630	322
3	9990	6388	3223	379	10181	6223	3670	288
4	7620	4929	2436	255	7068	4290	2462	316
5	9240	4924	3850	466	5331	2379	2622	330
6	10319	6502	3426	391	4724	2842	1684	198
7	9960	7639	2155	166	4592	3449	1015	128
8	10194	7293	2576	325	5263	3406	1646	211
9	7304	4529	2515	260	6854	4156	2489	209
10	7973	4910	2757	306	9529	6160	3133	236
11	8410	6441	1653	316	5642	4007	1346	289
12	1340	695	452	193	887	344	369	174
Kingdom	99,100	63,875	31,460	3,765	78,225	47,299	27,974	2,952

In the table of groups ranged according to the Letter and Number

Number division, we find the above proportions confirmed, in as far as that, with one exception, there is in the five groups indicated, viz. 1, 2, 3, 9, and 10, a smaller per centage of habitually intemperate persons in the labouring class, and in two of these groups (1 and 10) there is also a smaller per centage of persons prone to yield to temptation, consequently a greater proportion of habitually sober persons in the working class than in the proprietary class. The exception is on the Letter side of group 9, in which the per centage of habitual drunkards is somewhat larger in the labouring than in the proprietary class. In addition to this we find that the results of the tabulations further coincide, in so far, that on the Number side as well as on the Letter side, there is in all the other groups a smaller number of habitually sober persons, and a larger number of the division 'uncertain' in the working class than in the proprietary class, with the exception of group 8, where the former class shows a somewhat smaller per centage of habitual drunkards than in the proprietary class.

Group.	Proprietary Class.				Working Class.			
	Total.	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.	Total.	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.

## NUMBER SIDE.

1	3618	1959	1495	164	3780	2091	1542	147
2	4714	2734	1794	186	5648	2954	2500	194
3	5103	3333	1557	213	5156	3123	1863	170
4	4028	2759	1144	125	3798	2398	1229	171
5	4648	2554	1869	225	2572	1189	1210	173
6	5245	3403	1651	191	2573	1611	850	112
7	4806	3736	993	77	2215	1718	439	58
8	5024	3521	1332	171	2794	1888	813	93
9	3486	2006	1341	139	3511	1970	1441	100
10	4059	2410	1498	151	5240	3262	1830	148
11	4534	3550	833	151	3044	2205	702	137
12	774	428	262	84	439	171	187	81
Kingdom	50,039	32,393	15,769	1,877	40,770	24,580	14,606	1,584

## LETTER SIDE.

1	3711	2030	1520	161	3508	2038	1366	104
2	4707	2902	1608	197	5218	2960	2130	128
3	4887	3055	1666	166	5025	3100	1807	118
4	3592	2170	1292	130	3270	1892	1233	145
5	4592	2370	1981	241	2759	1190	1412	157
6	5074	3099	1775	200	2151	1231	834	86
7	5154	3903	1162	89	2377	1731	576	70
8	5170	3772	1244	154	2469	1518	833	118
9	3818	2523	1174	121	3343	2186	1048	109
10	3914	2500	1259	155	4289	2898	1303	88
11	3876	2891	820	165	2598	1802	644	152
12	566	267	190	109	448	173	182	93
Kingdom	49,061	31,482	15,691	1,888	37,455	22,719	13,368	1,368

CALCULATIONS ACCORDING TO PER CENTAGE.

Group.	Proprietary Class.				Working Class.			
	Total.	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunk-ards.	Total.	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunk-ards.
NUMBER SIDE.								
1	100	54.2	41.3	4.5	100	55.3	40.8	3.9
2	100	58.0	38.1	3.9	100	52.3	44.3	3.4
3	100	65.3	30.5	4.2	100	60.6	36.1	3.3
4	100	68.5	28.4	3.1	100	63.1	32.4	4.5
5	100	55.0	40.2	4.8	100	46.2	47.1	6.7
6	100	64.9	31.5	3.6	100	62.6	33.0	4.4
7	100	77.7	20.7	1.6	100	77.6	19.8	2.6
8	100	70.1	26.5	3.4	100	67.6	29.1	3.3
9	100	57.5	38.5	4.0	100	56.2	41.0	2.8
10	100	59.4	36.9	3.7	100	62.3	34.9	2.8
11	100	78.3	18.3	3.4	100	72.4	33.1	4.5
12	100	55.3	33.8	10.9	100	38.9	42.6	18.5
Kingdom	100	64.7	31.5	3.8	100	60.3	35.8	3.9

LETTER SIDE.

1	100	54.9	40.9	4.2	100	58.1	38.9	3.0
2	100	61.6	34.2	4.2	100	56.7	40.8	2.5
3	100	62.5	34.1	3.4	100	61.7	36.0	2.3
4	100	60.4	36.0	3.6	100	57.9	37.7	4.4
5	100	51.6	43.1	5.3	100	43.1	51.2	5.7
6	100	61.1	35.0	3.9	100	57.2	38.8	4.0
7	100	75.7	22.6	1.7	100	72.8	24.2	3.0
8	100	72.9	24.1	3.0	100	61.5	33.7	4.8
9	100	66.1	30.7	3.2	100	65.4	31.3	3.3
10	100	63.8	32.2	4.0	100	67.6	30.4	2.0
11	100	74.6	21.1	4.3	100	69.4	24.8	5.8
12	100	47.2	33.6	19.2	100	38.6	40.6	20.8
Kingdom	100	64.2	32.0	3.8	100	60.7	35.7	3.6

Going back to the tabular arrangement according to provstier, we are struck with the irregularity in the per centage of intemperate individuals in the different villages or *bygds*,\* the preponderance being sometimes on the side of the working class, sometimes on that of the proprietary class; and we shall now proceed to show that this irregularity bears a definite relation to another striking disparity between the same *bygds*, namely, the relative number of individuals belonging to the working class and to the proprietary class.

By the returns given above, we found that the aggregate of the rural districts comprised the following number of married men and widowers—

\* The term *bygd* expresses rather an inhabited or cultivated tract than a village, the distances between the farmsteads and cottages in, one and the same *bygd* being frequently so great that the term village is hardly applicable.

Proprietary class . . . .	99,100
Working class . . . .	78,225
Total . . . .	<u>177,325</u>

and calculated by thousands the proportion stands thus—

Proprietary Class . . . .	559
Working Class . . . .	441
Total . . . .	<u>1,000</u>

It may, in consequence, be stated, that, taken generally, the composition of the population in the rural districts throughout the kingdom gives 559 heads of families in the proprietary class to 441 in the labouring class. Having entered into elaborate tabulations to determine for each provsti, and each group of districts, in what relation the per centage of intemperate persons stands to the number of the labouring class and of the proprietary class dwelling in it, Mr. Sundt establishes, as an incontrovertible fact, that there is a certain relation between the difference in the amount of intemperance in the two classes, and the difference in the relative proportions of these two constituent elements of the population. However, as it appears that the localities in which the number of the labouring class is the smallest, are all situated on the western or sea-board side of the country, and the connection between the amount of intemperance and the relative numbers of the two classes may thus be supposed to be merely apparent, or that the unequal composition of the population and the unequal amount of intemperance in the two classes may be determined by a third circumstance bearing equally on both, viz. the situation of the locality on the coast or in the interior, Mr. Sundt further institutes an inquiry into how far the constitution of the population (that is to say the greater or smaller number of the labouring class comprised in it) affects the state of sobriety, independently of any influence that may be exercised by the situation of the locality and the consequent differences in the modes of livelihood, the amount of wealth, &c., &c.

By means of this inquiry, into the details of which our space will not allow us to follow him, but which is carried out with the same conscientious sifting of the truth that characterizes the whole of his book, he arrives at this remarkable conclusion:—

1. That the per centage of intemperate persons, as a general rule, is greatest on the side of the labouring class in the rural districts in which that class of the population is comparatively small in number, whereas the preponderance of intemperance is on the side of the proprietary class in the localities where the working classes are numerically superior.

2nd. That in one and the same provsti, there is, as a general rule, a smaller number of drunkards in those parishes (*præstegjeld*)

*jeld*) that comprise a comparatively small number of the working class, and, on the contrary, a greater amount of intemperance in those parishes in which the population comprehends a comparatively large number of the working class, the difference being apparent in both classes, but principally in the proprietary class.

This curious state of things Mr. Sundt believes to be the result of the difference of the prevailing circumstances as to the division of land, and, in consequence, of the position of the cottagers who form by far the most numerous constituent part of the labouring class in the rural districts throughout Norway. Of the groups into which he divided the various districts for the purpose of tabulation, groups 1, 2, 3, 9, and 10 (embracing the greater part of Christiania stift, and the whole of Throndhjems stift), constitute an uninterrupted territory in the heart of the land, which comprises the wealthiest and most fertile districts, in the broad valleys of which the lands have been gathered into large farms, requiring for their cultivation a greater number of resident farm-servants and also of cottagers in the employ of the farmers. The other six groups (for Finmarken is again left out) include the districts in Christiania stift west of the fjord, the whole of Christiansand stift, and of Bergens stift, and Tromsø stift, exclusive of Finmarken, that is, almost the whole of the western and northern tracts of the country, where the valleys are narrower and the farms smaller.

In the tract of the large farms the cottier's son generally spends his youth as resident farm labourer in one of the farms on his native bygd, living and working under the eye of his master. Later in life he marries and becomes a cottier, most likely on the same farm, and thenceforward the daily routine of his life is to go in the morning from his cottage to the farmstead and in the evening from the farmstead home again. From time to time he may perhaps attend church on a Sunday, and he may also, as a rare occurrence, be invited to a wedding, a christening, or a funeral, while he may likewise have a chance at long intervals to be sent to the nearest town on an errand for his employer. The monotony of his life saves him in a great measure from the temptations to intemperance which mostly occur at merry-makings or at funerals, besides which, though a man of this class may not be living in absolute poverty, he has, nevertheless, but rarely any cash in his pocket, as his wages are paid partly in his own board, partly in the cottage and plot of ground assigned to him.

The farmers (proprietors) in these tracts, on the contrary, lead a less monotonous life. They often travel long distances to take their produce to market, or to settle other matters of business; and more important still, as to the point in question, having many labourers in their employ, they are able to leave all the heavy work on the farm to these, limiting their own share to mere superintendence,

intendence, which, if they be not improving farmers, is not sufficient to fill up their time. The poor cottier is driven to his work day by day by the urgent wants of his family; he is, as it were, under the rule of a law of physical necessity: but it requires no little amount of mental culture and development to induce a man who is under no necessity of working, nevertheless to find constant useful occupation for himself; and such culture and development being by no means common among the Norwegian peasant farmers, as a natural consequence the wealthier among them seek a resource against absolute idleness in a kind of idle sociability, which is but too often an inducement to intemperance.

In the tract comprising the western and northern parts of the kingdom, the lands, either owing to the natural features of the country, or from other causes, are more subdivided, the number of labourers is smaller, and their whole position different. The unmarried men belonging to this class do not so generally take regular service, but hire themselves out for job work, or become sailors, fishermen, &c. When they marry, and are not sufficiently well off to buy a farm, they indeed also become cottiers, but under different conditions; for even then they do not bind themselves to regular farm service, but continue to maintain themselves and their families by their former more irregular and independent means of livelihood. In these districts it is the peasant-proprietors themselves who lead the steady, laborious home-life, doing all the work on their farms, and this, therefore, is the probable reason why, as the tables show us, in these localities the preponderance of drunkenness is on the side of the labouring class.

The second fact established by the tables, however, that not only among the proprietary class, but also among the labouring classes, there is a greater proportion of intemperance in the districts where the latter class is comparatively the most numerous, Mr. Sundt explains as arising from two circumstances: first, that in these wealthier and more populous districts, tavern life and other inducements to intemperance are more developed; and, secondly, that among the cottagers in these localities a certain amount of discontent exists in consequence of the hardships of their life compared with that of their employers, which discontent, he thinks, leads to melancholy and intemperance.

It having become apparent throughout the tabulations above alluded to that the degree of intemperance does not only vary according to the relative proportions of the two classes of the population, but also according to the geographical position of the localities, Mr. Sundt subjects this new principle also to the test of various combinations, in order to ascertain whether it be really a constant or merely an accidental one.

Having first applied his method to a certain division of the country with which he is personally well acquainted, and having found

found the results of the numbers in perfect accord with his knowledge of the existing state of things, viz. a far greater amount of intemperance in the inner than the outer bygd, even though the proportion of the labouring population in the inner tracts is but 346 in a thousand, and in the outer 383 in a thousand, he next proceeds to subject all the provstier, included in the returns, to the same method as applied to this particular division of the country. The 54 provstier are divided into three classes, viz. 1. Outer tract or bygdela; 2. Mixed tract or bygdela; and 3. Inner tract or bygdela (according to their situation in the interior or along the coast, the mixed partaking of the character of both the others), and then compares the three grades in the proprietary and working classes.

This division gives 30 provstier in the outer tract, 8 in the mixed, and 16 in the inner tract; and, taken in conjunction with the returns relating to each provsti, shows that 29 out of the 30 provstier in the outer bygdela have in the proprietary class a considerable per centage of habitually sober men, viz. 65 per cent., and that 14 out of the same 30 provstier have, in the same class, a very small per centage of drunkards, viz. less than 3. In the inner tract, on the contrary, only 2 out of the 16 have so large a per centage of sober men, and only 1 out of the 16 has so small a per centage of drunkards. The same result is consequently repeated: greater sobriety in the outer than in the inner tracts. On the side of the labouring class the numbers are also decidedly in favour of the outer tract as far as regards the division 'sober;' but in respect of the division 'drunkards,' there are not fewer than 10 out of the 16 provstier belonging to the inner tract in which the per centage of the habitually sober is less than 3; this latter result being owing to circumstances which will be alluded to in the sequel.

A table for the entire kingdom, according to the above classification of tracts, gives the following numbers:

Bygdela, or Tract.	Proprietary Class.				Working Class.			
	Total.	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunk- ards.	Total.	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunk- ards.
Inner .	54964	37526	15520	1918	32334	20529	10283	1522
Mixed .	10486	6594	3466	426	9391	5804	3230	357
Outer .	33650	19755	12474	1421	36500	20966	14461	1073
Kingdom.	99,100	63,875	31,460	3,765	78,225	47,290	27,974	2,952

Per Centage.

Inner .	100	68.3	28.2	3.5	100	63.5	31.8	4.7
Mixed .	100	62.9	33.0	4.1	100	61.8	34.4	3.8
Outer .	100	58.7	37.1	4.2	100	57.5	39.6	2.9
Kingdom.	100	64.5	31.7	3.8	100	60.5	35.7	3.8

Here again we see that the amount of sobriety in the proprietary class is absolutely greater in the outer bygdslag than in the mixed, and in the mixed than in the inner; while with respect to the working class it appears that the per centage of sober people is also larger in the outer than in the mixed and inner bygdslag, but that as regards the number of habitual drunkards the case is the reverse.

It would, however, be premature to conclude that this discrepancy is caused by the situation of the bygdslag, or even by any other circumstance connected with the locality, except the one that has been so frequently noticed, namely, the unequal proportions of the two classes constituting the population; for the tables show that the relative numbers of the two classes stand thus—

Tract.	Proprietary Class.	Labouring Class.	Total.
Outer . . .	630	370	1000
Mixed . . .	528	472	1000
Inner . . .	480	520	1000

And, consequently, once more we find the rule confirmed as to the bearing of the relation between the numbers of the proprietary class and of the working class on the state of sobriety. In accordance with this rule is furthermore the fact, that while the preponderance of drunkenness is on the side of the labouring class in the outer tract, it is on the side of the proprietary class in the inner tract.

However, the above table shows a proportion of drunkards among the labouring class in the outer bygdslag, which is not in accordance with the oft-named rule, and this disparity seems to be caused by certain circumstances which are not connected with the geographical position of these districts, but with other matters that will be explained in connection with the returns relating to the towns, which we shall now proceed to consider.

As has been previously stated, the number of married men and widowers included in the returns for the towns does not exceed 5,143, and consequently does not amount to more than one-sixth of the entire town population of the kingdom. But the more unsatisfactory the returns, the more diligently our author exerts himself to investigate how far the conclusions deduced from them may be applicable to the urban population throughout the country.

The towns included in the returns, are: Frederiksstad, Drammen, Kongsberg, Holmestrand, Christiansand, Farsund, Levanger, Hammerfest, and Vadsö, none of which belong to the first rank, though some to the second. The proportions of the different grades of sobriety in the aggregate population are:—Sober, 3347; uncertain, 1326; drunkards, 470; in all 5143; giving a per centage

centage of—Sober, 65·1; uncertain, 25·8; drunkards, 9·1. Compared with the rural districts,\* we find thus that in the towns there is a smaller proportion of persons prone to yield to temptation, but at the same time a larger proportion of habitually sober and habitually intemperate people, consequently a more decided distinction between the weak and vicious characters and those capable of self-control. But the returns being so few, there was a likelihood that the aggregate numbers of one division or another might be unduly swollen by a very exceptional state of things in one or other of the towns. However, a division of these into two classes, the eastern and the western (and northern), shows the same relative proportions as compared with the rural districts, though the western towns prove to have a far greater proportion of habitual drunkards than the eastern, and a somewhat smaller per centage of habitually sober persons.

A further peculiarity in regard to the towns becomes evident when we compare the numbers of the proprietary class and the working class. The aggregate returns for the towns give—

	Proprietary Class.	Working Class.
Sober . . .	1662	1685
Uncertain . .	425	901
Drunkards . .	87	383

which numbers, when compared with the rural districts, give the following per centage :—

	PROPRIETARY CLASS.					WORKING CLASS.			
	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.	Total.		Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.	Total.
Country	64·5	31·7	3·8	100		60·5	35·7	3·8	100
Towns	76·5	19·5	4·0	100		65·8	30·3	12·9	100

Here a twofold difference becomes apparent between town and country.

1. We see that in both classes of the population there is a smaller proportion of 'uncertain' in the towns than in the country, while in the proprietary class there is a greater proportion of decidedly sober, and in the working class a greater proportion of decidedly intemperate persons; which corresponds with the difference between town and country in the comparison of the aggregate numbers.

2. In the towns the two extreme grades are more distinctly separated than in the country, for in the country the condition of the working class is only in so far worse than that of the proprietary class that there is a somewhat smaller per centage of sober persons; while in the towns, on the contrary, the lower condition of the labouring class is not only shown by a con-

	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.	Total.
* Country . . .	62·7	33·5	3·1	100
Towns . . .	65·1	25·8	9·1	100
	R 2			siderably

siderably smaller proportion of temperate people, but by a very much larger proportion of habitual drunkards.

In the towns, consequently, the condition of the proprietary class is by far better; that of the labouring class by far worse than in the country: and the greater separation between the two extreme classes in the towns is confirmed.

A similar comparison with the towns divided into eastern and western shows the same result.

Though the small number of the returns sent in for the towns is much to be deplored, Mr. Sundt thinks that, taken in the aggregate, they give a pretty correct view of the condition of the urban populations in general; and he next proceeds to compare this aggregate, not with the aggregate of the country districts, but with the three classes into which he has divided these according to situation. This comparison, instituted first without any distinction of the two classes, gives the following per centage:—

	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.	Total.
Inner Tract . . .	58·0	38·4	3·6	100
Mixed " . . .	62·4	33·7	3·9	100
Outer " . . .	66·5	29·6	3·9	100
Towns . . .	65·1	25·8	9·1	100

If we fix our attention on the class 'uncertain' in this table, we find a gradual decrease in number from the inner tracts to the mixed, from these to the outer, and from these again to the towns; consequently a wider separation between sobriety and drunkenness in the outer bygds than in the others, and greater similarity between them and the towns in this respect. But the comparison becomes still more instructive when a distinction is made between the classes.

PROPRIETARY CLASS.					WORKING CLASS.				
	Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.	Total.		Sober.	Uncertain.	Drunkards.	Total.
Inner bygds	58·7	37·1	4·2	100		57·5	39·6	2·9	100
Mixed "	62·9	33·0	4·1	100		61·8	34·4	3·8	100
Outer "	68·3	28·2	3·5	100		63·5	31·8	4·7	100
Towns .	76·5	19·5	4·0	100		56·8	30·3	12·9	100

In respect of the great gulf that separates the virtue of sobriety from the vice of drunkenness, and also of the greater sobriety in the upper than in the lower classes, we see the rule confirmed, that the towns stand highest, then the outer bygds, and last the mixed and inner bygds, in which latter both classes are very nearly on the same level, a great proportion of the population belonging to the weak and vacillating category of the 'uncertain.'

This difference between town and country cannot be considered to result from the different proportions of the two classes of the population, which, on other occasions, has proved to have such a decided bearing on the state of sobriety; for, as we have seen, the proportion of the classes in the different localities is—

	Proprietary Class.	Working Class.	Total.
Inner bygds	. . . 480	520	1000
Mixed "	. . . 528	472	1000
Outer "	. . . 630	370	1000
Towns	. . . 423	577	1000

Consequently, if the preponderance of the working classes among the populations were the determining cause in this case, the state of sobriety in the towns and in the inner bygds ought to have coincided, whereas the reality is quite the contrary, the greatest similarity being between the towns and the outer bygds; and we must, therefore, conclude that some other influence is at work, as has already been hinted. This influence Mr. Sundt believes to be the forcing, and at the same time sifting or separating, power exercised by life in large towns, which causes us there to meet with higher mental and moral culture and greater power of self-control; but, on the other hand, also with a more reckless self-abandonment to vice, consequent on the greater development of the passions, and the more numerous inducements to wrong-doing. He also attributes the greater amount of temperance in the proprietary class and of intemperance in the working class in the towns as compared with the country, to the fact that in the towns it depends very much upon a man's character, upon his habits of industry and sobriety, his power of self-control and self-denial, whether he shall attain to, or remain in, that independent position which qualifies him to be numbered in the returns among the proprietary class. Whereas in the country this latter class consists mostly of peasants, who are either born to the possession of their freeholds, or succeed to them by right of inheritance, however idle and dissipated their habits may be; while, on the other hand, even the most persevering industry, and the strictest habits of sobriety and self-denial, will rarely enable a cottier or a cottier's son to rise to the station of a proprietor through the attainment of freehold property. The same differences which are here mentioned as existing between town and country in a great measure prevail between the outer and inner bygds as well. In like manner as many young men resort from country to town to seek their fortunes there, and, according to their personal qualities, either rise to the proprietary class, and swell the number of the sober men in it, or yield to the temptations that surround them, and not only remain to increase the number of the labouring class, but also the number of habitual drunkards in this; so also the more restless or the more ambitious of the young men belonging to the inner bygds remove to the outer ones, and very likely in numerous cases contribute to multiply the number of drunkards there, as the proximity of these bygds to the towns (the Norwegian towns are nearly all seaports) is felt in the greater inducements to drink and dissipation

tion which are held out there in the places of public entertainment and the low pot-houses, more especially in the little fishing hamlets that cluster along the fjords. However, in these outer bygds the greater mobility that characterizes town life as compared with country life also in some measure prevails, the proximity of the sea offering increased resources in the form of fishing, trade, and navigation; and consequently the same changes of condition to which allusion has been made in connection with the towns may likewise be of frequent occurrence there, the more so as the very small freeholders, who constitute by far the greater proportion of the proprietary class, may, by intemperance, idleness, and other bad habits, easily be reduced to the lower class.

The qualities and circumstances which are generally conceived to be conducive to sobriety are, piety, moral principle, and mental culture, together with the taste for purer and higher enjoyments, which is a consequence of these; further freedom from the most pressing cares of life, a position which encourages or necessitates constant industry and attention to duties, and a strongly-developed public opinion as to the shame and degradation attached to intemperance: while, on the other hand, intemperance is generally fostered by a low state of mental development, which knows no higher enjoyment than the satisfaction of the bodily appetites; extreme poverty, with its attendant privation, not only of the comforts but of the decencies of life; legislative measures, or other depressing circumstances, which impede the free activity and enterprise of the people, and thus breed discontent; means of livelihood that necessitate a wandering life or frequent absences from home; and domestic discord, most likely to occur when marriages are contracted from mercenary motives and not from affection, which is very usual among the Norwegian peasantry. And all these circumstances we do indeed find telling for and against the state of sobriety in the various districts from which Mr. Sundt has obtained, in addition to the statistical returns which we have dwelt upon so minutely, reports giving a more or less-detailed account of the increase or decrease of intemperance in the districts to which they refer. These reports, which embrace all parts of the country, and from which we have borrowed the description of the national customs given in previous pages, form a very interesting part of the book; though, of course, they are somewhat monotonous in character, which in some measure reconciles us to not being able to give more than a general view of their bearing.

One circumstance we find is insisted on more frequently than any other, as exercising a beneficial effect on the condition of society, and that is, the decrease in the use of brandy, consequent on the legislative measures which have rendered the distillation and retail of it more difficult, and the article itself more expensive;

sive ; though many of the clergymen and schoolmasters who have drawn up the reports dwell with much regret on the introduction of so-called Bavarian beer and a kind of fruit wine as substitutes for brandy, which, though not likely to be quite so pernicious, because of their greater cost and inferior potency, nevertheless interfere considerably with the spread of sober habits. An improvement in public opinion as to the shame attaching to intemperance is also mentioned by many of the reporters, the greater number attributing this to the spread of enlightenment and to greater refinement of manners, which is also gradually leading to the discontinuance, or at least modification, of the old-fashioned customs in connection with weddings, funerals, &c., which have already been mentioned, it having in many places come to be considered 'vulgar' to be intoxicated, or even to have brandy on the table. Only a few of the reporters give credit to the introduction of temperance societies for any of the improvement that is visible, though some even of those who do not, allow that the temperance agitation has led to reflection, and has helped to enlighten conscience.

Though the picture of the state of society throughout Norway, as afforded by these statistics and these reports, is painfully chequered, dark ignorance, barbarism, and vice still brooding over many a district, the view is, upon the whole, hopeful, for in very few places is drunkenness described as being on the increase, while in many it is declared to be on the wane, and in some to be utterly unknown, and with it, we may be sure, will disappear its attendant vices. But more than all we may hail as a beacon of hope the attention which the Norwegian Government and Legislature are giving to the subject, proving thereby that they regard drunkenness as one of the vices that canker so deeply the national life and well-being, that it behoves the rulers of a people to endeavour to eradicate it by all fair means in their power.

ART. V.—1. *The Social Hydra ; or, The Influence of the Traffic of Pawnbrokers and Brokers on the Religious, Moral, and Social Condition of the Working Classes and the Poor.* David Macrae, Jun. Glasgow, 1861.

2. *'Wee Pawns:' their Influence on Crime and Drunkenness, and their Organized Antagonism to Ragged and Industrial Schools.* William Hector. Glasgow, 1856.

3. *Proposed Bill for the Regulation of Wee Pawns and Unlicensed Brokers in Scotland.* Glasgow, 1856.

THE diversity of habit as respects thrift and unthrift in particular races and nations has long been acknowledged and variously

variously accounted for by different writers. Excessive frugality is not a characteristic of the English nation; and it is a well-known and noteworthy fact that the labourers and operatives who are in ordinary times in the receipt of the highest wages, are by no means the largest contributors to the savings banks, nor are they generally the most beforehand in the world. The Irish are, as a people, proverbially unthriftly in their own land, and notoriously the reverse when they are by circumstances placed either temporarily or otherwise elsewhere.\* The Scotch have, as a nation, enjoyed, until the last few years, a reputation for the habitual exercise of a careful and wise economy, so much so, that it has been charged against them as penuriousness; but recent disclosures seem to indicate that a considerable change for the worse is in active operation in this respect, owing to a combination of causes, the nature of which is indicated in the works which we propose to examine.

Those moral epidemics which periodically appear in the history of nations, and take the form of a sudden and violent taste for speculation, whether the fever be for digging for gold, or for gambling on the stock exchange, for dock shares or railway shares, for over-building or over-trading, are obviously agents which tend to produce an unsettled and unthriftly state of mind. There is a general haste to be rich, and a perilous disregard of the means by which riches are attained. This passion spreads, by a natural and easy process, from the educated and wealthy classes to those below them in worldly circumstances, until all alike become tainted by the disease, and excessive and grasping speculation is checked by its natural consequences—commercial panic, pecuniary distress, and that great but unequal pressure which brings the capitalist to the door of the insolvency court, and reduces the improvident workman to become the inmate of the public-house and the *habitué* of the pawnshop.

Strikes, now so lamentably frequent among the labouring classes, have no small share in producing this evil state of matters; and men, once careful and economical, who behold their savings withdrawn, as of necessity they must be, to maintain themselves in an enforced idleness, become reckless, and cease to cultivate the habit of forethought, the more especially as the recurrence of these times of scarcity are decided, not by the operation of natural laws, which can be understood and provided for, but by the arbitrary mandate of the chiefs of the trades' unions.

How far these and other causes have affected the character of

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\* The amount of money remitted by Post-office orders and registered letters, by Irish emigrants in America and the colonies, and also by the labourers and harvesters who annually visit England to their relatives at home, affords ample proof of this statement.

the once prudent and thrifty Scotchman may be judged by the fact, that in 1860 in Glasgow there were 108,730 deposits in the savings banks as against 5,000,000 in the pawnshop, showing an average of 2 bank deposits for each family against 78 pawn-tickets. The subject of pawnbroking has now attracted attention in several quarters; the large increase in the number of pawnshops, and the growing prevalence of the vicious habit of raising money at a ruinous interest, with no other exertion than that of a walk to the nearest of these establishments, undoubtedly calls for serious investigation, and, as we think, also for a wise and discriminating legislation.

Sixty years ago pawnbroking was absolutely unknown in Scotland. In 1806 an Englishman started business in an obscure shop in Glasgow, which he was compelled shortly to close for lack of custom. At this moment there are 79 pawnshops in Glasgow alone, doing a flourishing business. The testimony in the pages of their own organ admits that the average of each is about 40,000 transactions annually, thus giving 3,160,000 per annum for the city. But the result of private investigation, according to Mr. Macrae, proves pretty clearly that 5,688,000 is a good deal nearer the true calculation.\* From 1833 to 1838 the pawnshops increased in number in Scotland 70 per cent. to 5 per cent. in London, and 10 per cent. in England and Wales. A year ago one Scotch town, of only 13,000 inhabitants, required 48,000 pawn-tickets for a twelvemonths' consumption.†

In 1836 a statement was made on authority to Dr. Cleland, who embodied the results in a paper which was read before the British Association for the Advancement of Science. An insight was thus afforded into the general routine of the pawnbroking trade, and the analysis is sufficiently curious to present to our readers. Out of 6,295 articles pledged, considerably more than two-thirds were wearing apparel.

Men's coats . . . .	539	Women's gowns . . . .	1,980
Vests . . . . .	355	Petticoats . . . . .	540
Pairs of trousers . . . .	288	Wrappers . . . . .	132
Hats . . . . .	60	Pelisses, &c. . . . .	213
Total . . . . .	<u>1,242</u>	Total . . . . .	<u>2,865</u>

Of stockings, handkerchiefs, shirts, and shifts there were 618,

\* Keeson, in his work on the *Monts de Piété*, written in 1853, returns the annual number of pledges for England and Wales at 89,720,000. An accurate return now would probably exhibit a large increase.

† It was lately mentioned to us, as a matter of just pride by an inhabitant, that in the town of Todmorden, in Lancashire, with a population chiefly of the poor and manufacturing classes, 12,000 in number, there is not such a thing as a pawn-broker's shop.

making a total of 4,725 articles of body clothing. Bed-clothes appears as the next item in the following proportion :—

Bed-ticks . . . .	84	Table-cloths . . . .	36
Pillows . . . .	108	Umbrellas . . . .	48
Pairs of blankets . . . .	262	Bibles . . . .	102
Ditto sheets . . . .	300	Watches . . . .	204
Bed-covers . . . .	162	Rings . . . .	216
		Waterloo medals . . . .	48
Total . . . .	916	Total . . . .	654

From this it appears that the articles of bed and body clothing pledged are nine times more numerous than any other kind ; and the inference is that about 5,600 are usually in each pawnshop in Glasgow : this gives a total, for the 79 establishments, of 442,400, including 20,000 pairs of blankets. No wonder that we hear of deaths from cold and starvation ; no wonder that infant mortality is enormous ; and when we remember that the money thus raised is in four cases out of five to procure drink rather than food, we need not be surprised at the evidence of the ravages made by intemperance which meet our eyes at every turn.

Here, indeed, is exposed an evil of no ordinary magnitude, though it is one freely recognized and permitted by the law ; but behind it there lies another of a more formidable kind, and of infinitely greater difficulty to deal with. We allude to those places generally known as ‘wee pawns’ in Scotland, and going in England under the various names of marine stores, old clothes, bundle, dolly, and pop shops, metal, rag, old rope, and bone stores, of a low kind, the owners of which, while professing to be purchasers of second-hand goods, contrive to combine with it the business of pawnbroking, and are, in fact, little else than receivers or resettlers of stolen goods. These establishments differ in their position and practice from the regular pawnshops in the following particulars :—The dealer requires no licence, and, therefore, needs neither capital nor shadow of respectability with which to commence business ; whereas the pawnbroker cannot trade without a licence, which costs 15*l.* in London and 7*l.* 10*s.* elsewhere. The premises are in general fitted up in compartments similar to those in a pawnshop, and the goods are classified and ticketed, but *no written record is kept* of transactions ; whereas the licensed pawnbroker is required to keep a register of all business done, which must be open to the inspection of the police. A pretence is made, of selling and purchasing in order that the provisions of the Pawnbroking Act of 1857 may be evaded ; but a tacit understanding often exists that the article is to be kept in case the nominal vendor wishes to redeem it, the rate of interest for the money thus advanced

advanced being  $\frac{1}{4}d.$  per week for anything less than half a crown, thus varying from 164 to 1,400 per cent. We say this understanding often exists, but very frequently the broker sells the article off at once if he finds it to his profit to do so. And it is a common occurrence for him to be made aware by the seller that from the mode in which the goods were acquired, the sooner they are disposed of the safer for both parties. A smelting-pot is almost always hidden somewhere on the premises, so that a roll of stolen lead, or a few silver spoons, are quickly placed beyond the possibility of recognition.

In certain towns—as in Ayr, for example—brokers are obliged to obtain a licence, and are placed under the surveillance of the police, and consequently their numbers are few, and the damage they do is inconsiderable. How they flourish under more favourable conditions may be gathered by the following table :—

Small brokers and dealers in second-hand stores in Ayr	.	.	6
"	"	Glasgow	. 500
"	"	Paisley	. 79
"	"	Greenock	. 36
"	"	Kilmarnock	. 24
"	"	Dumfries	. 18
"	"	Aberdeen	. 285

Nor do they flourish alone. Sooner or later the inevitable accompaniment of the broker's shop makes its appearance in the shape of a public-house: nor need we feel surprise at this. As the publican is prevented by law from taking goods in exchange for drink, and as the small brokers present the quickest mode by which body-clothes can be turned into money, we may expect as the consequence that where the one is the other can never be far off, acting, in short, the part of jackal to the lion. Thus we find in certain statistics furnished by the Glasgow City Mission, that in one district, swarming with miserable hovels in the Calton, there are 13 wee pawns and 11 public-houses; in another, where the unfortunate creatures who rented the rooms paid about  $8d.$  per week rent, there were 2 wee pawns, 4 licensed pawnbrokers, and 53 public-houses. This frightful proportion gives one public-house to every four families, and a pawnshop to every 38 individuals; and it is an attested fact, that publicans have been known to direct wretched women to the neighbouring broker, where the victims betake themselves to sell their clothes, purchase such rags as will serve the purposes of decency, and return to spend the surplus in drink. The evidence on the nature and amount of the evil fostered by the pawnbroking system is ample and instructive, comprehending as it does the urgent testimony of ministers of religion of all denominations, of city missionaries, Bible readers, and temperance agents, and also, though not, perhaps, to the same extent, of magistrates

trates and superintendents of police: the hostility of the latter is greater with respect to the wee pawns, inasmuch as many licensed pawnbrokers are respectable men, who afford the fullest facilities for the inspection of their registers in order to detect thieves and trace stolen goods, and those who are disposed to defeat the ends of justice are, to a certain degree, unable to do so.

Dr. Guthrie wrote thus in February, 1861—

‘You could not possibly have a stronger opinion against pawnbroking than I have. When I had more to do than I have now with the low and lowest classes of the people, I used to consider their ruin accomplished when they turned their steps to the pawnbroker’s. All that remained was a work of time, but they were on the rail, and ruin of all that was precious and promising was the *terminus ad quem*.

‘James McLevy says: “It is the resetter that makes the thief.”

‘Rev. A. K. McCullum, governor of Glasgow Reformatory Institution, says: “The whole system of pawnbroking needs revision. Not one in a thousand has any conception of the monster evils it inflicts, as at present conducted, on society.”

‘Superintendent of police in Dumfries, writes: “Stolen goods are frequently found both in the pawnbrokers’ and brokers’ shops.”

‘A mission agent in Glasgow gives two cases. One woman who was an inveterate drinker, confessed that the keeper of a spirit cellar suggested to her to sell her clothes, and told her where she could replace them with rags, so that the money obtained might be given to him for liquor. Her gown, worth 14s., was pledged for 6s.; a petticoat was pledged for 4s.; and she had made away with a plaid which had cost 1l. Her husband was a respectable, hard-working man, and complained that he lost nearly 30l. a year by her drinking habits. In the other case, a man, earning 25s. per week, had pawned every article of clothing, and had neither shirt nor stockings. A sad instance is related of a man once sober, respectable, and a savings-bank depositor to a considerable extent, who so far degenerated that every article, whether of good furniture or clothes, was in pawn. The neighbours out of pity gave his wife a little oatmeal, and lent her a girdle on which to bake it; but before she could accomplish this, her husband took the girdle from her, pawned it, and drank the proceeds at the nearest dram-shop.

“I wish there was no pawns,” said an old woman; “folks could na drink the claes aff their backs, and they wadna.” “But are they not convenient when a person is hard up, and has nothing to eat?” she was asked. “Aweel,” she said, “but it’s drink they buy. I ken a dizen women in this close, and gie ony ane o’ them a glass, and there winna be a stick in her house the morn.”

“We would not have one drunken woman in ten,” says one superintendent, “but for the facilities offered to drunken women for disposing of their property.” A woman in the Vennel died recently of delirium tremens; her child, ill of small-pox, was found lying naked on a handful of shavings; the bed and all the clothing had gone to the pawnshop. One missionary states that women have to his knowledge stripped the bodies of their dead, and pawned the grave-clothes to procure liquor!

‘When men and women who are in the habit of attending religious worship begin to absent themselves, and are asked the reason, it is commonly because they have pledged their clothes. “Weel, sir, I’ll no hide the truth; I put awa’ my things,” was the explanation once given. One minister remarks: “I do not know a single case of a mother pawning any article for the purpose of paying school fees or pew rents.”’

Assuredly it cannot have escaped the notice of the newspaper reader, that almost invariably when men or women are arrested for theft, murder, or drunkenness, pawn-tickets are found either on their persons or in their possession.

The testimony against the unlicensed brokers and dealers in second-hand

second-hand goods, is of a more serious character. It proves that these establishments encourage the same class of evils, such as intemperance, improvidence, &c., which pawnshops do; and, added to this, they offer special facilities for the reception of stolen goods, and positively call into existence a race of young thieves and pilferers, who would have otherwise in all probability remained honest members of society. The police superintendents, the detectives, the chaplains of gaols, and the magistrates, are all loud in their complaints on this head. Every procurator-fiscal north of the Tweed holds the same language, and draws the same conclusions with reference to this demoralizing trade. Thus the Greenock superintendent of police says—

“I should not have one juvenile thief where I now have ten, but for the facilities afforded by these dealers.”

‘Superintendent of Paisley police.—“A great deal of stolen property finds its way into them, often beyond the possibility of detection. . . . The thieves are the best customers of the unlicensed brokers.”

‘Superintendent of Ayr county police.—“They are generally receptacles of stolen property, and without doubt tend much to encourage juvenile delinquents to petty thieving. Two of them at present are in Ayr gaol for purchasing brass from very young boys.”

‘Superintendent of the Burgh police, Ayr.—“They keep no books, consequently the thieves deal with them; and much property is lost, for they often refuse to deliver up the articles, or to give us any aid or information.”

‘Superintendent of Airdrie police.—“They have a direct tendency to foster crime among the juvenile population, who thus dispose of articles stolen from their parents and others. It is from these dens that we recover most of our stolen property.”

‘Superintendent of Dumbarton county police.—“It is one of the greatest evils the county police have to deal with. The parties keep no books or entries, and if we chance to find out a stolen article, we can seldom or never find the thief, because the trade knows nobody, and cannot identify anybody except a policeman.”

As long since as 1856, the Committee of Prison Board of Aberdeen, in a report on the remarkable increase of juvenile crime in that city, made this remark—

‘A discovery of great importance in connection with the increase of juvenile crime has lately been made in consequence of the apprehension and subsequent conviction of brokers who, for a considerable time, and to a very large extent, have been receivers of stolen goods.

‘Superintendent of Aberdeen police.—“We have 285 brokers; among these are many who—1st, do not hesitate to purchase goods from children of tender years, without making any inquiry as to how they were come by. 2nd. Who purchase at early hours in the morning and late at night on Sundays, from persons intoxicated and from known thieves. 3rd. Goods are not entered in their books after purchase; they are denied to the police; not publicly exposed; are concealed or put away, and if they are supposed to be stolen, they are immediately altered or defaced to prevent identity.”

It will be observed that it is with especial reference to the temptation these resorts offer to the young that the complaints are so loud, and the evidence is so weighty; and in the face of this system the ragged, industrial, and reformatory schools are paralyzed in

in their efforts to stem the rising tide of corruption. These assertions are borne out in a remarkable degree by the statistics of theft; and the manifest proportion between the number of these establishments and the number of articles stolen in particular neighbourhoods, plainly, point out the connection between the two.

In 119 cases of theft in Lanarkshire, other than that of money and provisions, 106 pawnbrokers and second-hand dealers were in the lists of witnesses.

In 1855, between the 1st and 15th of November, there were stolen within the bounds of the city of Glasgow, 82 gold and silver watches and pieces of plate; 616 articles of clothing and furniture, and of miscellanea, 555: total, 1,253. If we take this as a fair average for the fortnight, it gives a total of 32,666 for the year. Five years afterwards, in 1860, there were 5,559 robberies and thefts committed, the number of articles in each case not being specified, and 3,060 persons were taken into custody charged with theft; ditto, by housebreaking, 163; ditto, attempts at stealing and burglary, 59. Among these there were 299 boys and girls under 15 years of age. One day's list of robberies, viz. for February 4th, 1861, shows 6 watches, 46 articles of bed and body clothing, and 17 miscellanea, all stolen within the city bounds. All these thefts, be it remembered, are articles of plate or clothing only; now provisions may be eaten, and money may be spent, but other stolen goods cannot be utilized until they are turned into cash, and this cannot be effected without the assistance of either the pawnbroker or second-hand dealer, the latter of which is naturally preferred as being the safest party to deal with, and the best able to escape detection. At a place called Paddy's Market, in the centre of Glasgow, a number of low dealers live, who drive a flourishing business, chiefly in old clothes. 'They have no license,' says one witness, 'they keep no register, and they buy up stolen goods with insatiable avidity, asking no questions for conscience' sake.' A very large proportion of stolen goods passes into the old-clothes market, where it is not retained above an hour or two, but is packed up and sent off in bales by the first Irish steamer. By way of corollary to this, we read that a gentleman visiting Belfast was introduced to a respectable shopkeeper, whom he was surprised to find habited in a coat of his own, of rather peculiar cut, which had been stolen from his house a few months before. He mentioned the fact, and the shopkeeper seemed to relish the joke excessively. 'Well, now,' he said, 'it is not so bad as a cousin of mine in Dublin, that bought the most beautiful coat in the market to go to Liverpool in; for he was a bit of a swell in his own way, and bedad he wasn't ten minutes landed when a man came running up with a policeman, and nabbed him for a thief.' This anecdote serves

serves to show the activity and dexterity with which the nefarious system is worked, but such an instance could never have occurred if dealers were compelled to keep a register of their purchases, and produce the articles when desired within a certain number of days after having possession of them. Thieving by domestic servants, according to our police reports, is now becoming a very frequent offence; and in almost every case the pawnbroker or broker is the repository for the stolen goods. In an able article on the subject of servants and tradesmen in the columns of an influential journal,\* the following remark occurs: 'Another device of plunder is an instrument of frightful grasp, and has occasionally been employed on a very extensive scale. In two or three instances that have come to our knowledge, servants, who were on the point of leaving, have contrived to plunder their employers of several hundred pounds by ordering expensive articles from their employers' ordinary tradesmen, and pawning them for their own benefit.' An examination into our police reports yields a very formidable list of robberies arising under these circumstances, the pawnshop being almost invariably a principal feature in the history of each case. To poor needlewomen, who are intrusted with work by the slop-sellers, it offers a temptation which is often irresistible, and once yielded to, their character for honesty is destroyed, and there remains little chance for any future employment by which they may gain their bread. Now looking at the question merely from an economical view, surely a system which turns servants and labourers into thieves and criminals, is the cause of a heavy and needless expense to the social community.

Pawnbrokers' shops have been called the poor man's bank. To any one who investigates these matters such a phrase reads like a sarcasm. They should rather be termed the strougholds of usury. The profits of the trade are simply enormous, and the business is one so safe and lucrative, that we may be certain pawnbrokers will never lack in the land. Figures prove that they increase in a much larger ratio than our population does, and at certain periods and in particular districts more than others. From 1833 to 1838 the increase in London was 5 per cent.; in the rest of England and Wales 10 per cent.; in Scotland 70 per cent.! Whether this large per centage in Scotland was owing to the former paucity of pawnshops, so that these being once established, all the floating improvidence, idleness, and drunkenness in the country hastened to take advantage of them, we will not here decide, but would simply suggest, that as it is always better to tax our vices rather than our virtues, an ample field lies before us for additional taxation to be levied on the same principle as that

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\* 'Saturday Review,' p. 605. 1861.

raised from publicans' spirits and tobacco, that the trade can bear it, and the interests of morality require it. We have said the profits of the trade can bear it, and we proceed to prove it by laying the result of our inquiries before our readers. The sum advanced on any article varies from one-fourth to one-half of the value of it according to the demand for the kind of goods and the chance of its being redeemed. We will take one-third as the average. Any sum under half a crown pays as interest  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  per month or 20 per cent., and so on for every additional half a crown. A very handsome profit for the pawnbroker, and a frightful tax on the borrower if that were all. But any smaller sum than half a crown,  $3d.$  or  $6d.$  for instance, pays not at the same rate, but the same sum total, and that whether it be borrowed for a day or a week instead of a month; so that  $6d.$  advanced on any article, redeemed at the end of the week (as it commonly is if redeemed at all) pays at the rate of 400 per cent. If it is redeemed the same day it pays 2,600 per cent. In any event the pawnbroker cannot lose and must gain by the transaction. If it is not redeemed at all he sells it at the end of a year, and pockets three or four times as much as he advanced. Though there are difficulties in the way of ascertaining how many or how few articles in proportion to those pledged are actually redeemed, arising from an unwillingness in the trade to divulge their secrets, a careful comparison, which we have been enabled to make between the number of pawn tickets issued and the number of articles sold in certain establishments, leads us to the conclusion that four articles out of every ten pledged are never redeemed at all. Let us suppose that two women pledge, one a gown and the other a shawl, worth, respectively,  $2s. 3d.$  and  $3s. 9d.$ , for which they receive, one  $9d.$  and the other  $1s. 3d.$ , and a man pawns some of his tools worth  $9s.$ , for which he receives  $3s.$  The first and last named redeem their goods at the end of a week, one paying  $\frac{1}{3}d.$  the other  $1d.$ ; the second woman fails to redeem hers at all. The pawnbroker's account stands thus: For the loan of  $3s. 9d.$  he receives  $1\frac{1}{2}d.$  at the end of a week, which is something like 200 per cent., and against the  $1s. 3d.$  sunk he has a shawl worth  $3s. 9d.$  to sell, which leaves him a profit at the end of the year of  $2s. 4d.$ , on that solitary transaction, allowing  $2d.$  margin for interest. Well may the pawnbrokers thrive! well may the borrower be quickly reduced to beggary! Except the gambling tables on the Continent, there is no traffic where the absolute certainty of gain is so entirely on one side.

If the profits of the legitimate pawnbroker are so large, those of the low broker or second-hand dealer, such as we have described in page 242, are even more excessive: they pay for no license, they do not even need a sign-board bearing their name and calling.

calling. A written paper hung in the window only is required, intimating that 'here the best price is given for old metals' (this includes plate, watches, spoons, and rolls of lead), 'hair, wool' (this includes bed-furniture, chair-cushions, &c.), 'and kitchen stuff,' which comprehends all the candles, dripping, groceries, and broken meat which servants can be tempted to purloin from their employers. Many an apprentice lad and servant girl are ruined for life by the easy market thus offered for the disposal of their little pilferings. Owing to the irregular and arbitrary practice of these dealers, so unjust alike to their rival the legitimate pawnbroker and to their customer who receives neither ticket nor guarantee, their profits are of necessity very great, and the business not so hazardous as might be supposed. Unless by some carelessness or accident stolen goods are actually found on the premises, there is nothing to check their prosperity, and even in such an event justice is baulked twice out of three times, for these people never can swear to any one but a policeman; their memories are conveniently short as to the description of party by whom certain articles inquired after were pledged; register of any kind they never pretend to keep; and if by any casualty of this sort, they get into trouble with the magistrates, they have only to pack up their things and betake themselves to a new neighbourhood where they start afresh. A good man's career in life once stopped by misfortune hardly presents such opportunities of beginning again as these scoundrels enjoy.

The above summary bristles with plain figures demonstrating incontrovertible facts. It presents the results of the labours of gentlemen of obvious earnestness and intelligence, and whose position guarantees the extensive nature of their experience; and familiar as those who are engaged in the administration of justice have long been with this state of things, we are persuaded that these disclosures will surprise many whose attention has not been previously attracted to the question.

We fine our statistics to a point wherewith to prick our sins, and too often we commence in a strain of self-depreciation and humility only to end with a shout of exultation; but with writers such as those whose works are under consideration, this practice has never found favour. It is admitted very generally by foreigners that of all nations in the world, none are so bold and candid in confessing their sins of shortcomings and omissions as we are, none so persevering and unflinching in laying bare their moral sores and applying the actual cautery of public discussion, and at first sight one would say that no sign could be more pregnant with good. But a habit of penitence, unless followed by amendment, is not more useful though it may be more becoming than a habit of self-commendation. For the miserable state of things we have de-

scribed, so utterly disgraceful to a Christian country, the remedy seems to be twofold—legislative and social.

It is the fashion now to admit the existence of what are called necessary evils, of which pawnbroking has come to be regarded as one. We have got into the way of thinking so, and once in the groove of this habit of thought, it requires some exertion to quit it, and to ascertain how much of careless indifferentism and moral obtuseness, how much practical and injurious untruth, accumulates in this verbiage. Undoubtedly to remove an evil, be it ever so offensive, in a mode which would create another and a worse, would not be a true social reform. To repress the one and to prevent the other we take to be the actual problem for our statesmen and philanthropists to solve in their respective spheres. To discourage the habit of pawning at all, and to render impracticable the system of pawning, selling, or disposing of stolen goods is what should be aimed at, and what is very possible to effect. The Bill proposed in 1856 by the justices of the eastern district of Renfrewshire having these objects in view appears so far adapted to the purpose that we think it well to give a short analysis of the principal provisions. We ought to remark that it was proposed to apply it only to Scotland, where the evil is found to be growing intolerable.

Clause 1 provides that no broker or dealer in second-hand wares should trade without a certificate of good character from a householder and justice of the peace, and a license obtained from the magistrates.

Clause 7, that no smelting-pot be kept on the premises.

Clauses 10, 11, 12, that no business be transacted between the hours of 8 P.M. and 8 A.M., nor on a Sunday, nor with any person under fourteen years of age, nor with any person intoxicated, or any married woman known to be such by the broker unless with her husband's consent or in his presence. (The last clause would, we fear, be practically useless.)

Clauses 13, 14, 15, provide for a correct register to be kept of all transactions, that no article shall be altered, sold, or melted, for sixteen days after purchase, and that the register be at all times open to the police. If deception or evasion be practised in the case of stolen goods, the dealer to be proceeded against as receiver or resetter of stolen goods.

Clause 18. No broker to be also a publican, nor is any pawn-ticket to be taken in lieu of goods by a broker without a written transfer and endorsement of name.

Clause 19. In case of reasonable suspicion either broker or pawnbroker may detain the vendor.

Clause 20. License to be suspended on conviction under this Act.

Clause

Clause 21 provides penalty in case of non-payment of fine in imprisonment for periods not exceeding three months.

Clause 25 provides as to the mode of prosecution which is to be at the instance of the procurator fiscal before the magistrates.

The fines for these various offences vary from 5*l.* to 10*l.* Each broker is to pay a fee of 2*s.* 6*d.* on obtaining his annual license. This being an almost nominal sum is evidently intended rather to bring the class effectually under the law than as a repression to the trade or award to the revenue. If these provisions did not prevent dealing in stolen goods, it is clear they would apply a very great check to the system, and it is also obvious that they have no tendency to harass or intimidate the honest dealer, or deprive him of the legitimate profits of his calling.

Another proposition is made by Mr. Macrae, which is so sensible that we recommend it to the consideration of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, namely, that the tax on the pawnbroker's license should be considerably raised, and a new one of a proper proportion be imposed upon a broker's license, no broker or second-hand dealer being permitted in future to trade in Great Britain without such license. At present the pawnbroker's annual license pays in London 15*l.*, and elsewhere 7*l.* 10*s.*, while that for bankers is everywhere alike 30*l.* Since the profits of the former are, as we have shown, both larger in proportion and quicker in return than the latter (ranging from 20 to 1300 per cent.), it is difficult to perceive why the inequality should any longer be allowed to exist, neither can there be alleged any good reason why pawnshops in such large and opulent places as Glasgow, population, 333,000; Manchester, population, 320,000; Liverpool, population, 375,955; Birmingham, population over 233,000, should be favoured so much more than London. To raise the tax to 25*l.* or 30*l.* for pawnbrokers' licenses in all places whose population numbered 200,000, and to 12*l.* or 15*l.* elsewhere would make a large addition to the exchequer. A second-hand dealer similarly situated as respects abode, should pay annually 10*l.* or 15*l.* for his license, that license being obtained only on production of a certificate of respectability, and to be forfeited after two convictions for dealing in stolen goods. A stamp on all pawn-tickets and renewals of such tickets commencing at 1*d.* and rising to 6*d.* is also suggested. We think the amount here proposed so high as to defeat its own purpose. A tax of 1*d.* out of 6*d.* to Government is out of all proportion. A better plan would be that pawnbrokers should issue stamped tickets only, which should pay 1½*d.* per dozen for all sums under 1*s.*, and increase in the same proportion for the larger sums. A pawnbroker giving an unstamped or insufficiently stamped ticket should be liable to return the goods in question without payment. By this means the regulation would enforce itself, and we should,

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through the Government returns, gain a far more accurate knowledge of the extent of business transacted than is now possible.\*

Supposing legislation were attempted in this direction there remains a large margin of work for private individuals. Government does not exist merely to bear the burden of our idleness, nor ought we to lay on the broad back of Cabinet ministers or Members of Parliament that responsibility which we are afraid or unwilling to undertake ourselves. No English Government can legislate in the teeth of the popular desire of the nation; and when it meets with, if not positive hostility, still with lukewarmness or an insincere and inconstant support, its members would be more than men if they commenced a reform for which there was no obvious desire.

Those who aim at social reform ought to urge the introduction of remedial measures, and to accord a firm and distinct expression of support to those who undertake the somewhat difficult task of repressive legislation. Space does not admit of our specifying in detail the various social remedies which are the best adapted to combat the evils of the system of pawnbroking, both in its legal and illegal branches, but we may remark, in conclusion, that the recently-proposed Post-office penny banks appear one eminently well qualified to do so.

#### ART. VI.—1. *Statutes at Large.*

2. 24 & 25 *Vict. cap. 134.* *An Act to amend the Law relating to Bankruptcy and Insolvency in England.* 6th August, 1861.

THE regulation of the conflicting interests of debtors and creditors, with justice to both parties, has perplexed the legislators of every age. In the history of Rome we find numerous illustrations of the truth of this observation. The law of Rome in ancient times gave arbitrary powers to creditors over debtors. Bonds, stripes, and imprisonment were the methods employed by creditors to enforce payment of their debts. These measures, as may be supposed, failed in their object. The debtors resented by every possible means the enforcement of the powers given by law to their creditors. Tumults frequently arose from

\* In France the pawnshops or *Monts de Piété* are all under the direct control and care of the Legislature. A government officer is chief of the department, and exercises a decisive authority in all matters pertaining to it. In 1849 a society was formed in Paris, *Œuvre du Mont de Piété*, for the purpose of aiding the industrious classes by redeeming objects of pressing necessity pledged from want. But, as far as we can ascertain, the amount of good effected by its aid has been small, inasmuch as by this mode of charity, distress is relieved for the moment, but the habit of improvidence is perpetuated.

the differences between debtors and creditors. The debtors complained of the harshness of their creditors, and repeatedly demanded that a law should be passed to wholly release them from their obligations. Compliance with this request, however, was never granted. On two occasions debtors were allowed to pay 'brass for silver,' or, in other words, pay only one-fourth of their debts to obtain release from their obligations. At length, by the law of cession, introduced by the Christian emperors, debtors were secured from imprisonment, and bodily punishment, on delivery of all their property to their creditors; and at a later period, debtors were even relieved from this obligation where their inability to pay their creditors was caused by accident.

Leaving, however, the laws of Rome regarding debtors and creditors, we shall now proceed to consider those of our own country. The Anglo-Saxon laws were in many respects similar to those of Rome, though there can be no doubt but that debtors were liable, in certain cases, to be reduced to a state of bondage. A well-known writer on the Anglo-Saxons, Mr. Kemble, on this subject, says: 'I have not found among the Anglo-Saxons any instance of slavery voluntarily incurred by the insolvent debtor, but the whole course of analogy is in favour of its existence, and Marculf supplies us with the formulary by which, among the Franks, the debtor surrendered his freedom to the creditor. It may be presumed that this servitude had a term, and that a certain period of servile labour was considered equivalent to the debt.'

The Normans did not introduce any great alteration in the relations of debtor and creditor. At length, in the reign of Edward I., a considerable change was made on the subject. By the common law no debtor could be arrested until final judgment, but by an Act passed in this reign accountants were made subject to arrest before judgment. The same provision was subsequently extended to debtors generally by a statute of Edward III. When arrested, the debtor was liable to be kept in custody unless he could give security to appear to the action. If the debtor could give no security to appear, he had to remain in custody until he appeared on the day for appearance. On appearance fresh security had to be given by the debtor to abide the judgment of the court, and if unable to do so, he was kept in custody until judgment. If the creditor obtained a verdict the debtor had to pay the amount of the judgment and costs, and if unable to do so was lodged in gaol, where he had to remain until released by the creditor unless the judgment was sooner satisfied. Such is a short outline of the mode of arrest by *mesne* process, which was only abolished when her present Majesty ascended the throne. Although debtors were mostly lodged in gaols, they were in many instances confined in the houses of sheriffs' officers. To these persons the detention of debtors

debtors was a mine of gold; the charges for board and lodging being most exorbitant. The position of debtors lodged in gaols was still more deplorable.

Words are insufficient to portray the abuses to which that class of debtors was subject. They had to associate in a common room with the criminals in the gaol for several hours of the day, had straw for their bedding, and the floor for a bedstead. To procure food the debtors had to depend on their own resources, those of their friends, or, in more modern times, on an allowance either from the county funds, or the detaining creditor. To the ravages of gaol fever debtors were also exposed, and of those who were attacked by the disease few survived. At length the attention of the Legislature was called to the state of the gaols, and a separation of criminals and debtors took place, the extortion of gaolers was prevented, while peace took the place of discord by gaolers being prohibited from selling strong drink to the prisoners and debtors.

In the reign of Henry VIII. we find the first instance in this country of a bankrupt law. The Act is the 34 & 35 Henry VIII., c. 4, and is entitled, 'An Act against such Persons as do make Bankrupts,' and applies to those who 'craftily obtaining into their hands great substance of other men's goods do suddenly flee to parts unknown, or keep their houses, not minding to pay or restore to any of their creditors their debts and duties, but at their own will and pleasures consume the substance obtained by credit of other men for their own pleasure and delicate living, against all reason, equity, and good conscience.' The chancellor, and two of the members of the privy council, or the chief justices of both benches, upon complaint in writing from the party grieved, were to take order concerning the goods of such offender, and to sell or distribute his effects, so that each creditor had a rateable portion according to his demands. Witnesses might be examined, concealment of property by the bankrupt was to be punished, while outlawry was the result of non-surrender by a bankrupt. The debtor, however, was liable, as before the Act, for all claims of the creditors which might remain unpaid after distribution of his property.

In the reign of Elizabeth traders alone became subject to the bankrupt laws. By an Act passed in the 13th year of that reign, cap. 7, 'Any merchant or other person using or exercising the trade of merchandise by way of bargaining, exchange, barratry, *chévisance*, or otherwise in gross or retail, or seeking his trade by buying and selling, and being a subject born or a denizen who shall depart the realm, begin to keep his house or otherwise absent himself or take sanctuary,\* or suffer himself willingly to

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\* This privilege has long been abolished.

be arrested for any debt or other thing not due for any just cause or good consideration, or suffer himself to be outlawed, or yield himself to prison, or depart from his dwelling-house, with intent to defraud or hinder any of his creditors being a subject born, of his just debt and duty, shall be taken as a bankrupt.' Commissioners were to be appointed by the Lord Chancellor to carry the Act into execution, with similar powers to those in, and with the same result to the bankrupt as that of, the Act in Henry VIII.'s reign.

This Act of good Queen Bess was, however, found defective, as the 1 James I., c. 15, recites, 'That frauds and deceits, as new diseases daily increase amongst such as live by buying and selling to the hindrance of traffic and mutual confidence to the general hurt of the realm by such as wickedly and fraudulently become bankrupts.' The Act then proceeded to define what should constitute acts of bankruptcy, and empowered the commissioners to arrest the bankrupt wherever he was. In all the Acts to which reference has been made bankrupts are described as 'offenders,' and we need hardly wonder that they were so treated. Accordingly, in the last Act we have cited, we find that, 'If the offender committed perjury to the damage of the creditors he might be indicted, and on conviction was to stand upon the pillory in some public place for two hours, and have one of his ears nailed to the pillory and cut off!' This Act was, however, also found insufficient for its purpose, and a subsequent Act, the 21 James I., c. 19, declares that 'the bankrupt laws were to be construed beneficially for the relief of the creditors of such as become bankrupt,' but we look in vain for any provision insuring to debtors a favourable construction of the statutes. The Act also subjected the wives of bankrupts to examination, and made a fraudulent conveyance of goods by a bankrupt indictable and punishable in the same manner as perjury to the damage of creditors.

In the reign of James I., the first enactment, which afforded any relief to persons not subject to the bankrupt laws, came into operation. By it courts of requests were established and arrests for sums less than 40s. prohibited.

The next alteration in the bankrupt laws occurred in the reign of Queen Anne, and was the turning-point in the legislation on the subject. Hitherto, as we have seen, the future property of a bankrupt was liable for all demands of his creditors which remained undischarged by the bankruptcy. By the 4 & 5 Anne, c. 17, however, a bankrupt, on conforming to the Act, was discharged from all debts due at the time of his bankruptcy. He had also the further advantage of an allowance of 5 per cent. if his effects produced 8s. in the pound. This Act, though of temporary duration, was the model for all future legislation on the subject.

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At length, in 1825, by 6 Geo. IV., c. 16, all the prior Acts, in number twenty-one, were repealed, and consolidated into one Act. Since the 34 & 35 Hen. VIII., the administration of the bankrupt laws had been intrusted to commissioners, who were generally barristers or solicitors. They were paid 1*l.* each for every sitting. A more objectionable mode of remuneration to officials could scarcely have been devised, as there was no inducement to despatch, and we need hardly wonder that every meeting under this system cost the estate 10*l.* or 2*s.* a minute. The collection of outstanding debts and effects was usually intrusted to one of the creditors; and he, as we may suppose, preferred his own convenience to the interests of the estate. These and other objections to the system caused the 1 & 2 Will. IV., c. 56, to be passed in 1831, by which a court of bankruptcy was established with permanent commissioners, with salaries, in London and other places, and official assignees to administer and collect the effects of the bankrupt. We have now seen that until the reign of Queen Anne the position of bankrupts was no better than that of non-traders, and which we shall now explain.

Except the Court of Requests Act, already mentioned, there is no enactment applicable to non-traders until we come to the 22 & 23 Charles II., c. 20, which directed that prisoners for debt and felons should not be confined together, prohibited extortionate fees, or the supply of victuals by gaolers unless by the debtors' consent, and directed inquiries should be made regarding charities given for the benefit of poor prisoners, and the funds applied for their benefit. The preamble to the Act, however, shows that the fear of pestilence was the chief cause of this notice of non-traders by the Legislature. In 1703, by 2 & 3 Anne, c. 16, insolvent debtors in prison, who did not owe more than 100*l.* to one person, might be released from prison on enlisting in her Majesty's fleet or navy, or procuring a substitute. In 1719, by 6 Geo. I., c. 2, however, insolvents in gaol, at a specified date in that year, were to be discharged by the justices at quarter sessions on taking the oath required by the Act, and delivering a schedule of their property, which was vested in the clerk of the peace for assignment to the creditors. This Act was renewed from time to time. At length, in 1759, the 32 Geo. II., cap. 28 (in some measure a copy of a prior Act), and called the Lords' Act, from having been introduced in the House of Lords, came into operation. The effect of the Act was to release every debtor charged in execution for any sum not exceeding 100*l.* by petitioning the court whence the process issued, and setting forth an account of his estate. The petition was heard at the assizes, if the debtor was confined more than twenty miles from London, when the debtor was examined, and swore to the truth of the schedule.

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The provisions of this Act were subsequently extended to 200*l.*, and ultimately to 300*l.* In 1808, by the Small Debts Act, 48 Geo. III., c. 123, persons having lain in prison for a year in execution on a judgment of any court for any sum not exceeding 20*l.*, could be discharged on application to one of the courts at Westminster in term time. The future estate of the prisoner, with the exception of necessities, was, however, liable for the deficit. The power of the justices at quarter sessions to discharge insolvent debtors was continued by different Acts, but was in 1812 restricted to cases of prisoners whose debts did not exceed 2,000*l.* or 3,000*l.*, where the prisoner had been in custody for the respective periods specified by the Act; while barristers were appointed to hear all petitions of debtors whose debts exceeded those amounts. In 1813 this system was abolished, and a Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors established, and a commissioner appointed, from whom a final appeal lay to one of the judges of the superior courts. Prisoners in custody for three months might petition the court, and annex to the petition a schedule of their debts and effects, and were sworn to the truth of the petition and schedule. The hearing of the petition took place in London or before the justices, and the prisoner was either discharged, or remanded for a lengthened period if proved to have committed the objectionable acts mentioned in the statute. This Act was amended and renewed from time to time. In 1826 additional commissioners were added, and went circuits to hear and discharge prisoners. In 1838 the Lords' Act was virtually repealed by 1 & 2 Vic., c. 110. This statute had also still more important effects. Its objects are declared by the title to be 'to abolish arrest on mesne process, except in certain cases; to extend the remedies of creditors against the property of debtors; and to amend the laws for the relief of insolvent debtors in England.' By this Act the power of arrest previously to final judgment was taken away from a creditor, unless by an order of a judge, and then only when he has a cause of action against the defendant, or has sustained damage to the amount of 20*l.* or upwards, and there is probable cause that the defendant is about to quit England. Thus terminated the disgraceful system of imprisonment before final judgment after an existence of centuries. The Act empowered insolvents to give bail to appear, and to be discharged until the day of hearing. In other respects the proceedings under the Act were similar to those instituted in 1813. The circuits of the commissioners were abolished in September, 1847, and the hearings and adjudication of petitions transferred to the county court judges.

We shall now proceed to give a short account of the law at the present time in regard to debtors and creditors, and then mention the changes which will be made after the 11th October by the  
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new Act. We have seen the conditions on which a creditor can arrest a debtor, who is about to abscond, before final judgment. Where a debtor is about to abscond, and the cause of action against the debtor does not amount to 20*l.*, there is much need of protection to the creditor, for unless a county court judge is holding his court when and where the debtor is, in which case an immediate summons may be issued, served, and heard, the debtor may set his creditor at defiance. Where final judgment is not for a debt, the debtor may be arrested, although its amount is not 20*l.*, and after being in prison for one year, may obtain his discharge by the Small Debts Act, already cited. Judgments for debts not exceeding 20*l.* being exceedingly numerous, the operation of the prohibition of imprisonment for those judgments was very extensive, and so numerous were the complaints of tradesmen who were creditors of the injurious effects of the prohibition, that at length a remedy was provided by the 8 & 9 Vic., c. 127. This Act empowered a judgment creditor for a debt not exceeding 20*l.* (exclusive of costs) to summon the debtor before a bankruptcy commissioner, or a judge of an inferior court of record (if possessed of the qualifications mentioned in the Act), and on appearance of the debtor to examine him respecting the manner and time of his contracting the debt, the means or prospect of payment he then had, his ability to pay, and the disposal of his property since the debt was contracted. The commissioner or judge may order the debtor to pay his debt by instalments or otherwise. The debtor may also be sentenced to imprisonment for any period not exceeding forty days in case of non-appearance, unsatisfactory answers, fraud in contracting the debt, no reasonable prospect of payment at the time it was contracted, or concealment or disposition of property to defeat his creditors. Non-traders, who owe less than 300*l.*, may, by petition, obtain protection from the Insolvent Court in London, or in the country from the county court, from process and detention in prison for any debt mentioned in the schedule, which he is required to make, until the case is determined by the court. In the schedule he can only exempt articles of the value of 20*l.* Should the petitioner have contracted his debts by any of the objectionable modes mentioned in the Act, the petition will be dismissed; but if not, a day is named on which a final order of protection is granted.

A non-trader may also obtain protection from arrest on presenting a petition containing the particulars, and the proposition for arrangement required by the Act, to the Court of Bankruptcy, if his petition is signed by one-third in number and value of his creditors. If on a private examination of the debtor the commissioner is satisfied with his answers, two general meetings of the creditors are held. If the requisites with regard to the presence  
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of the specified number and value of creditors at the meetings are observed, and an arrangement in writing has been made according to the Act, and performed by the debtor, the commissioner gives the debtor a certificate, and thus a non-trader may protect his future property for unsatisfied demands.

Most insolvent non-traders, however, avail themselves of the 1 & 2 Vic., c. 110, to obtain their discharge. We have already explained the general nature of this Act, but shall now do so with greater detail. The Act is only applicable to prisoners in actual custody within the walls of any prison who present a petition within fourteen days from the date of their imprisonment, or afterwards by leave of the court, praying for their release from such custody according to the Act. The petition must contain the particulars required by the Act, and state the willingness of the prisoner to vest his property in the provisional assignee. If the prisoner does not petition within twenty-one days from the date of the imprisonment, the execution creditor may do so. A vesting order is then made. If the prisoner files a schedule of his property, with the exception of necessities of the value of 20*l.*, but not otherwise, an order for hearing the petition is made, and to all creditors for at least 5*l.* notice is given of the day of hearing. On the day of hearing any creditor may oppose, who has given notice of opposition, for any of the offences mentioned in the Act. On the hearing, the prisoner is discharged, or remanded to gaol for a time, if the creditor is successful in his opposition. Of the four modes we have described at present available by non-traders for relief from their obligations, only the Private Arrangement Act, will be unrepealed after the 11th October, and will likely be frequently employed where the debtor is honourable, and his creditors are generous. The expense to creditors in carrying into operation the Insolvent Acts has been very moderate, and presents a remarkable contrast to that incurred in the administration of bankrupts' estates.

The great distinctions between bankruptcy and insolvency, as we have seen, hitherto have been that a trader only could avail of the former system, and that a non-trader's future property was liable for debts unsatisfied on his release from gaol. To be made a bankrupt, one of the first requisites is proof of an act of trading. The next essential circumstance is that the proposed bankrupt must owe a debt of the amount specified by the Act; while the third is, the commission of one of the acts of bankruptcy specified in the Act. A petition is next presented, showing the three requisites required by the statute. A specified time is allowed to the bankrupt to dispute the adjudication; and if he does not do so, the adjudication is advertised in the London Gazette. The bankrupt then delivers up his books of account to the official assignee,

assignee, and the bankrupt's effects are seized by the messenger of the court. On adjudication, two public sittings are specified in the advertisement for the bankrupt to surrender and conform. At the first public sitting the bankrupt surrenders (if he have not already done so), debts are proved, and creditors' assignees chosen by the major part in value of the creditors who have proved debts for 10*l.* and upwards. At the second public sitting debts are also proved, the bankrupt may also surrender, and the bankrupt's examination takes place. The property of the bankrupt is also vested in the official assignee jointly with the creditors' assignee. After the bankrupt has passed his last examination he may apply for his certificate, which is granted at a public meeting, of which notice is given. Any creditor may oppose on giving the requisite notice, and the court decides whether the bankrupt is entitled to his certificate. If the decision is in favour of the bankrupt, the certificate may be granted on such terms as the commissioners think fit. There are three kinds of certificates. 1. Where the bankruptcy has arisen from unavoidable losses. 2. Where it has not wholly arisen from unavoidable losses. 3. Where it has not arisen from unavoidable losses. The certificate discharges the bankrupt from all debts existing at the time of the bankruptcy. Private arrangements and composition deeds can also be made and performed under the control of the court.

On comparing the existing systems of bankruptcy and insolvency, the former appears well adapted for the interests of debtors, and the latter for creditors. The principles common to the systems of bankruptcy and insolvency are a summary seizure of the debtor's property, and an equal distribution of it among the creditors. The differences between bankruptcy and insolvency are with regard to imprisonment, and the relief afforded.

With regard to the abolition of imprisonment for debt after judgment, there is much difference of opinion. There is no doubt that many persons will not voluntarily obey the apostolic injunction to 'owe no man anything.' Evidence in support of this opinion was given by witnesses from all points of the compass before the House of Lords.

The reason for confining the relief at present afforded by the bankrupt acts only to traders is thus stated by Sir W. Blackstone in his well-known Commentaries :

'If persons in other situations in life run into debt, without the power of payment, they must take the consequences of their own indiscretion, even though they meet with sudden accidents that may reduce their fortunes. If a gentleman, or one in the liberal professions, at the time of contracting his debts, has a sufficient fund to pay them, the delay of payment is a species of dishonesty, and a temporary injustice to his creditor; and if at such time he has no sufficient fund, the dishonesty and injustice is the greater. He cannot, therefore, murmur if he suffers the punishment he has voluntarily drawn upon himself. But in mercantile transactions, the case is far otherwise. Trade cannot be carried on without mutual

mutual credit on both sides. The contracting of debts is not only justifiable but necessary; and if by accidental calamities, as by the loss of a ship in a tempest, the failure of brother traders, or by the non-payment of persons out of trade, a merchant or trader becomes incapable of discharging his own debts, it is his misfortune and not his fault.

If no equivalent mishaps to those mentioned by the worthy knight befel traders, the reasoning in the extract would be faultless; but so long as the non-payment of persons *in* trade may cause the failure of those *out* of trade, there is no reason for denying a non-trader the same advantage as a trader in the relief afforded. As an illustration of the operation of the present distinction, and soon to be abolished, let us suppose that a country gentleman has agreed to purchase an adjoining estate, and has deposited the purchase money with his banker. Before the purchase is completed, the banker fails, and possibly with small assets. After the failure the position of the parties is very different. The former must either pay for the estate from other resources, or, if unable to do so, becomes an insolvent debtor, and is at length discharged from gaol in the manner we have described, with his future property liable for the deficit. The banker, on the other hand, hies to the Bankruptcy Court, and in due time appears with his certificate, and entitled to all future property he may acquire. The only way for a non-trader to escape the imputation of dishonesty on failure from those who support the reasoning of Justice Blackstone, would be by giving no credit whatever, and by retaining all his property in his manual possession. Where a non-trader has a fixed income, the reasoning alluded to may be entitled to a slight degree of attention, but even then it is impossible to say what constitutes a sufficient and an insufficient fund to meet engagements. A widow may have a yearly rental of 1,000*l.* from land this year, and next year her tenants may be unable to pay any part of the rent from the failure of the potato crop, a great flood, or other causes. The action and reaction between traders and traders and non-traders and traders have also an immense influence on the pecuniary position of individuals, and can never be correctly foreseen. Political events, too, influence traders and non-traders, and men who believed themselves to have reached the summits of prosperity, have frequently discovered themselves to be in the depths of adversity.

There is also another light in which the question can be viewed. If the risks of traders are greater than those of non-traders, their profits are also greater in proportion. In the case of non-traders, the disadvantage ought to be equivalent to the advantage of traders. If, therefore, the future property of non-traders is liable for unsatisfied debts, so should that of traders; or if traders are entitled to exemption on the ground of risk, so also are non-traders on that of want of profit.

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While these considerations must occur to the mind of non-traders, we need not wonder at their anxiety to avail themselves of the bankrupt acts, and at their ingenuity in proving acts of trading. We have heard of a solicitor who was adjudicated a bankrupt, because being an admirer of the porcine breed, he had on several occasions bought and sold several of those animals. Numerous other curious instances will occur to the mind of the reader, of acts of trading.

The management of the estate of bankrupts and insolvents has also been a fruitful source of discussion. Until 1831 the creditors' assignees had, as we have seen, the exclusive control of a bankrupt's estate. The system was last year described by Lord Overstone as 'that old condition of bankruptcy administration under which the funds were imperfectly realized, kept back, or unjustly distributed; under which improper transactions were concealed, chicanery perpetrated, and some of the creditors paid in full, in order to buy off unpleasant investigation.'

The members of the mercantile world say 'they are the best judges of their own affairs.' But Lord Overstone's remarks are substantiated by undoubted testimony. Under the old system the public would never have heard of the wonderful financial career of the principal house in the leather trade and its branches. Since 1831, the system of official assignees has existed. The duties of an official assignee are thus described by the Royal Commissioners of 1854:

'This officer, chosen for his experience in commercial affairs, and his knowledge of finance and accounts, is employed in the investigation of the bankrupt's books and papers, and of his affairs generally, with a view to secure to the creditors every portion of his estate, and to enable them to resist unfounded claims. In the course of these labours he becomes acquainted with the conduct of the bankrupt, and the character of the bankruptcy, and is often able to furnish the commissioners with trustworthy information. These are duties which cannot be properly and efficiently discharged, except in a fixed office, and they may be advantageously executed in one locality as the centre of an extensive district.'

A great outcry has taken place regarding the expenses of the management of a bankrupt estate, and these have been broadly stated to be 33 per cent. on the proceeds. On investigation, however, the case is very different. According to returns the average charge of official assignees is only 5 per cent., and therefore 28 per cent. of the proceeds are absorbed by the other charges of the court. Under the former system a large portion of the assets of a bankrupt was absorbed by law expenses, for a creditors' assignee would not take any step in the management of a bankrupt's estate without legal advice. To appoint one of the creditors as an assignee besides, is bad policy, as there can be no doubt but that he will attend to his own business first, and then to that of others. As already remarked, the expenses of the system of insolvency are exceedingly inordinate, and no creditor can complain on that

that ground of the Insolvent Debtors' Court. He may, however, exercise the Englishman's privilege of grumbling at the infrequency of a dividend from an insolvent's estate. A provisional assignee is appointed, and a creditors' assignee as well, but the latter, in a great measure, collects and distributes an insolvent debtor's property amongst his creditors. There is no want of a motive to exertion on the part of a creditors' assignee, as he is entitled to a liberal commission. The fact that most men, before they allow themselves to be imprisoned for a debt after judgment, have exhausted all their resources, may partly explain the circumstance, but the main cause evidently has its origin from the actual operation of the system of creditors' assignees. It is impossible to state what the average dividend on estates in insolvency may be, as large numbers of debts are scheduled over and over again by different insolvents, whose liability is only contingent, but at a rough estimate it will not exceed 6*d.* in the pound, if as much.

The amount of losses to creditors from debtors of all kinds cannot be far short of seventy millions annually. The legislation affecting such valuable interests cannot be too deliberate, but unfortunately the subject has been treated as the shuttlecock of legislators. At one time the interests of debtors are in the ascendant, at another time those of the creditors. In one age debtors have been treated as criminals, in another they have been considered as entitled to every commiseration. The enactments, too, of the legislature have usually been so imperfectly framed as to 'catch the flies, and let the wasps escape;' or, at other times, have been such as to confound all distinctions between the honest and dishonest debtor. Thus, by the Act of Edward I., accountants, when arrested, were to be put in 'irons,' while the private-arrangement Acts have too often served to hide commercial delinquencies. An Act is passed relating to bankrupts or insolvents, and it is speedily found to be imperfect. A second Act is then passed to amend the shortcomings of the first; and so the course of legislation is continued. From the reign of Henry VIII. to the present time nearly sixty Acts have been passed relating to the subject of bankruptcy or insolvency, but a perfect Act remains to be framed. There were signs in the political horizon of St. Stephen's in 1859 of the change which will shortly take place in the systems of bankruptcy and insolvency. A promise of 'A Bill to assimilate and amend the Law of Bankruptcy and Insolvency,' was made in the Queen's speech at the opening of Parliament in that year. The Bill was accordingly introduced, met with general disapproval, and was accordingly withdrawn. Last year another Bill on the subject was introduced by the present lord chancellor and then attorney-general, with the same object as its predecessor. The Bill contained no less than 538 clauses, met with a strong  
opposition

opposition on various grounds, but chiefly with regard to the provision for payment of compensations and annuities to former bankruptcy commissioners and officials, and was ultimately withdrawn. The Bill dealt with the whole law of bankruptcy and insolvency—a truly Herculean task. This year the Bill, shorn of a considerable part of its dimensions, was again introduced by the attorney-general. It did not, however, consolidate the law on the subject, but only professed to be an amending measure. The Bill was introduced early in the session, was revised by the House of Lords, and at length received the royal assent. Its principal provision, the appointment of a chief judge, was rejected, while the enactments with regard to creditors' assignees had to be displaced for those for the retention of official assignees as at present, but were finally restored, to prevent the rejection of the measure. The Act will come into general operation after the 11th October.

The Insolvent Debtors' Court will cease to exist on the commencement of the Act, except for the purposes of concluding all matters of insolvency then pending before the court, when the commissioners will retire. All unfinished matters of insolvency before the county courts are also to be completed. The officials, books, and records, as well as the insolvency funds, are to be transferred to the London Court of Bankruptcy. This court will continue to exist, but the commissioners will be reduced to three in number. Provision is made for the transfer to the county courts of the jurisdiction of the district bankruptcy courts upon any vacancy in the office of commissioner, but until then district courts of bankruptcy will exist. The chief feature of the Act is that it is applicable to all debtors, whether traders or not. The principal acts of bankruptcy which may be committed by a non-trader are: going abroad, remaining abroad, and making a fraudulent disposition of property, and in all these cases with intent to defeat his creditors. Provision is made so that no adjudication can take place without the knowledge of the debtor.

With regard to acts of bankruptcy by traders the law will continue much as at present. The amount required for the debt of the petitioning creditor is made applicable to non-traders, so that for the future no single creditor can petition for adjudication, unless his debt is 50*l.* at least. The distinction, however, between traders and non-traders is not entirely abolished, and as the remedies against traders are more summary than those against non-traders the question of trader or non-trader will be the first bone of contention between a debtor and his creditors on entering the portals of the court.

A debtor may petition for adjudication against himself, although without property. On filing the petition he will be adjudged bankrupt and be protected from arrest. The petition will be heard  
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by the bankruptcy court of the locality where the bankrupt has resided for six months, or where he petitions against himself and believes that the debts provable under the bankruptcy will not exceed 300*l.*, he will have to petition the county court where he has resided for the preceding period. The London Court of Bankruptcy, however, has power to refer the petition to any district court of bankruptcy or county court without reference to the residence of the debtor. This provision will, it is hoped, prove advantageous to creditors who have hitherto made frequent complaints regarding the inconvenient distance of the district courts.

Creditors will also be glad to learn that the compensations to holders of abolished offices are, for the future, to be paid by a parliamentary vote, and not from the estates of bankrupts. The stamp duties on the petition have also been greatly reduced, and the court fee for every sitting in bankruptcy abolished. On the other hand, deeds of arrangement between a debtor and his creditors are required to be registered in the Court of Bankruptcy, and light registration and bankruptcy stamp fees to be paid.

The classification, for the future, of certificates is abolished. The certificates of the various commissioners of the bankruptcy courts have furnished numerous instances of 'the glorious uncertainty of the law.' A certificate of the first class would be granted in cases where another commissioner would have given one of the second class, or perhaps one of the third class. We need hardly wonder, therefore, at the abolition of the classification of certificates by the legislature. For certificates an order of discharge is to be substituted. This document will, however, be fraught with terror to the dishonest debtor, as the new Act provides that 'in every case where the discharge of a bankrupt shall be suspended, such discharge, when allowed, shall simply state the period for which it was suspended, and the reasons for such suspension; and if the bankrupt shall have been sentenced to imprisonment by any court under the provisions of the Act the discharge shall also set forth the fact of such sentence and the period of such imprisonment.' We have already expressed our misgivings whether the creditors' assignees will perform their duties so efficiently or cheaply as the official assignees. In Scotland, it is true, the system of administration of the bankrupt's estate by a creditors' assignee, who is usually an accountant, has worked remarkably well, but the expense is considerable, and may be estimated at 18 per cent. By the new Act creditors' assignees may be remunerated for their services, but their charges are not likely to be as small as those of official assignees, and which, as we have seen, average 5 per cent. The creditors' assignee may be required to give security, and his accounts are to be audited quarterly by the official assignee. On the other hand, the creditors' assignee, upon ap-  
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pointment, is to audit the accounts of the official assignee to the date of appointment—a singular illustration of the saying, ‘Diamond cut diamond.’ The latter will collect all debts under 10*l.*, circulate the accounts, and act alone after the discharge of the creditors’ assignee.

The power of judgment creditors to imprison debtors will also be much restricted. For the future no debtor need remain in gaol for more than a limited period, when he will be compulsorily examined, adjudicated a bankrupt, and released from gaol. The adjudication will then proceed, as in other cases. The period of confinement will vary, whether the debtor is a trader or not. County Court debtors, and debtors committed under 8 & 9 Vict., c. 127 (already explained), are not entitled to the benefits of the Act. Poor prisoners may petition without the payment of fees. Judgment creditors henceforth for 50*l.* will rarely exercise their power of imprisonment, but will prefer to issue a month after signing judgment a judgment summons requiring the debtor to appear and be examined respecting his ability to satisfy the debt. If the debtor do not arrange the matter to the satisfaction of the creditor before appearance he may be adjudged a bankrupt.

The most useful provisions are those which enable the court to grant the order of discharge to a debtor subject to any condition as to his future income and property, and declare that the payment of the expenses incurred in prosecuting misdemeanours under the Act shall be paid out of the county rates.

The power to the court to imprison the bankrupt for one year for carrying on trade by means of fictitious capital, for bringing about his insolvency by rash and hazardous speculation, or unjustifiable extravagance in living, although the bankrupt may have been indicted for misdemeanour under the criminal clauses and acquitted, will tend much to promote sound views among traders and non-traders in an age like the present of luxury and extravagance.

On the whole, the Act is a step in the right direction, but its enactments are imperfectly framed, and will, ere long, require amendment. As has been well observed, however, ‘to allow an insolvent debtor to invoke the bankruptcy laws without having any estate to give up to his creditors, and to choose his own time for resorting to the court, must be productive of the most mischievous consequences.’ To have passed into law a measure introducing such important changes as those we have mentioned in the law of bankruptcy and insolvency amid the conflicting interests of traders, non-traders, judges, officials, and lawyers, is no slight achievement for a ministry; and we can only express a hope that before another year has passed its mischievous consequences will be obviated, so as to prevent men from vainly attempting to ‘stave off the evil day’ to the last moment, and so injuring their creditors.

## ART. VII.—THE SOCIAL SCIENCE CONGRESS.

THE fifth Annual Congress of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science was held this year in Dublin under the distinguished presidency of Lord Brougham. The attendance was numerous, the discussions lively, and the subjects all of great practical moment to social science. Lord Brougham delivered one of those eloquent and comprehensive addresses for which he has long been famous, and sketched, as he has done at each assembly of the Association, the progress of social science during the year. We cannot do full justice to that elaborate and copious production, which touched upon all the departments into which the Association is divided, and the multifarious subjects included in each. We feel bound, however, to present our readers with a few extracts. After a graceful reference to the country in which the Congress had met, his Lordship referred to the slow progress of social reform.

‘It now becomes my duty to note the progress which social science has made during the last year, and its present state and prospects. We are met again by the complaint that few of the plans proposed by us have been accomplished, and that, of the measures originating in our labours, many have failed to pass through the Legislature. But the progress of all the sciences and arts is slow, because their improvement is necessarily gradual. Our limited faculties can never reach at once the utmost excellence of which they are capable, and their exercise can never complete suddenly any great work, but must proceed by steps towards its accomplishment. In the whole circle of science you find gradual progress to be the rule. Thus the vast changes which Newton made in the mathematics and in physical science were effected after others had made a near approach to the same point. The Calculus, in itself so great an extension of analytical science, and in its consequences producing such a revolution in all the exacter sciences, had, above a quarter of a century before its invention, been nearly discovered by Cavalleri and Roberval, and still more nearly by Fermat, and some years later most nearly of all by Barrow; while the doctrine of gravitation, and its explanation of the heavenly motions, had been approached, at any rate had the way prepared for it, by Galileo, Kepler, Huyghens, Borelli; and even his optical discoveries had been partially anticipated

by Krontaud of Prague, and Antonio, Bishop of Spalatro. The science of chemistry, from the dreams of the alchemists to the erroneous theory of Stahl, made slow progress, and by successive improvements was freed from those errors, and grew into the science which Black, Priestley, Lavoisier, and Davy brought to its present state. The great rule of gradual progress governs the moral sciences as well as the natural. Before the foundations of political economy were laid by Hume and Smith, the French economists had made a great step towards it, and Turgot had himself worked, and as a Minister had patronized the labours of others in the same direction. Again, in constitutional policy, see by what slow degrees the great discovery of representative government has been made from its first rude elements,—the attendance of feudal tenants at their lord’s court, and the summons of burghers to grant supplies of money. Far from being impatient at this slow progress, we ought rather to reflect that the sure advance of all the sciences depends in a great measure upon its being gradual. But the common law of our nature, which forbids the sudden and rapid leaping forward, and decrees that each successive step prepared by the last shall facilitate the next, is in an especial manner of importance and of value in the social sciences, which so nearly affect the highest interests of mankind. Here our course, to be safe, must be guided by the result of experience,

ence, and must always be of a tentative kind. We must even be prepared to change our direction and our pace, and to retrace our steps when we find we have gone too far in a wrong direction. The skilful navigator, when steering on an unknown coast, after taking all precautions to obtain information respecting it, having no chart, or none that can be relied on, proceeds with the lead ever in his hand, and the glass at his eye, lies to, when he can, at night or in a fog, and has his sails and his helm always ready to change his course on the least indication of peril. The safety of his ship and crew depends upon such precautions; and the safety of the community depends upon all proposed improvements, which are changes, being first most maturely considered, and, when adopted, being carried into execution by such advances as shall give time for correcting errors, or stopping short, or altering the course pursued, when actual experience proves it to be wrong. . . . He is no friend to the advance of social science in any of its branches, who hastens forward with heedless, unreflecting speed, despising all that is gained, because it is less than all that he desires, and looking down with contempt upon those whom he passes in his impatient course. This spirit, so inimical to real, solid improvement, sometimes is the fruit of zeal without knowledge, but not unfrequently arises from mere selfish desire of distinction, when a man, sacrificing a great cause to his personal ambition, becomes a public enemy—

‘Vainglorious, who through infamy seeks fame.’

For this is one of those occasions in which vanity, from being as it commonly is, a harmless folly, only ridiculous, rises into a crime, becoming selfish, unprincipled, pernicious, and disgraceful.

His lordship then referred to the real progress in each department. In the AMENDMENT OF THE LAW, a gratifying change had taken place, and we are now near the long looked-for consolidation of our Statutes. To Education, the Association had performed some important service. It has aided the repeal of the duty on paper. ‘We can no longer be charged with, at one and the same time, paying for schools to teach and raising the price of the books taught—of encouraging the people to read—of patronizing authors

and multiplying readers, while we make it unprofitable for the former to write, and hard for the latter to read.

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‘A further and an important advantage has been gained by the last Congress for the interests of education. The progress of popular instruction had been grievously obstructed by the separate and oftentimes conflicting proceedings of its promoters, attached, and conscientiously attached, to different sects of religion, acting in opposition to each other, though, if brought together, and to a clear understanding, they might, from their honest zeal for a common object, have been led to co-operate, or, at least, not to conflict. This great step was made in the Congress at Glasgow. For the first time the leaders of the Established Church party, of the Free Church party, and of the United Presbyterians, met together and maintained their respective views before the members of the Association. The result was the formation of a representative committee (of the chief denominations), whose labours there is every reason to expect will lead to a reduction of the points of difference, and a removal of the main obstacles to progress. Both at that meeting and at Bradford, the important advantage was gained of bringing the ecclesiastical school-teachers in more full communication with the laity, and with the professors of sanitary science.

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‘In our Sanitary department considerable progress has been made. The Quarantine Committee have brought their labours to a close, and presented an elaborate report. It has been communicated to the Board of Trade, which had formerly directed to be laid before Parliament the answers to our queries, and it has laid this report before Parliament, which has ordered it to be printed. The information collected, and the suggestions made, are admitted to have essentially improved the sanitary condition of our mercantile marine. The report will be read by the learned secretary of the committee, Dr. Milroy. The diffusion of sanitary knowledge is a most important part of the duties of this department: and as the Association has from the first desired and accepted the co-operation of women, the council have had no doubt in affiliating the Ladies’ Sanitary Society, which acts under the highest patronage, and spreads

spreads among the poor a knowledge of the laws of health; it being now admitted that much of debility, disease, and premature mortality in this country results from ignorance and error, and might be prevented.

'The Criminal and Reformatory Department presents very satisfactory results; and it may be fit at this meeting that we dwell more especially on the Irish branch of the subject. The number of reformatory schools is but small, and it is devoutly to be wished that they were multiplied. But the diminution of crime in this island of late years is most satisfactory; and allowing that the great migration, since the famine years, has had much influence, enough of the improvement remains to reflect the greatest credit upon the instructors of youth and the ministers of religion. The decrease in the number of the people makes any comparison of the commitments for offences inconclusive, unless we regard the proportion of these to population. They were, in 1856, as 1 to 923 of the people; in 1859, as 1 to 1117; and in 1860, as 1 to 1217. The number of juvenile offenders decreased in a still greater proportion. Pre-eminence among the subjects engaging our attention must, in some degree, be determined by local circumstances; and we this year assemble in a capital that affords the opportunity and imposes the duty of inspecting the operation of the Irish convict system, which has received the attentive consideration, not of Great Britain only, but of the Continent of Europe, and of the United States of America. In truth, it well deserves all the praise it receives wherever the public mind is awakened to the paramount duty of making such exertions as may render the punishment of the criminal the instrument of his reformation. Here the problem has been solved how to deal with convicts, and send them forth cured, instead of subject to relapse, infecting others—criminals and the teachers of crime. Of this system, under the board of directors, with Captain Crofton at their head, and his able colleagues, Messrs. Lentaigue and Whitty, the fundamental principle, simple and rational, long ago laid down by that experienced judge, and steady patron of the system, Mr. Hill, is to make the convict the agent of his own reformation by annexing the condition of good conduct to every in-

dulgence beyond the barest sustenance, to removal from cellular to social labour, and to shortening the period of his confinement. His fate is placed in his own hands. But he is not merely superintended and watched; he has constant intercourse with those in authority, as chaplain, teacher, director, whose treatment is considerate and kindly; he is treated as an individual, not as one of a mass; and this 'individualization,' as it is termed, has great advantages over our English mode of dealing with the whole convicts in the bulk—the same advantage that a school of many teachers and few pupils has over one where a large number are under a single master. Another superiority is in the rigour with which the conditions of liberation are enforced on the 'ticket of leave' men; arrest being at once enforced on the least breach of the conditions. A third is the absolute prohibition of all fermented liquors, even to those who for their good conduct have earned a small advance out of the fund set apart from their gains kept till the time of their discharge. Mr. Clay, in the *Memoirs of his Father* (many years chaplain of the Preston gaol, whom I well knew, and, in common with all who knew him, held in the highest esteem for his virtuous life and most useful services), in comparing the English and Irish returns, has remarked that the former take all ticket-of-leave men as unconvicted against whom nothing appears, whereas the latter more accurately give the result of the information taken by tracing the party ever since his liberation. This diversity prevents us from making any comparison between the numbers in the two cases; but the different results of the two systems may be gathered from the fact that at Lusk we see numerous convicts set to work, and only retained by moral restraint, without any sentinels, while at Portland we see the convicts quarrying stones for the breakwater under the guard of sentinels with muskets and bayonets, and on the breakwater itself, which is more difficult to guard, free labourers, and not convicts, are employed. Another test of the Irish system may be stated as decisive—the confidence of the public in the reality and the permanence of the reformation effected, inasmuch as discharged convicts at once find employers willing to receive them, experience proving that they may be relied upon

upon as steady and trustworthy servants. The statement that has been put about, that the Irish plan is only adapted to the local circumstances of the country, has been entirely refuted by a reference to the adoption and support of the system abroad. Baron Holtzendorff, professor in the University of Baden, has published an excellent work upon it, and intends to honour this Congress with his presence. The celebrated jurist, Professor Mittermaier, of Heidelberg, has given his ample and zealous testimony in Captain Crofton's favour; and Count Cavour, in the midst of all his labours and anxieties, during the last two years of his life applied himself to master the principles of the system, which he introduced, under Cavalier Peri, into the Tuscan territory. Truly we may reckon among the best friends of humanity those who effect the great work of making punishment conducive to the only purpose which we can with any certainty reckon upon its accomplishing.

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'In the great department of SOCIAL ECONOMY much attention was at the last Congress given to the important introduction into the manufacturing districts of the co-operative system—the establishment of unions by the working classes, for the purpose of sharing in the profits on the goods consumed or used by them, as well as of preventing adulteration of those goods, and for the other purpose of carrying on branches of manufacture. In both these kinds of union the progress has been very great since last year; and in the latter those doubts which seemed to exist of the scheme's practicability have been almost altogether removed. Above fifty companies for manufacture have been established since last Congress, besides many of mere stores. In these last a capital of 500,000*l.* is invested; but in the former the manufacturing concerns represent a capital of nearly 2,000,000*l.*, exclusive of the Manchester Cotton Company (limited), whose capital is 1,000,000*l.* The returns of Mr. Tidd Pratt show the creation of above 250 co-operative societies within the last twelve months, all enrolled under the Friendly Society Act. It is not wonderful that the members of such unions should be of an educated class, but that they should often exercise themselves in literary

labours is remarkable. Besides entering into competition for the prizes offered by the 'Dial' newspaper, and by Mr. John Cassell, whose volume of above twenty working men's essays I have just received, the working men of Manchester carry on a monthly journal of co-operative progress, without the help or interference of any other class.

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'It is important to observe that, with another subject anxiously dwelt upon, as well as strikes, at all our former meetings, the great cause of TEMPERANCE has been intimately and most naturally connected. Not only are such of the contributors as had before been subject to intemperance weaned from their habits, but it is mainly to temperate habits that the formation of these unions may be traced. Exceptions there may, no doubt, be; but, as a rule, co-operative societies are composed of sober and industrious men. It is equally consolatory to find that the improvement of health, the extirpation or mitigation of disease, everywhere keeps pace with the increased habits of temperance. But in no respect is it more gratifying than to observe the connexion of temperance with the diminution of crime. In France, it appears, from our colleague, Mr. Quetelet's statement, that no less than a-fifth of all the murders during the last four years had their origin in tavern brawls. In six English counties having the fewest public-houses, we find that, where they were as 1 to 109 of the population, the offences are as 1 to 591: but where the public-houses are as only 1 to 235, the offences are as 1 to 762. In Ireland, the connexion of intemperance with crime is even more marked. Between the years 1838 and 1841, the consumption of whisky had fallen off above one-half, and we find, in the latter year, judges congratulating the counties on the small number of prisoners to be tried, and ascribing this happy change to the growth of temperance. So, in 1839, there were in Richmond Bridewell 3202 prisoners, in 1841 only 1604. It is remarkable, though certainly not surprising, that the prudence which leads to economy kept pace with the prudence of sobriety. In the former year the Dublin Savings Bank had 7264 contributors; in the latter 9595. Source of disease, of poverty, of crime!—how long shall the heavy curse be suffered.

suffered to afflict us? How long shall we submit to a conqueror more cruel than the armed invader—to a tyrant the most inexorable of all, which has subdued rational men, and avenged the world of unreasoning creatures for the wrongs received at his hands?

Sevior armis

Luxuria incubit; victumque ulciscitur orbem.

The little we have done to shake his dominion has only been enough to let us know and feel how galling is the yoke, and how much the fault is ours who bear it. The people have but to will it and they at once are free. All honour to Father Mathew in Ireland, and to the Grand Alliance in England, its learned secretary, and his able coadjutors!

At this portion of his address his Lordship used the following words regarding this Review, which we must regard as at once highly complimentary and encouraging to the conductors of 'Meliora,' and at the same time showing Lord Brougham's view of its claims upon the public:—

*'Nor can I duly perform my office at the head of this association if I do not enjoin it as a duty incumbent on all its members and on every well-wisher to the progress of social science to patronize Mr. Steel's most ably conducted quarterly journal of all its branches.'*

The temperance question in its legislative aspects drew forth the following remarks:—

'But why should I refer to other branches than this great and fundamental one of Temperance? Recollect the memorable words of our learned colleague, that great philanthropist, Mr. Recorder Hill, who, in all his various efforts to serve the people, providing for their comforts, and reclaiming them from vice, declares—"Into what path soever I strike, in whatever direction I go, the Drink Demon starts up before my face and stops the way." I have said that the community have but to will it, and their chains fall off. The progress of the Grand Alliance, since our last Congress, has been my encouragement to say so. The Permissive Bill, allowing every district, by a majority in number and value of rated inhabitants, to prevent the opening of new public-houses, or the continued licenses for old, has, on a careful canvass for many great towns—Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham,

Plymouth, Leeds, Sheffield—been accepted by very great majorities of the inhabitants, and by the greater number of the voters. Let us hope that the public opinion generally improved upon the most important question of Social Science which can occupy the country may prepare the way for legislation, which, to be efficacious, must be cautiously introduced, and under appropriate guards.'

The employment of women, early closing, the Saturday half-holiday, were next reviewed, and a reference made to the sixth department on international subjects lately added to the programme of the Association. This naturally led to the American war and the abolition of slavery, on the last of which Lord Brougham's opinions are matter of history. In conclusion, his Lordship said:

'The past lends encouragement to the future. Let us then persevere to the end. But let us not forget that all our efforts to improve the condition of our fellow-creatures, and make them worthy of their destiny, are as nothing compared with the progress in higher things. These are the great aim and end of our being. In all our pursuits, in our whole existence, an instinctive sense attends us that we are unsatisfied. The want of somewhat permanent ever haunts us. Whatever exertions we have made, whatever success had, whatever gratification received, only makes us feel how hollow it all is—how much we desire that which endures. The scenes of early days, which we revisit, now become dim from time, peopled with the forms of those whose memory they sadly recall, make us long for the bright scenes that can never fade, and for rejoining friends to part no more. The present doubt, and the struggle, and the darkness, is for the hour; the prospect is cheering, and it is for ever; and so it is with our National Association, which commands our allegiance, and justifies the hopes it inspires. Undaunted by resistance—undisturbed by faction—undismayed by real coldness or affected contempt, we persevere in our course of social labour; but we lift our views higher, to scenes far above the darkness of ignorance that shrouds one region, the mists of doubt that obscure, the storms of passion that vex another, and behold the lofty summit shining in the faith and adoration of God, glowing with universal benevolence to man. "As some tall cliff" (I gladly

gladly pronounce these noble lines in the land which gave them birth)—

As some tall cliff, that lifts its awful form,  
Swell from the vale, and midway leaves the storm;  
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,  
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.

The thanks of the very large meeting, composed of all classes, to Lord Brougham, were moved by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, seconded by the Duke of Wellington.

On the subsequent days, the Congress broke up into its several departments, into which we shall now follow it.

# I. JURISPRUDENCE AND AMENDMENT OF THE LAW.

The Right Honourable Joseph Napier, the president of this department, delivered his inaugural address. The Amendment and Consolidation of Law were his chief topics, and he glanced at some of the gross anomalies in our legislation—the state of the law of marriage in the three kingdoms; and urged that on this subject the same law should rule in all. We quote the following remarks from his address:—

“In reality” (says our great countryman, Edmund Burke), “there are two, and only two, foundations of law, and they are both of them conditions without which nothing can give it any force—I mean Equity and Utility. With respect to the former, it grows out of the great rule of equality, which is grounded on our common nature, and which Philo with propriety and beauty calls the mother of justice. All human laws are, properly speaking, only declaratory; they may alter the mode of application, but they have no power over the substance of original justice. The other foundation of law, which is utility, must be understood not of partial or limited, but of general and public utility, connected in the same manner with and derived directly from our rational nature.” This is not merely speculative; it is the wise exposition of one who has taught us that “nothing is desirable that is not practicable;” it is a general sketch of the law as it ought to be. Let us glance at our law as it actually exists—the incongruous heap of enactments which have been huddled together, during centuries,—some obsolete, some effete, some which have never effected their professed purpose; new laws thrust in to meet

some special emergency, without regard to those already in force, still less to general or remote consequences; impolitic in their conception, defective in their structure and expression; text law diffused and uncertain, and too often of mere private interpretation; adjudged cases, accumulated in a confused heap; authority impaired by conflicting and discredited decisions, which help to perpetuate the evils that have been brought into the very bowels of our jurisprudence. Two centuries and a half have elapsed since the amendment of the law engaged the attention of Lord Bacon, and in succeeding times Hale and Prynne, Bentham and Mackintosh, Romilly and Brougham, have kept on foot a standing protest against the complexity, the incoherence, the still graver defects of a system of laws which ought to be a model of jurisprudence for the civilized world. Lord Baeou's elevated and comprehensive mind sketched the outline of a great reform: the statute law to be expurgated, classified, and consolidated; the common law to be digested and methodized; a standing commission to be set up in aid of current legislation. In later times commissions for the occasion have been impulsively appointed, and have been used rather (as I may say) to stop some troublesome leak than for sufficient repair. This palliative policy has but postponed the demand for an adequate remedy. Notwithstanding all that has been done since our noble President entered upon the warfare of law amendment, there remains a wide waste to be reclaimed. The weeds increase and multiply; dust and defilement accumulate; when will the good work of clearance and cultivation be taken up with the spirit and in the way which can insure success?

Of the business in this department the following brief report may be given:—

Mr. Heron, in the absence of Mr. Arthur Symonds, read a paper on ‘The Constitution of Tribunals.’ The writer contended that the whole system of the administration of justice in England, Ireland, and Scotland ought to be consolidated. There should be only one profession of advocates and agents for the United Kingdom, and Parliament should have attached to it a Minister and Commissioner of Justice.

Mr. Whiteside, Q.C., M.P., then read a paper on the criminal law, in which he

he dwelt upon the cruelty by which it was characterized down to the present generation, and traced the progress of its mitigation by the labours of Bentham, Romilly, Mackintosh, Brougham, and Peel. He gave a history of recent commissions for the consolidation of the criminal law, alluding to his own labours, and those of his colleague, Mr. Napier. In the course of an interesting address he strongly condemned the confiscation of property as a punishment in cases of treason, as it caused the innocent to suffer. Referring to a debate in the Lords, in which Lord Brougham was engaged, Mr. Whiteside said he was present, and was so delighted with a speech of Lord Brougham's that he was very nearly misconducting himself in the gallery, on which Lord Brougham promptly remarked that it reminded him of a case when Mr. Fox was so excited by a debate in the Lords that he spoke, and was in danger of being committed, when Rogers said to him, 'I wish you had spoken a great deal more, even though you were committed.'

The Recorder of Birmingham addressed the meeting on the subject of the improvement of the criminal law. He referred to a case that occurred when Lord Brougham was chancellor. A person found guilty of forgery was sentenced to death. The recorder went to the chancellor's private residence and entreated him to use his influence with the Government to obtain a commutation of the sentence. 'The case is so bad,' said the chancellor, 'that if this criminal escapes death no man can ever again be hanged for forgery in England.' 'For that very reason,' replied Mr. Hill, 'I am the more urgent that he should escape.' Lord Brougham went to a meeting of the cabinet and succeeded; and no man suffered death for the crime of forgery since, the capital punishment having been abolished two years after.

Baron Holtzendorff read a paper, 'On Public Prosecutions in Prussia.' No prosecution could be commenced there unless it was taken up by the public prosecutor, who might refuse to do so, and then the injured party had no remedy. But, on the whole, the system worked well. Lord Brougham said:—

'Though there might be defects in the Prussian system, the institution of public prosecutors was of very great

benefit; and the worthy vice-president would, he was sure, agree with him in thinking it very desirable to have a responsible Minister of Justice for this country. The want of such a system was a very great defect in England. He could take no blame to himself in this matter, for one of the last efforts he made before quitting office was to introduce a system of public prosecutors; but it was thought too large a step to take at once to involve the whole country in a system of public prosecutors. He might refer to the case of Scotland as well as of Ireland, and in neither country did the defect alluded to as operating in Prussia exist. In Scotland, the private prosecutor was technically required to obtain the "concurrence" of the Lord Advocate, but that concurrence was never withheld, unless in extraordinary cases, in which there was obvious cause for so doing.'

The Solicitor-General read a paper giving a History of the Landed Estates Court, and pointing out its advantages. The following extracts will give an idea of it:—

'The jurisdiction was, as is well known, originally created in order to sell encumbered estates, they being unsaleable by the ordinary means, in consequence of the state of this country in the year 1848; and in the first stage of the proceedings of the Court, petitions were, for the most part, those of encumbrancers; gradually the proportion of owners' petitions increased, and we find that the entire number of petitions presented from the commencement to August 1858, when the Encumbered Estates Court was changed into the Landed Estates Court, was 4,413. Of these, 800 were supplemental, withdrawn, and dismissed petitions—in all, 3,613; of which the number presented by owners was 1,363; and of the first 100 petitions only six were presented by owners; of the last 100, 47 were presented by owners. The commission was originally only for five years; it was extended from time to time, and in 1855, when the Court had been seven years in operation, a commission was issued by the Crown to inquire whether it was expedient that this should be made permanent. It appeared before that commission that owners actually created encumbrances upon their property in order to be able to sell it with a parliamentary title. I give

give now a statement of the amount of duty received from the commencement of the Landed Estates Court to the 1st of August, 1861, by which it appears that the total was a sum of 11,270*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* for the two years and nine months ending the 1st of August, 1861. The amount of business transacted in the Encumbered Estates Court, from its commencement to its close, was as follows:—Petitions, 4,413; absolute orders for sale, 3,547; number of conveyances executed, 8,364; number of Irish purchasers, 8,258; number of English, Scotch, and foreign purchasers, 324. Gross proceeds of sales, 23,160,000*l.*; of which was paid by English, Scotch, and foreign, 3,160,000*l.*, leaving 20,000,000*l.* representing Irish capital invested in the land. Number of Chancery suits stopped, 1,298. All these funds were distributed. I now give a statement of the amount of business done from the commencement down to August, 1861, which has been supplied to me by Judge Longfield's examiner, from which it appears, that 1,945 petitions were filed, 1,213 titles read, 1,121 estates sold for 12,324,977*l.*, 1,045 schedules filed, and 12,103,806*l.* paid out, &c. The next question of interest is, what has been the expense of these operations? From a statement of the costs, furnished from the taxing officer, it appears, that there was an outlay on that account of 813,797*l.*, including the cost of surveying and advertising. The costs vary very much, but the average of the costs are about 3*l.* 10*s.* per cent. on the purchase-money. The result of the entire operations of the Court has been that there is a Parliamentary title established to about 3,200,000 statute acres of Ireland, or about one-sixth of its area; and a sum of 28,000,000*l.* of purchase-money has been distributed.'

Mr. Whiteside, M.P., read a paper on the same subject, and expressed concurrence in the same views.

Mr. B. C. Lloyd read an interesting paper on the Admiralty Court.

The Hon. Judge Lynch read one entitled 'A Short Inquiry into the Principles of the existing Bankrupt Code of this Country, and an Exposition of its Utility in Administering the Trust created between Debtor and Creditor.' Mr. D. C. Heron, Q.C., discussed the question, 'Should the accounts of joint-stock companies be audited by a public officer?' and

showed how many frauds had recently been committed in companies by their clerks.

'It is very easy to plunder these companies; and the punishment of the swindler is very little consolation for the persons who lose their money. I propose, therefore, that all joint-stock companies should be subject to the inspection and audit of a public office, which might be made one of the permanent departments of the Board of Trade. The companies themselves recognize the principle of publicity by holding half-yearly meetings and publishing half-yearly balance-sheets. There could be no sound objection that these should be audited and verified by a Government officer, responsible to the Government for the proper discharge of his duties. Unless some such means be adopted, joint-stock frauds will increase with the number of joint-stock companies.'

Papers on several departments of the Bankruptcy Law were also read.

The relations of the Bars of England and Ireland was introduced by Mr. T. M. Meekins, of the English bar, who advocated amalgamation; but the Section did not sympathize with his views.

'Observations on the Proposal of Admitting the Evidence of accused Persons on their Trial,' were read by Mr. P. J. McKenna, which elicited a warm discussion, in which distinguished lawyers took part.

Mr. J. C. Smith, a Scotch advocate, read a paper on the Scotch marriage law, and defending the system. Dr. Waddilove discussed the law of marriage and divorce in the three kingdoms; and Mr. O'Connor Morris read a comprehensive and masterly paper on the marriage law of the empire. These elicited a lively discussion.

Lord Brougham said that the principal defect of the Scotch marriage law was the want of deliberation. It permitted marriages to be contracted without the slightest previous deliberation. Want of publicity was another objection. Attempts had been made to amend the law by requiring a certain previous residence in Scotland. In 1837 the Scotch bench and bar consented to a bill which was introduced that year, but so late that it did not pass, and, as he apprehended, that consent was withdrawn before the following session. He was once defending  
a man

a man in relation to a Scotch marriage, and in the course of his speech stated that the jury ought not to think ill of Scotch irregular marriages, for the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Lord Privy Seal had made runaway marriages in Scotland. The judge said he did not believe it. He subsequently informed the judge that the three distinguished personages were Lord Eldon, Dr. Sutton, and Lord Westmoreland, who had also been Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.

## II.—EDUCATION.

This department was presided over by the Right. Hon. Sir John Shaw Lefevre, K.C.B., who delivered a lengthy and instructive address on the subject, of which the following is an extract:—

‘I think that I may remark, without fear of contradiction, that the present time is peculiarly favourable for the consideration and adoption by the public and the Government of any suggestions which may originate from this Association on the all-important subject of education. There never was a period in which there existed a greater fermentation of public opinion on any subject of social economy. There never has been a subject of social economy involving the immediate and prospective welfare of so large a mass of the population. There never has been a subject upon which there has been greater unanimity as to the object to be attained, and a greater diversity of opinion as to the means of obtaining it. The recent commission on the state of popular education tell us that in England and Wales there are, in round numbers, 59,000 week-day schools, with two millions and a half of scholars on their books, nine-tenths of whom are the children of the poorer classes. The Commissioners of National Education in this portion of the United Kingdom speak of 800,000 children in 1859 on the rolls of the 5,400 schools then within their cognizance. I advert to these enormous numbers, not only as showing the magnitude of the subject, but as indicating the great value even of any single suggestion for facilitating elementary instruction, multiplied as it may be by the numbers of those who may receive benefit from it. Turning from these vast numbers of schools and scholars, let us consider for a moment their multifarious variety. At the low-

est step of the ladder we have the infant schools; next to these we may place the ragged schools, the reformatory schools, the workhouse schools; and then, in their successive order, the national and parochial schools in the various parts of the kingdom, the middle-class schools, the public schools, the colleges, and, lastly, the universities. Every one of these institutions has, during the last few years, occupied more or less the attention both of private individuals and of the public. Many have been set on foot and supported by private means, by benevolent and public-spirited associations; others have been assisted from the public resources; almost all have undergone searching inquiry by royal or by parliamentary commissions, and have been reformed and improved by active legislative measures. But this is not all that has been done by education. The like activity has been displayed in reference to the final stage of education—I mean professional education. This, in its many branches, has undergone similar investigations and similar experimental changes. The English Inns of Court have occupied themselves with the consideration of legal education. I may venture to say, in passing, that their progress has been somewhat slow, and their advances most cautious, notwithstanding they have been advised by a royal commission, in which the illustrious jurist, the late Lord Chancellor of Ireland, took a distinguished part, and notwithstanding they have had the advantage and the successful experience of the excellent arrangements both in the King’s Inns and in Edinburgh, for the due education of the Bar. Much more activity has been displayed by the medical profession in securing for all its members sound courses of instruction under the regulations of the council established under the new Medical Act. If it were advisable, I might enumerate many other instances. I might notice the preparatory training for military officers, their examinations on admission into the service, the examinations and training for the civil service in this country and India, to which I shall presently and particularly advert, the extensive organization for education in practical science and art as applicable to manufactures, and the enforcement of the adequate instruction of those who are to be intrusted with commands in the mercantile

mercantile marine of this country. All these various schemes of education are at this moment more or less occupying the attention of the classes to which they relate. Old prejudices are being put aside, ancient privileges are abandoned; and although, as I said before, there is much difference of opinion as to the means, there is a common end which all are pursuing—the instructing and elevating each profession and employment, and the better fitting those who follow it to perform their duties to their fellow-men.

Many interesting papers were read in this department, among which we notice one by Miss Mary Carpenter, of Bristol, 'On the Application of the Principles of Education in Schools for the Lower Classes of Society.' The Rev. Nash Stephenson discussed 'the Education Commissioners' plan for rendering Assistance to the Schools of the Independent Poor.' A very lively discussion arose out of a paper by the Rev. Alexander Pollock, hon. secretary of the Church Education, on 'The Educational Position of the Established Church in Ireland,' which he said was not only 'distressful, but wholly anomalous.' He went at length into the statistics of popular education, and compared the Church system with the National system. This essay was the subject of a lengthened and animated debate, in which the chief parts were borne by Professor Kavanagh, formerly Head Inspector of the National Board, who advocated separate education; the Rev. A. D'Orsey, the Rev. W. McIlwaine, Mr. Lefroy, M.P., the Rev. Mr. Frazer, from Scotland, Mr. A. M. Sullivan, Professor Gibson, of Belfast, Mr. White-side, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Willock, Mr. P. O'Brien, M.P., Mr. Henry Denitt, the Rev. J. Hall, Commissioner of Education, the Rev. Professor Foley, Trinity College, Dublin, the Rev. Dr. Quinn, Roman Catholic. This discussion is remarkable for the fact, so novel in Ireland, that on the most exciting subject that still divides our population, extreme parties meet face to face, and spoke their sentiments freely with the most perfect good feeling, and without an offensive or even a discourteous word on either side, which shows one beneficial effect of the Social Science Association.

Mr. Joseph Bentley read a paper on 'The Strong Claims of the Middle Classes for Justice in the matter of

Education.' He observed that educational improvements of late years had been confined to the upper and lower, without having been partaken of by the middle classes, although the latter contributed, in taxes and subscriptions, upwards of a million a year in aid of improved education. Good teachers constituted the key to all improvement of the kind. Teaching required special qualifications independent of intellectual acquirements. It was susceptible of being developed as an art itself. Traditional forms and customs too much prevailed in the universities, which had not cultivated the art of teaching. Colleges for training and certifying teachers for the schools of the poor had already been established, and had produced satisfactory results. He contended for an extension of the principle to all schools. Four years ago a deputation of the Society for Promoting National Education called the attention of the Privy Council Board of Education to the subject. Two years ago, Lord Brougham in the House of Lords presented a largely signed petition in favour of the establishment of a Government test of the qualifications and fitness of middle-class school teachers, as well as those for the humbler classes. The Government promised to give the matter their consideration, but nothing had since been done. The plan announced by Mr. Bentley to overcome the defect indicated was the establishment of colleges for the training of teachers for middle-class schools, which should be under Privy Council regulations, but should be supported by private contributions.

'Intermediate Education' was introduced by a paper of the Rev. John Hall. This is a want of a very grave kind, and closely linked with common schools and Universities. An interesting debate took place on the subject.

Miss Twining read a paper upon 'Workhouse Education.'

Miss Corbett read a paper upon the 'Advisability of Introducing District Pauper Schools into Ireland.'

Mr. Rakhol Das Haldar, native of Bengal, read a paper entitled 'Education in Bengal and its Results.' 'More than half a century has elapsed since the first effort was made for diffusing the European system of education and European knowledge in that portion of India known as Bengal. Some millions of money have been spent towards that object,

object, not only from the Government treasury, but also from the private purses of members of the British nation. Some hundreds of persons have devoted the best part of their lives in securing the same object. It may, therefore, be interesting to residents in Great Britain and Ireland to have some idea of the result of the expenditure of money and of energy and talents for social amelioration in Bengal. . . . It is a pleasing fact to British philanthropists that men, natives of Bengal, may now be found by hundreds holding converse with the great ones of the earth, with the mighty spirits that lived to instruct and humanize them, with the philosophers, poets, mathematicians, and orators of Europe—men who, without English education, would probably have been seen worshipping idols, and leading a most indolent, if not vicious life. English education has created a class of men called “Young Bengal,” an epithet originally applied as a reproach. This class has been thus described by one belonging to it:—“Young Bengal has not merely imbibed a taste for Western literature and science, but his knowledge of them is creditable both to him and his instructors. He has drunk deep of the Pierian spring. Very often his writings grace the pages of the local periodicals and reviews, and some of the most fastidious of Indian editors have acknowledged his claim to authorship, by mistaking his articles for those of talented and well-educated Englishmen, and praising them as such. Yet, if those very papers bore a native signature it would have been very fortunate if they escaped the most scrutinizing criticism.

Mislike me not for my complexion,

should now, I think, be young Bengal's motto. In the spirit of enterprise, and in energy and determination of character, he may, perhaps, be deficient compared with his Western brother; but in talent he is not very much his inferior, and in integrity he is quite his equal.” It has not been denied that “there are a few black sheep among the herd, men who have no principles, and whose liberalism consists in eating, and drinking, and dressing; but these are exceptions to the general rule.” The educated natives of Bengal have been appointed by the Government as uncovenanted civil judges and magis-

trates, and in various executive capacities, and they have not merely been found equal to these appointments, but have been considered by local British officers as capable of higher trust. Formerly “Public Spirit” was neither known nor understood; but it has been so far developed that natives may now be seen establishing schools, libraries, debating clubs, hospitals, and other institutions for the common good. To the diffusion of European knowledge is to be attributed the rise of a class of natives who are considered still to be low in caste—I allude to the social advancement of the artisan and manufacturing classes. Members of these classes can now vie with the Brahmins and others in respectability and intelligence. It may be questioned, Does the extension of English education tend to make the natives dissatisfied with the Government or otherwise? In reply, I say that when you properly educate them you make them more intelligently grateful. A mild and impartial Government is always safe. Besides, the Hindoos, having long lost the tact of governing themselves, generally perceive the contrast between Mahomedan tyranny and British justice; and when you endeavour to liberate them by proper methods from the thralldom of ignorance, they are the more thankful for it. The truth is that the educated natives are more attached to the British nation, from whom they expect the ultimate regeneration of India, than the uneducated can possibly be, engrossed as they are in their peculiar superstitions. But contend they must for equal rights and advantages. It is not always that the right man is put too in the right place; and when a person of narrow principles happens to be at the head of a department, or of a subordinate government, he is likely to give offence to the educated natives. In such cases they have a right to appeal to the Supreme Government for justice, which the Government cannot consistently deny. Though enough has been accomplished to make philanthropists hopeful, yet the greater part of the work remains to be done. The educated are only a few thousands among uneducated millions. The great lesson of self-reliance is yet to be taught. Caste, the chief cause of a variety of social evils, remains. Woman in Bengal must be raised to her proper position. Moral and scientific education needs to

be more generally extended. In short, the organization of Hindoo society demands to be radically changed. Much of the social reforms should for obvious reasons be left to the natives themselves, and also to time. But the time has not arrived when the British nation can be mere spectators of native exertions. The natives require British support as much to-day as they did fifty years ago.'

The Rev. Professor Gibson, of Belfast, read a paper 'On the Foundation created by Erasmus Smith for Educational Objects,' with a view to show that it was originally designed for the elevation of the middle classes in Ireland.

Mr. James Heywood, F.R.S., read a paper on the report of 'the Royal Commission on Popular Education' appointed in 1858; and Dean Graves on the question 'Whether the system of Competitive Examination gives an undue advantage to persons of inferior physical development?' The very reverend gentleman urged the importance of cultivating a fine physical development.

The octogenarian Professor Pillans, of Edinburgh, provoked a very learned philological discussion in this department by a paper 'On the origin of the Verb as a part of speech.' The social influence of this debate is not, however, of very great consequence.

### III.—PUNISHMENT AND REFORMATION.

This department was presided over by the Right Hon. the Attorney-General, who delivered a long and able address, of which we make a few quotations.

'In the wide range of the science we call social—in the varied fields of inquiry which invite the consideration of all who have true regard for the progress and the happiness of the human race—I believe that few things can be found of more importance than the subjects to which the attention of this department has been specially directed. They touch the foundations of order, and the security of peace in the world. They affect the protection of property and the sacredness of life. They have the closest relations with the material well-being of communities, and they have higher relations still—with the purity of public morals, and the redemption of multitudes from sin and suffering. More directly than many other of the topics which worthily claim

the care of this association, they address at once the intellect and the feeling, and attract equally the statistician and the philanthropist, the statesman, who deals with the interests of nations, and the Christian, whose thoughts are in eternity. Therefore I may confidently say that our peculiar investigations have been and will be peculiarly pleasant and fruitful, and not the less so because we pursue them on this occasion upon Irish ground. For I may assert, and in no boastful spirit, that Ireland has done very much in aid of the cause which we have all at heart—that efforts have been made, and experiments conducted, and difficulties surmounted, and results achieved, in the management and reformation of criminals amongst us, which have much advanced that cause, and fitly receive the praise and excite the emulation of other countries. . . . I turn to the scheme and principle of the reformatory movement, which has been one of the most signal illustrations of social progress in our time. It is a time full of material wonders. Almost every year produces something stranger than the last, and imagination halts behind reality; physical science annihilates space and time; thought flashes instantaneously from continent to continent, and distant nations are brought into that closeness of neighbourhood which, by identifying their interests and dispelling their prejudices, must needs continually more and more consolidate, in spite of every obstacle, "the federation of the world." But I venture to doubt whether, amongst all these mighty changes—so astounding in their grandeur and so bewildering in the rapidity with which they have been wrought—there is anything more full of interest and delight to the true lover of his kind than in this great movement, which has its dealings with the outcasts of the earth, and its noiseless triumphs within prison bars. In these countries Bentham, and Romilly, and Peel, and Brougham, had done the work of which I have spoken imperfectly; and in other nations men of a like stamp and purpose had followed a like course, with similar results. Howard had not vainly "cast his bread upon the waters." His great apostleship of charity did not end with himself, and the prison system of this empire and of Europe has been much improved. Classification and order, though

though they are still very imperfect here and elsewhere, had been introduced, largely and beneficially, amongst convicts in most civilized lands. But this was not sufficient—did not seem at all sufficient, and many thought that it was right to look to their ultimate destiny after the time of their imprisonment had passed. Such persons looked abroad upon the prison world, and they marked some things which were very notable. They saw that in general human law made no distinction between the crime of the child and the crime of the adult—that the innocence which had been obscured by a single error, the growth of temptation or necessity acting on an infant's unformed mind and feeble purpose, was dealt with, too often, as the crime of the hoary ruffian stained with many infamies and hardened in his sins. They saw the juvenile offender, passing, perhaps, from an honest home to a felon's gaol, corrupted by contact with its abandoned inmates, graduating in all sorts of immorality, and then sent forth to prey upon his kind. And, seeing these things, they saw that it should be otherwise; that the child's crime was not the man's crime, or to be dealt with as if it were; that their different conditions of intellect and morals called for different treatment, and that the system which made the man's prison also the child's was often responsible for steeping him in iniquity, and robbing him of hope here and happiness hereafter. Further, they saw that the traditional and settled discipline of the gaol, modified though it had been, made no sufficient provision for the moral culture of the criminal—no preparation for his transfer to the world and a condition fitting him to take his place amongst men as a useful and prosperous citizen—no training which might fit him to walk forth, self-relying and self-dependent, without new contamination from his former comrades, and certain return to the evil courses from which the coercive power of the law had withheld him for a time. And, finally, they saw that, equally in the case of the child and the adult, imprisonment involved loss of character and caste; involved, in multitudinous instances, loss of the means of honourable livelihood; deprived the unhappy convict, even if disposed to return to a better state, of the opportunity of redemption, and the aid of friends, or the confidence of employers; and drove

him, in utter and despairing helplessness, very often to lead a life of wickedness, and, sometimes, to die a death of shame. Observations such as these, occurring to persons of generous nature and clear intellect, bore fruit in time; and we have seen that fruit developed in institutions of rare excellence—reformatories for the young, intermediate prisons for adults, and patronage associations, refuges, and aid societies for prisoners disposed to amend their lives.'

Many very able papers were read in this section, to a few of which we have only space to refer.

The Rev. J. H. Monaghan read a paper on 'Irish Protestant Reformatory Schools,' and Mr. E. J. Murray one on 'Irish Roman Catholic Reformatory Schools.' 'The Disposal of Boys from Reformatories' was discussed by the Rev. J. Fish, of Castle Howard, York.

'The object,' he said, 'of reformatory training is to restore the criminal to society, in order to which he must be fitted to occupy some place in society, and some place must be found which he will fit. The only element of fitness necessary to be considered in this part of the reformatory process is the industrial. The great majority of boys, inmates of reformatories, are quite capable of being trained to useful industry, and society has always workers of one kind or another; a large experience justifies the assertion. All then that is required is to discover what kind of workers are in demand in the neighbourhood of any school, and then to train boys accordingly. But it is most important that whatever branch of industry is taught, the boys should be thoroughly instructed in it, so as to be really able to perform it. The tendency to diminution among the agricultural population of England offers a favourable opening for the employment of boys as farm labourers. But our reformatory schools, which are farm schools, do not possess all the requisite means for making a good labourer. It is very desirable that boys should be sent out on license to work at farm houses, where they may learn to plough, &c.; at the same time they will acquire habits of self-reliance and familiarity with honest workmen, so that when the time of discharge comes they are not strangers to society. At Castle Howard this plan has been adopted, and with the most complete success. It may be objected that the usual training is hindered by the exposure

posure necessarily attendant upon the out-labour system. Boys who go out see and hear many things that may do them no good. But it is important that we do not make our boys much better than boys in general. But the license can only be well worked when the reformatory sentence is long. The careful surveillance of the licensee-holder is always of the greatest consequence. There is a minority of boys which cannot be so provided for. A few who are incorrigible had better be sent adrift for the present. They will run their course, and perhaps be saved by suffering. Now and then their enlistment into the army is a good outlet. A larger number would go to sea; and for a few some special occupation must be found. At Castle Howard not the least difficulty has been found in finding such occupations. Emigration is too expensive to be extensively used. At Castle Howard it has been used as a reward to very deserving boys. Each school may easily solve this difficulty for itself, by the judicious use of the person given by law to give licenses.'

Mr. D. Hill, Esq., Q.C., Recorder of Birmingham, read a paper by his daughter 'On the Present Condition of Mettray,' which led to a very interesting discussion.

Mr. T. B. L. Baker read a paper 'On Sentences with a View to Reformation or Deterrence.'

The Rev. T. R. Shore read a paper 'On the Treatment of Adult Offenders, and the effects of the system in Ireland.'

Baron Holtzendorff then read a paper 'On Police Supervision.' Having made some pointed comments on the striking contrast between the criminal law of modern times and those earlier enactments that prevailed in former ages, with regard to the expectations entertained by society respecting discharged prisoners, Baron Holtzendorff said:—'In recent times it is understood that a successful administration of penal justice mainly depends on three objects, which we must strive to attain. First. A well-organized manner of public prosecution, in connection with a vigilant criminal police, working to the purpose of detecting and prosecuting crime to the utmost degree of certainty, by whose activity and zeal re-convictions must be ascertained in each criminal case, in order to have a just apportionment of punishment for ha-

bitual offenders. Second. A regular system of prison discipline, due regard being had for keeping up the deterrent character as well as the reformatory treatment, according to the individual and personal habits of criminals. Prison life must appear deterrent to all living in honest liberty, but it must appear a boon to the criminal on his discharge, when he shall feel and understand that his punishment was as well justice to him as education for his future well-being, not an act of cruelty or wayward revenge. Third. A proper care for discharged prisoners. Experience has evidently shown that the mere prison life by itself exclusively cannot warrant society against a repetition of crime. If crime were a mere accident, proceeding from individual circumstances, or from deficient intellect, a hope might be entertained that prison discipline could eradicate all future propensity to crime.'

Captain Crofton read a paper on the question 'Why the Community should take an Active Interest in the Treatment of Adult Convicts,' and he proved that they should take an interest in the subject on the ground of 'humanity,' and of 'self-preservation,' and of 'economy.' He described fully the Irish convict system, and referred to the eulogies passed upon it by the most eminent foreign jurists. When he had concluded, Lord Brougham, who spoke with much earnestness, said—

'It is hardly necessary to state with what deep interest I heard the able and lucid statement of Captain Crofton. There is but one sentence in it which I can say I not only lament, but disapprove—I mean that in which he talks of his own retirement. With Captain Crofton's retirement retires my confidence in the system; and I look forward with absolute dismay to an experiment tried for the next two or three years, and then, at the end of that time, we shall find that it has failed because Captain Crofton has retired.'

We are glad to learn that Captain Crofton has agreed to continue at the head of the Prison Board for Ireland.

Mr. C. H. Fort, barrister, read a paper on 'Punishment, its Effect by way of Example,' in which he urged that the sentence of the judge should be pronounced immediately after the verdict.

Miss Frances P. Cobbe read a paper on the Preventive Mission at Bristol,  
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in which she pointed out the aid and protection given by the mission to young females, and argued that a system which had proved so successful in the safe guardianship of poor girls deserves general attention and trial. Miss Cobbe pointed out the special dangers of the servant class, and a plan for their prevention, by a free registration, a system of writing agents, training schools, and factory homes. In Bristol, where the mission was in full operation, 1,000 poor girls were assisted for two years at an expense of 500*l*. Work-house girls in service in towns and cities, owing to their defective training, had special claims upon our consideration. Miss Cobbe's paper was loudly applauded.

Mr. Sheriff Watson, founder of the Aberdeen Industrial Schools, read a long and able paper on the treatment of young offenders, founded upon the method pursued in the Aberdeen schools, and the beneficial results attained. The learned sheriff, at the close of his observations, said it was urged on the Government with all the logic and rhetoric possessed by the friends of the industrial school, that it should be placed in the same category as other educational establishments, and receive a fair share of the parliamentary grant; but it appeared to be the principle of Government to give only to those who are able to do something for themselves, and to increase the grants in proportion to the ability of the receivers. If this principle had been acted upon by the patrons of industrial schools, little progress would have been made in the suppression of vagrancy and crime, and the town and county of Aberdeen would still be overrun with juvenile vagrants, and the prisons the sole receptacle of juvenile thieves. When lately examined before the Committee of the House of Commons, he stated his opinion that Government should allow the managers of industrial schools one-third of the aggregate cost of each child, that being about the proportion expended on the education department.

Miss Mary Carpenter read a paper on 'The Connection of Voluntary Effort with Government, applied to the Maintenance of Reformatories and Ragged Schools.' The author pointed out and dwelt upon the great advantages of combined voluntary and government support to such institutions, and argued

that their success would be greatest when so sustained. In the case of the reformatory schools, the problem of this combined action was completely solved. The author strongly advocated the claims of ragged schools to government aid.

Mr. J. R. Fowler read a paper on 'Home Influence on the Dangerous Classes,' in regard to the prevention of crime. The question of government aid to ragged schools was discussed.

In the sub-section of this department several papers were read by temperance reformers.

Mr. James Haughton read a paper on 'Intemperance as a Source of Crime.' A paper on the 'Causes, Consequences, and Remedies of Intemperance,' was read by Mr. Arthur Houston, and another on 'Intemperance, and Relief of the Poor in London, during the Long Frost in 1860-61,' by Mr. Benjamin Scott, Chamberlain of the City of London. Mrs. Margaret Fison followed with a paper on 'The Responsibility of the Women of Great Britain with relation to Intemperance,' and lastly, came Dr. F. R. Lees, on 'The Etiology of Drunkenness.' A paper by the Rev. Wm. Caine, on 'The Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks on the Lord's Day,' was read; and then ensued a most interesting debate on the whole question. Messrs. Haughton, Raper, Street, Tucker, Murdoch, Doctors Gilchrist and MacGowan, Revs. Messrs. Steinthal and Dall, were amongst the gentlemen who spoke on the temperance side.

The following is an abstract of Dr. Lees' paper:—

*On the Etiology of Drunkenness, and its Relations to the State*, by Dr. Lees, of Leeds.—The author commenced with observing, that this question, like many others, owing to its interference with long-established prejudices, powerful customs, and pecuniary interests, had but tardily received philosophical consideration. The stern necessities of the times, however, and the gradual accumulation of facts, had at last compelled to its serious investigation. The principle of the temperance societies, which placed alcoholics outside of the category of food, and remitted alcohol to the care of the druggist and doctor, could no longer be denied. Statistics, gathered from benefit and assurance societies, from the English army in India and the Crimea, and that of the

German

German Confederation, demonstrated the fact that the annual percentage of mortality in three classes of individuals was as follows :—Teetotallers,  $1\frac{1}{8}$ ; moderate drinkers,  $2\frac{1}{4}$ ; free drinkers,  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . The greatest authorities in chemical and medical science, including Liebig, Moleschott, Lehmann, and Levy, admitted that alcohol was incapable of nourishing the body as food, and acted as a stimulant and narcotic; while the recent experiments of Professors Lallemand and Perrin proved that alcohol was eliminated from the body unchanged, so long as thirty-two hours after being consumed in a moderate dose. Dr. Edward Smith had confirmed these experiments, and Dr. T. K. Chambers, who formerly contended for alcohol as extra-diet, or 'medicinal food,' now admitted that 'we must cease to regard alcohol as in any sense an aliment,' for the 'evidence shows the action of alcohol to be consistent and uniform in all its phases, and to be *always exhibited as an arrest of vitality.*' This, then, must be accepted as the starting-point for the social inquiry into the causes of intemperance, ignorance of which accounted for the failure of the empirical methods of treatment hitherto adopted by the State. Drunkenness had accompanied the use of alcoholics amongst all people, ancient and modern, savage and civilized, Pagan and Jewish, or Christian, and irrespective of the facts of climate or race, and of the name or strength of the intoxicating agent, whether wine or whiskey, beer or cider, pale ale or palm wine. No laws (save one), and no social conditions, had ever or anywhere prevented intemperance from being the great source of degradation, crime, and misery. Social conditions might aggravate or ameliorate the inebriety of a people; but so far as the two factors of the *use* and *sale* of strong drink obtained, so long and so far did drunkenness prevail. This special vice did not originate from the absence of moral qualities of the highest order, but from the presence of a physical agent and law tending imperiously to a given result. 'The lives of the great Johnson and the learned Porson, and those of the statesmen Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan, furnished ample illustrations. The law of the operation of alcohol, opium, and tobacco was this :—*The use tends to generate an appetite for their increased use, in time*

*and measure.*' In the language of the Scottish philosopher, Dr. Thomas Reid, 'The frequent use of things which stimulate the nervous system, produces a languor when their effect is gone off, and a desire to repeat them.' Hence the general causes of drunkenness must be those which originate the general use of which drunkenness is the incidence, which are chiefly three. First, the belief in the excellence of alcoholics. So long as this opinion prevails, so long will strong drinks be consumed, and drunkenness follow. It is, therefore, the business of the educator and the temperance teacher to disabuse the public mind of this superstition. But, second, out of servile obedience to convention, one of the strongest of social influences—from love of the favour and fear of the frown of those by whom they are surrounded—men practically sustain those drinking customs which their reason and conscience both condemn. While admitting that they are 'more honoured in the breach than the observance,' they yet weakly sanction and provide for them. This is the great private temptation to drinking, which, as acquiring its power from an unconscious confederacy of society, can be best combated by the conspiracy of independence and intelligence; for, as Lord Bacon says, 'the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained.' The third great cause of drinking is the empirical legislative remedy of the *licence system*, whereby houses of various kinds for the sale of strong drinks are planted throughout the United Kingdom, furnishing facilities for the private use of alcoholics, and irresistible public temptations to drinking amongst the masses of the people. The utter failure of the 450 Acts of Parliament passed for the regulation of these houses, and the prevention of pauperism and crime thence resulting, is admitted by Parliament itself in its latest blue-book. The history of the traffic clearly shows that, other things being the same, the cheaper the drink, whether gin, beer, cider, or wine, and the more numerous the houses in which it is sold, the wider the temptation, the greater the drunkenness, pauperism, misery, and crime. The curse of the Beer Bill was a frightful illustration of the deplorable double fallacy of hoping to substitute a weaker beverage for a stronger, in those who had acquired

quired the taste for the stronger, and of believing that the use of the weaker intoxicant would not inevitably engender amongst the masses a liking for the more potent.

The logical issue of the question must be free-trade or no-trade. If the trade be humanizing, honest, and innocent, then it should be free; but if its prosperity only measured the debasement, disease, and crime of society, then every Christian and rational Government ought to give the people the power to protect themselves from its baneful operation; and drink-houses should be as sternly prohibited by an enlightened nation as colleges for teaching crime, or gambling and betting-houses for the seduction of the weak and foolish.

The licence system is an anomaly in legislation based on no principle, and justified by no success. The Parliament confesses to its failure in the treatment of this social cancer of the traffic. Magisterial control is a non-entity, and, as proved by the police reports, no laws are so systematically and generally evaded and broken as those imposed on the trade in drink. The publicans themselves are dissatisfied; licensed victuallers and beersellers are reproaching each other for the abuses of a trade inherent in the nature of the thing, and are both seeking for increased privileges to do public mischief. Magistrates and the community are often at war with each other, and the petty with the quarter sessions. It is confessed on all hands that something must be done; that the entire system must be overhauled. Very good, but what should be done? Ought we not to cast away as worthless the old remedies which have so signally failed? Ought we not to insist upon some thorough guarantees for social security, and to reject all pettifoggery and patchwork?

Whatever plans are adopted and enforced by the Government itself, authorized by the Imperial Parliament, one thing seems called for alike by public opinion and public justice. It is conceded that a city or parish has the right to judge on this question of the traffic; and the decision has been committed to the local magistracy in Quarter Sessions assembled, who receive in public court the appeals of the people; but seeing that interest, or ignorance, or social connections, render

this body unfit in the present day to deal with the question, it is proposed that a permissive clause shall be introduced into the bill, guarded with appropriate powers for referring the matter finally to the people, who best know the wants and interests of their district. If, say two-thirds or eight-tenths of a population do not desire to be cursed with a wine, beer, or spirit-shop, what moralist, or what libertarian, or what politician, will contend that either government, excise, or magistrates should force such a thing upon them? The proposition has been deliberately put before the people, both in town and country. The Plymouth canvass for the Permissive Bill of the 'Grand Alliance' yielded the following returns:—

For the bill . . . . 17,136 adults.

Against, only . . . . 840 „

which is a fair specimen of the returns in general. The measure is not only just and constitutional, but it is, in short, the old plan made effectual by transferring the veto from an indifferent or incompetent tribunal to the people themselves. Prohibition will, under such a plan, grow surely into power, never preceding the preparation of the district, but correctly registering its virtue, discipline, and intelligence.

In connexion with the temperance section a large and enthusiastic meeting was held in the Mansion House, presided over by Lord Brougham. The meeting was ably addressed by James Haughton, Esq.; the Rev. Dr. Kirkpatrick; Rev. Mr. Neligan, M.A.; Dr. F. R. Lees; Washington Wilks, Esq.; Dr. Waller; Very Rev. Dr. Spratt; Archdeacon Gregg; and T. M. Meekins, Esq.

#### IV. PUBLIC HEALTH.

Lord Talbot de Malahide presided and gave the address on this great department. Amongst other things he said—'I urge you to discuss the proper mode of regulating the poison trade. You might take into consideration the question—whether it is not time that something should be done to have an educated and responsible class of druggists. The time for palliatives is gone, and the uselessness of our present expedients is shown by the continued recurrence of poisoning in our public prints. This is, I believe, the only country in the world where any individual can retail, without let or hindrance, the most dangerous poisons. If

If all English druggists belonged to the Pharmaceutical Chemists' Association, and confined themselves strictly within the limits of their business, there would be comparatively no danger, and I trust that the Irish apothecaries will not attempt to follow their English brethren, deserting their proper functions, and leaving the public at the mercy of any unprincipled and uneducated person who chooses to sell poisonous drugs. However much we may admire free trade, do you think we ought to have a free trade in poison?

On the Temperance question his Lordship said—

'With reference to teetotalism, I must confess that, highly as I estimate the virtue of temperance, I cannot agree with those who would confine us to the use of Adam's wine. We have it on high authority that wine was given to make glad the heart of man; and, if used in moderation, there can be no question of its being wholesome and beneficial to the human constitution. There is also high archæological evidence in its favour. It appears to have been imported into this country from the earliest periods, and it is recorded that Shane O'Neill had ordinarily 200 tuns of wine in his cellars at Dundrum Castle. It is a curious question, to determine when ardent spirits were first manufactured in Ireland. Brandy, or *aqua vite*, appears to have existed from the oldest records; and in the "Red Book of Ossory" there is an accurate description of the process of distilling brandy from wine. This was probably confined to ecclesiastics. Brewing from malt is also of the greatest antiquity in Ireland, being mentioned in the Brehon Laws. The earliest mention of the use of *aqua vite* in the Irish annals is in the case of Richard Magranell, chieftain of Monteorolas, who died A.D. 1405, at Christmas, of a surfeit of *aqua vite*. McGoghegan, who records the circumstances, adds:—"It was not *aqua vite* to him, but *aqua mortis*." We all remember the great movement promoted by the excellent Fathew Mathew; and, although its effects were not as permanent as we could wish, there is no doubt that it made a great improvement in the habits of our peasantry. It may have deprived some of our countrymen of their native hilarity and ocularity, but we may be consoled for this loss in some degree if the force of

public opinion was brought to bear upon the classes most exposed to this vice—if the female population was weaned from the degradation consequent upon it—if better clothing and more provident habits were gradually introduced. The mere substitution of beer or light wine for the more powerful stimulants would be much to be desired; and although we cannot agree with the proposals of those gentlemen who insist upon its being the duty of the classes who seldom indulge in excessive drinking to be total abstainers for the benefit of their example to others, great good will doubtless arise from the discussion of this question. It must, however, be kept clear from all other sanitary measures, so that no difference of opinion can possibly exist. The question of a permissive law for the prohibition of the sale of alcoholic liquors comes more properly under the section of jurisprudence.'

Lord Brougham called attention to this portion of the noble lord's address, and said that the temperate use of fermented liquor was very difficult to understand. 'People do not understand what temperance is, and therefore do not know when to stop.'

Lord Talbot de Malahide made some admirable remarks relative to the sanitary health of the army, and paid a high compliment to the late Lord Herbert of Lea, as a social reformer.

Amongst the numerous papers read in this department we may refer to the following:—

Dr. Moore read a paper 'On the more Prominent Causes of an Excessive Mortality in Early Life.' After prefacing his observations with some remarks on the politico-economical view of an excessive early-death rate and its reaction on national interests, more particularly agricultural and commercial, he went on to show that the early physical well-being of any country is the most delicate test of its progress. He then showed from the last annual return of the Registrar-General of England, that the general mortality for 1860 has been a fraction less than that of the preceding ten years; the mortality from all causes being 422,500, a little over 21 in the 1,000, the preceding years being 22. Still this rate of mortality over England and Wales generally is greatly in excess of the rate experienced in the least unhealthy districts; for had the deaths  
for

for the last quarter pervaded England and Wales generally at the latter rate, the mortality would have been 79,283, instead of the actual mortality of 102,557. Thus, during the ninety-two days, 23,274 persons may have been said to die unnatural deaths. Again, the densest districts are proved to be the unhealthiest, the towns exceeding the country districts in the proportion of 23 to 18 in the 1,000. On this interesting point, of the relation of the healthy to the unhealthy groups, more particularly with regard to the special scourge of phthisis and chest affections of all kinds, he adduced the statistics of Dr. Greenhow, to show that if the deaths from pulmonary diseases in the country, generally, in each sex, and for each period of life, had been at the same rate during each of the nine years from 1847 to 1855, as in the northern group of districts, the average number of deaths would only have been 54,098, instead of 98,969; therefore, taking the northern group as representing a normal standard for affections of the lungs in the sister kingdom, the mortality from this class of diseases is aggravated to the extent of nearly 45,000 annually. Dr. Moore next alluded to the prevailing infantile mortality under ten years of age, which varies from twenty-five to thirty per cent. of all born among the better classes, to thirty to forty per cent. among the lower classes. Some observers have found a wider ratio between the infantile mortality among the rich and poor, particularly in Preston, where the mortality under five years of age among the children of the former, varied from eighteen per cent. to fifty-five among those of the latter.

Dr. Lankester read a paper by John Beddoes, M.D., on the 'Physical Degeneration of Town Populations.' The paper went to show that degeneration of good air and proper food tended to the degeneration of the human race.

Dr. Lyons read a paper by Miss Florence Nightingale, entitled, 'Hospital Statistics, and Hospital Plans.' It gave an excellent and comprehensive exposition of the requirements of a proper hospital, the necessity for thorough ventilation, and for avoidance of over-crowding. We regret that the great pressure on our space prevents us from giving this admirable paper or the discussion which took place upon it.

Dr. P.W. Mackesy, of Waterford, read

the following paper on Dipsomania (uncontrollable drunkenness).

'Dr. Peddie, in a well written paper, called attention at the last meeting of the Association, at Glasgow, to this subject, so very important in a medico-legal point of view. The misery I constantly witness, from the want of that legal restraint that would admit of successful treatment in such cases, induces me to again call the attention of the Association to this serious lapse in the lunacy laws, for the dipsomaniac, when the passion for strong drink comes on, is a monomaniac, and requires control. No moral or religious feeling or obligation is thought of; no parental or other authority has the least influence in preventing the indulgence of this pernicious propensity. All shame and decorum is cast aside, and the most glaring falsehoods will be unblushingly told to procure drink; and yet, although the law empowers the magistrate to fine and to imprison the drunkard when convicted of having been found intoxicated in the street or public road, and although drunkenness cannot be pleaded as a defence or extenuation for any crime, yet the law gives no power of prevention—gives no power to restrain the confirmed drunkard from indulging in that insatiate avidity for strong drinks which he has no power over himself to control. Consequently, at present the hands of the physician are tied up in the treatment of such cases, and he is obliged to look on and see his unfortunate patient pursue his intoxicating course to the disgrace of himself and his family, the destruction of his property and his prospects in life, and the ruin of his health, his body, and his soul. Such cases, in many instances, by gentle restraint and proper treatment could be reclaimed from this destructive propensity; and, as in many instances the subjects of this vice are persons of intellect and talent, they might be reclaimed, and be a credit to their families and their country. The reluctance to deal with this subject arises from the apprehension that in enacting a law for the restraint of the confirmed drunkard a door might be opened to endanger the liberty of the subject. However, as the present Lunacy Act requires amendment, to guard against abuse, and to protect more fully the personal freedom of the subject from being invaded, I am sanguine in my hopes that, in an amended Lunacy

Lunacy Bill, next Session, the law officers of the Crown will make some judicious and efficient provision for the treatment of uncontrollable drunkards. The medical profession is at present unrepresented in the Imperial Parliament, and, consequently, hygienic legislation is very defective, there being no person fully qualified to arrange sanitary enactments or to answer objections and questions on medical matters in the House of Commons. Medical men can only bring forward their views at meetings of associations such as the present. The medical men of Scotland have carried out their views practically by opening reformatories for drunkards. As mentioned by Doctor Christison, in his instructive and valuable lecture on the subject, all required is, that the restraint voluntarily submitted to in those reformatories should be rendered legally imperative when necessary.'

Dr. Henry Kennedy read a paper entitled, 'The Influence of the Food on the Intellect.' The idea was not new, but he was not aware of the subject being discussed by any one, and in keeping with the knowledge of the present day. After disavowing all idea of materialism, he spoke of the close connection of mind and body, and the reciprocal action of each on the other. In health this was not so observable; but if slight indisposition—to say nothing of more serious disease or pain—occurred, then every one was conscious that the natural powers became impaired. Education proved what an immense power we possessed over the mind, and the object of the writer was to show that, by a proper modification of the food, we could not, indeed, create, but we could improve that noblest part of our being. As to the character of special foods, the writer said, from the great extent of the subject, he could not treat of them. One class, however, as affording a good example of the main object of his paper, he might mention, and that was condiments, which had received much less attention than they deserved, but must in future be looked on as foods. Of these, onions, mustard, horseradish, afforded good examples, nor could any doubt be entertained that, with the poorer classes, and those who lived chiefly on potatoes, the addition of these condiments would form a very important improvement in their food,

and as such their growth should be encouraged, for their composition was such that they were capable of affording very important elements to the frame, especially the nervous system. In the course of his observations he spoke of 'fluid foods,' amongst which were classed tea, coffee, and strong drinks. He noticed their chemical composition and the very great variety of opinion which obtained amongst individuals regarding their use. In conclusion, the writer observed that it was essential for obtaining the highest powers of mind that the food should ever be used in moderate quantity.

Dr. Lees condemned the use of spirituous liquors, which he maintained poisoned the animal system.

Mr. James Haughton argued that the strongest races were those who eat vegetables, and instanced the athlete of the Himalayas, who he said were the strongest men in India. The Irish also were strong men, and they very seldom eat flesh.

Mrs. Fison read an admirable paper on 'Practical Sanitary Work in Town and Country,' and referred to her own experience. We give a few extracts on a subject which seems to have entered largely into the discussion at Dublin:—

'But I have named intemperance as coming under the head of our needed sanitary reform. I own that, highly as I estimate the labours of sanitarians, I think they have erred in not considering measures for the prevention of our national sin as an intrinsic part of their work. Mr. Neison, the well-known actuary, has said that the loss of life and health from the drinking customs of the people exceeds even that caused by bad sanitary conditions; and in forming an estimate of the lives sacrificed to strong drink, it would be necessary to enumerate all the deaths caused by broken hearts, murders by drunken husbands and fathers, wives and mothers, brutal assaults, starvation of children, men and women hanged for crimes committed when intoxicated. In a religious and moral point of view, how fearful are the influences for evil that hover over a drunkard's home. The neglected children from such nurseries of crime are the raw material from which are manufactured the future felons of their country. Can it be of the homes of a Christian land Miss Procter writes?—

"In

"In dens of guilt the baby played,  
Where sin, and sin alone, was made  
The law that all around obeyed.  
With ready and obedient care  
He learned the tasks they taught him there,—  
Black sin for lesson, oaths for prayer."

But where rests the responsibility of such a state of things amidst our boasted civilization? Experience has taught me to accept as true the axiom of a German writer:—"Society itself is responsible for the evils it permits; and not only for permitted evil, but, in too many cases, it prepares the crime." First, by unjust and injurious laws, such as the Law of Settlement, the Sale of Beer Act, and others, which have directly tended to pauperize and oppress the working man; on the one hand taking from him the hope of bettering his condition, and, on the other, surrounding him with temptations to improvidence. During the late distress in London, how heavy was the blame lavished on the husbands and fathers who, by their drinking habits, had been prevented making provision for a rainy day! but had not their crime been fostered and prepared by the very laws of their country? Secondly—Society prepares crime by its indifference to existing evils, or to prevention of those that arise from changes in our social condition. Thus, amidst the improvements in the metropolis, no provision has been made for the poor displaced from their homes, by the erection of an equal number of suitable dwellings. Thousands of families have thus been forced into the already crowded streets and alleys around. Thirdly, by wilful ignorance of the extent and nature of such evils, and of their own individual responsibility, all classes of society assist in the preparation of crime.'

Recurring to this subject, she said further—

'My friends, true, practical sanitary work for and with the poor must begin by our grappling with the strength of a great nation with a national sin. True that there are vested interests in the wretched city courts and alleys, and there are vested interests in the continuance of an unrighteous system of temptations to the poor man, but are these to be weighed against the loss of thousands of immortal souls, against the loss of health, life, and happiness of millions? I feel assured that the time is at hand when a Christian Government will refuse to derive any part of its income from the ruin

and degradation of its subjects, recognizing also as sound political economy, that if the branch of the revenue derived from strong drink costs, by the paupers and criminals caused by it, four pounds to put one into the National Treasury, it had better be abandoned.'

She made the following appeal to Lord Brougham—

'There is a name that from childhood I have been taught to revere as that of a great philanthropist and a wise statesman. It will be a crowning act to the noble life of Henry Lord Brougham to rescue his country from the thralldom of intemperance, and I rejoice to believe that such will be the case. My lord, the African has learned to bless your name, but more cruel chains than ever fettered his limbs await your bidding to fall from the victims of strong drink. Throughout our country, your vast influence, with God's blessing, cannot but effect a change in the licensing system during the next session; and I know something of the ruined homes and hearths that may yet be restored, of the broken hearts that may yet be bound up, when the machinery of temptation that surrounds the working men is either lessened or removed.'

The paper then referred to Ladies' Sanitary Associations, and their influence for good all over the land.

Dr. D. Phelan read a paper entitled 'Suggestions for the Prevention of Small-pox.' The writer set out by stating that although all persons, rich and poor, had been offered vaccination gratis since 1840, at least 65,000 people had died of small-pox in England within the last twenty years. In addition to that great mortality, there were great numbers who had become blind, or who still suffered from other diseases, excited by the particular disease referred to. That mortality and those diseases might be greatly lessened, and even vaccination made compulsory, as it was in almost every civilized country in Europe, except Ireland. It was compulsory in Great Britain since 1853, and with a consequent great reduction of small-pox, although the Act was defective in some respects, which defects had been remedied in the present session of Parliament. Whilst that benevolent legislation was being pursued with regard to England and Scotland, there was a total neglect of similar measures as regarded Ireland

land. There was no registration of births and deaths for Ireland, and consequently small-pox was allowed to pursue its fatal ravages unrestrained. The writer next adverted to the defective arrangements for vaccination in Ireland as contrasted with those existing in England. For the latter country 2000*l.* was annually voted by Parliament to enable the London national vaccine establishment to supply the requisite lymph gratis to all who applied for it, whilst for Ireland, up to 1858, only 200*l.* was annually voted, which sum was now increased to 400*l.* Still every applicant for vaccine lymph in Ireland was obliged to pay for it. Dr. Phelan suggested that similar facilities should be extended to Ireland as those which existed in England.

Mr. Nugent Robinson read an essay entitled 'A Glance at the Dwellings of the Poor in Dublin, including lodging-houses, model, and otherwise,' of which the following is an abstract:—The number of houses let out in tenements within the municipal boundary of Dublin was nearly 8000, or more than one-third of the total number of houses in the entire city. The poverty of the class of people residing in those tenements was so great, that 19,045 room-keepers were relieved by the Sick and Indigent Roomkeepers' Society during the year 1860. After dwelling minutely upon the social condition of the poor, and describing the nature of their dwellings, taking 134 streets and lanes, Mr. Robinson arrived at the following average:—Average number of persons to each street, 300·888; average number of persons to each house, 19·181; average number of persons to each room, 3·955; average number of persons to each bed, 2·715. The rents of those tenants ran from 6*d.* to 2*s.* per week. Mr. Robinson gave a short *résumé* of the scavenging system. The number of cases of sanitary duty performed by the police during the year 1860 amounted to 18,551. The number of registered houses in the city was 101. The state of the lodging-houses was shocking. The general number to each bed was 3. During the years 1853 to 1860, 3541 filthy and over-crowded lodging-houses had been suppressed by the authorities. A list of the sites of the worst classes of those houses, and a detailed account of the model lodging-houses was also given.

In connection with this subject a

meeting of ladies was held for the purpose of promoting a Sanitary Association in Dublin. Lord Talbot de Malahide presided, and several ladies addressed the assembly.

#### V.—SOCIAL ECONOMY.

Judge Longfield presided and delivered the address. He sketched the progress which Ireland has made in material prosperity during the last quarter of a century, largely availing himself of the figures which are found in the valuable repository of national statistics, 'Thom's Almanac.' In 1841 there were 13,464,301 acres of arable land in Ireland, the whole area of the island being 20,800,000, and 6,300,000 being waste. In 1860 we find that the arable land has increased to 15,400,000, being an addition of nearly two million acres, or about 14 per cent. With the aid of money lent by the State the Irish drained 200,000 acres; but during the same period, and without any such assistance, they converted two million acres of waste into arable land, the relation of 1 to 10 representing the proportion between what the State can do for a people, and what they can do for themselves. Again, the total value of live stock in Ireland in 1841 was 21,105,808*l.*; in 1851 it was 27,737,395*l.*; and in 1860 it had increased to 33,839,899*l.*, being an increase of upwards of 50 per cent. in 20 years. In the matter of Government stock a similar advance in national wealth appears. The amount transferred from England to Ireland in excess of that transferred from Ireland to England for the ten years ending March, 1860, amounts in round numbers to 2,380,000*l.*, indicating to that extent an increase in the wealth of the people, while the stock held by Irish fundholders has increased 25 per cent. during the same period. Looking at the progress of the nation in another light, we find that since 1851, 800 miles of railway have been constructed, at an expense of 11,000,000*l.* These were generally branch lines, yet the traffic has increased in a greater proportion than the mileage, being at the rate of 2½ per cent. The total amount vested in Irish railways is 19,000,000*l.*, or nearly half the amount vested in funds by Irish proprietors. The annual gross receipts of all the railways is 1,300,000*l.*, the net return giving 3½ per cent. on the capital expended; and it is a remarkable fact that Irish railways are becoming

becoming almost exclusively the property of Irishmen. Judge Longfield next went into details on the decrease of Irish pauperism, and on the popular education, which may be passed over, as these topics were fully discussed in other sections, and the results have come before the public in various forms. It may be mentioned, however, that the annual cost of educating each pupil in Ireland is 10s., whereas it was formerly only 5s.,—a fact which indicates an improvement in the quality of the instruction; and seven-ninths of the population are educated by the State in the National Schools, leaving two-ninths for the Church Education Society, the Christian Brothers, and private parties. Passing from the subject of education, Judge Longfield remarked that on every side the statistical returns show the results of increased prosperity. The revenue of Ireland has increased more than 50 per cent. in the last 10 years, the Customs and Excise producing from 3,200,000*l.* to 5,400,000*l.*

The Secretary of the section read a paper by Mr. Henry G. Reid on 'The Building Strike of the present year at Edinburgh,' and a paper by Mr. Frederick Harrison, M.A., on 'The Building Strike of the present year in London.' These papers detailed the origin and progress of these movements.

A discussion ensued on both papers.

Miss Bessie Parkes read a paper on 'The Condition of the Working Women of England and France.' She said she coupled the two countries together because they represented all that was employed in modern civilization. Within the last ten years a vast change had taken place in relation to the position of the working women of England and France. There was a general disposition to cast upon women the responsibility of earning their own bread. The paper referred to the condition of the factory women of Lancashire and Birmingham, who worked at light iron work, and to the condition of the women of Staffordshire, who made nails, and who were to be seen grimy, muscular, altogether most undelightful. The paper suggested that the printing and somewhat similar trades should be thrown open to women.

This was followed by a paper on 'Women Compositors,' by Miss Emily Faithfull, the head of a printing establishment in London. 'The Employment of Women' was discussed in several papers.

Miss Parkes read a paper, communicated by Maria S. Rye, on 'The Emigration of Educated Women; its necessity, respectability, and advantages.' The paper stated that the time had passed for emigrants being confined exclusively to the servant classes. The total surplus of men in the colony is 155,636: so that when it was remembered that each of these men, if at home, would be the natural supporter of a wife, it was no wonder that they had a surplus of women at home.

Mr. Mark O'Shaughnessy, secretary of the department, read a very interesting paper, communicated by Mr. Jellicoe, on 'The Condition and Prospects of Girls employed in Manufactories in Dublin.'

Mr. D. Sheriff, of Larne, read a paper, of which the following is a summary, 'On a General Statement of the Advantages derived from Embroidery or Sewed Muslin in the North of Ireland: its benefits especially to the small farmers and the labouring classes, and the necessity of encouraging manufacture in rural districts, in advancing the interests of the country, and in tending to prevent too great an excess of emigration.'

Mr. Lefevre read a paper on 'Labour, in connexion with Trades' Unions,' communicated by Mr. J. Dunning. The paper stated that many employers were averse to trades' unions, but they should exist when labour was considered as a property held by free men; and as trades' unions gave power to the free workman to accede or not to the terms of his employer, such aversion is easily understood.

Mr. Lushington read a report, by the Condition of Labour Committee, 'upon the progress of their inquiry into apprenticeship.'

Mr. Lushington also read a paper by himself, entitled, 'Should Apprenticeship under Indenture be Compulsory?' The paper stated that the system of apprenticeship under indenture was fast giving way before the system of apprenticeship not under indenture, often not in writing. He drew a picture of the beneficial results flowing to the apprentice under the system of indenture, and contrasted it with the system of apprenticeship not under indenture, which had the effect of filling trade with unskilled operatives, whose work is not standard work, and not worth standard wages. He was altogether in favour

favour of legally indenturing apprentices.

Mr. Henry Hennessy, F.R.S., read a paper on 'The Law of Fluctuation of Wages,' of which the following is an abstract:—He said although labour, as well as the products of its application, brought a price depending upon supply and demand, it might be useful to inquire into the relations that should exist between the fluctuations of wages and those of the prices of articles for the production of which wages were paid. It was, no doubt, true, that in general employers endeavoured to obtain work at the lowest rate, and workers strove to obtain the highest wages for their work; yet it was possible to conceive the existence of a law to which the demands of both worker and employer should as much as possible strictly subordinate. The problem which was to solve admitted of a simple exposition and solution by the aid of symbols, and it formed an illustration of his general views as to the application of symbolic notation in social science. He would for the present confine himself to the consideration of wages paid by manufacturers, and for the sake of clearness the problem was supposed to refer to a single establishment. The total increase received by such an establishment must go to provide for four principal classes of expenditure connected with it:—first, the payment of wages to workmen; second, payments to the proprietor for his superintendence, and for his abstinence in employing his capital in such a pursuit, as well as for the risk of loss he might encounter. The first was the portion of increase due to labour; the second, the portion due to capital; the third, due to capital; and the fourth an independent portion. This last was liable to little fluctuation, was nearly fixed, and its average amount could usually be very approximately estimated. From a calculation into which he entered, he stated that it followed that the fluctuations in sums due to labour and capital respectively, owing to fluctuations in the total income, should be a little greater than the latter class of fluctuations. If, as remarked by Mr. Potter, a worker claimed a share of the profits when these are rising, he must be ready to bear his share of the losses resulting from a falling market.

## VI.—TRADE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW.

This department, lately added to the programme of the Association, was presided over by a distinguished Frenchman, M. Michel Chevalier. His address was delivered in French.

It is quite impossible, even in our extended space, to notice the subjects which were discussed in this department, most of which referred to trade.

Mr. Hastings, the Secretary, read on the part of the General Council, a report, or a review of the proceedings of the Congress about to close. From this statement it appeared that the members' tickets issued in Dublin were 353; associates', 1,347; total, 1,700. The Council expressed to the Lord-Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor, the President of the Royal Irish Academy, the Local Offices and Committees, the Royal Dublin Society, &c., 'their deep sense of the warm and generous reception given to an association hitherto little known in Ireland. To the University, also, the Council would tender their best thanks.' To the Presidents and Vice-Presidents the Council also tendered their thanks, and they acknowledged the important aid rendered by the press for the fulness and accuracy of the reports of the proceedings. Some idea may be formed of the extent of these from the fact, that in the first department 25 papers were read; in the second, 20; in the third, 24; in the fourth, 25; in the fifth, Social Economy, 44, of which 16 were by ladies; in the sixth, 18. In compliance with a memorial influentially signed, the Council have agreed to hold the next meeting in London.

On one evening there was an immense meeting in the Round-room of the Mansion House, consisting of the members of Young Men's Christian Societies, Protestant and Roman Catholic. Lord Brougham took the chair, and was received with enthusiasm. After a brief and animated address from his lordship, the Solicitor-General addressed the meeting, and explained the objects of the Jurisprudence Department. Mr. Hastings, the General Secretary, spoke on Education; the Rev. Mr. Lynch, of Glencree, on Reformatories; Dr. Lankester, on Public Health; Dr. Hancock, on Social Economy; and M. Desmaret, of the French bar, on the Department of International Law.

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## ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

OUR record of social events must be brief, our space being limited. The principal topics claiming our attention are the deeply interesting proceedings of the Social Science Congress at Dublin, and the Meetings of the British Association for the Advancement of Science at Manchester. For a review of the former, we refer the reader to Article VII. It cannot but encourage the faithful workers for social amelioration to witness the rapid and successful strides that are being made by that great movement, the object of which is to promote a knowledge of the laws of social well-being and their practical application through all their departments. It is specially cheering to the conductors of 'Meliora' to have their labours recognized and eulogized by the venerable and noble President of the National Social Science Association, in his famous inaugural address at Dublin.

The proceedings of the thirty-first Annual Meeting of the BRITISH ASSOCIATION have been of a most interesting and important character, and may be pronounced a great success.

It is now thirty years since this Association held its first meeting in the city of York. Like many other great and laudable enterprises, it had a comparatively humble commencement; but it was originated and conducted by earnest and brave-hearted men, who adhered to and prosecuted their noble scheme, which was designed 'to give a stronger impulse and more systematic direction to scientific inquiry, to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate science in different parts of the British empire with one another, and with foreign philosophers; and to obtain a more general attention to the objects of science, and a removal of any disadvantages of a public kind which impede its progress.'

This useful mission has been steadily prosecuted, and up to the present time its history is a record of progressive success in the objects contemplated.

Taking the average of the thirty years, the number of members at each annual gathering is about sixteen hundred, and the receipts something under 2,000*l*. The meeting at Manchester has, therefore, been a marked success, upwards of 3,150 members having been enrolled, and 3,920*l*. received.

The President for the past year was Lord Wrottesley, who, at the opening meeting held in the Free Trade Hall, in the presence of two thousand members, Associates and ladies, paid a high tribute to his successor, William Fairbairn, Esq., LL.D., F.R.S., of Manchester, as 'one who, by perseverance, combined with talent, has risen from small beginnings to the summit of his profession; and forms one of that noble class of men—the Stephensons, the Brunels, the Whitworths, and the Armstrongs—who have conferred such important services on their country; some of whom, unfortunately for that country, have perished, alas! too soon, exhausted by their arduous toils.'

The President elect, on taking the chair, was received with prolonged applause, and proceeded to deliver a most able and comprehensive address on the achievements of science in promoting the improvement of society and the well-being of man. We have not space for even a summary of this noble address, but must content ourselves with one brief sentence, indicating its tone and spirit. 'At no former period did science contribute so much to the uses of life and the wants of society. And in so doing this, it has only been fulfilling that mission which Bacon, the great father of modern science, appointed for it, when he wrote that "the legitimate goal of the sciences is the endowment of human life with new inventions and riches;" and when he sought for a natural philosophy which, not spending its energy on barren disquisition, "should be operative for the benefit and endowment of mankind."'

On the motion of Lord Stanley, M.P., seconded by J. A. Turner, M.P., the thanks of the Association were voted to the President for his excellent address, and that he be requested to allow its circulation among the members. The Mayor of Manchester (M. Curtis, Esq.) put the motion to the meeting, and it was carried amidst hearty applause.

Professor Phillips announced the programme of each day's proceedings, and said that he was proud to see that as many persons had come to do honour to William Fairbairn as to the Prince Consort, at Aberdeen, in 1859.

The proceedings of the eight sections of the Association commenced the following day, September 5th, and were presided

presided over by the following distinguished members:—Section A., Mathematical and Physical Sciences, in the Gallery of Antique Sculpture, Royal Institution; Professor Airy, Astronomer Royal. Section B., Chemical Science, at Owens College; Professor W. A. Miller, M.D., F.R.S., of King's College, London. Section C., Geology, in the Lecture Room of the Royal Institution; Sir R. I. Murchison. Section D., Zoology and Botany, in the large room of the Royal Institution; Prof. Babington, M.A., F.R.S. Sub-section D., Physiology, in one of the exhibition rooms of the Royal Institution; Dr. Davy, F.R.S. Section E., Geography and Ethnology, in the Lecture Hall of the Mechanics' Institution; John Crauford, Esq. Section F., Economic Science and Statistics, in the Assembly Room of the Free Trade Hall; Mr. William Newmarch, F.R.S. Section G., Mechanical Science, in the Swedenborgian School-rooms; Mr. J. F. Bateman, C.E., F.R.S.

Many most interesting and some very important papers were read in each of the various sections; but Section F., Economic Science and Statistics, naturally embraced those topics of inquiry and discussion that relate most closely to the subjects usually treated by 'Meliora.' This section, also, was exceedingly well attended. The following is a list of some of the more important papers read before the section: 'A Glance at the Cotton Trade,' by Thos. Bazley, Esq., M.P. 'On Strikes,' by Dr. John Watts. 'On Co-operation and its 'Tendencies,' by Mr. E. Potter. 'Facts and Statistics about Work-houses,' by Miss Louisa Twining. 'The Trade of England with China since 1833,' by Colonel Sykes, M.P. 'The relative Pauperism of England, Scotland, and Ireland,' by Mr. Frederick Purdy. 'The Health of the English Army,' by Dr. Farr. 'Principles of Taxation,' by Mr. Newmarch, F.R.S. 'True Principles of Taxation,' by Mr. J. R. Jeffery, for Mr. M'Queen, Liverpool. 'On the Income Tax,' by Rev. Canon Richson. 'On Sanitary Improvements,' by Mrs. Fison. 'On some Exceptional Articles of Commerce and Undesirable Sources of Revenue,' by Councillor Charles Thompson. 'Educational Endowed Institutions,' by Mr. James Heywood, B.A., F.R.S. 'On Capital Punishments and their Influence on Crime,' by Mr. Henry

Ashworth. 'On the recent Census,' by Dr. Strang. 'The General Results of the Census in 1861,' by Mr. J. T. Hammach, F.S.S. 'On the Economic Effect of the recent Gold Discoveries,' by Mr. Henry Fawcett. 'On the Patent Laws,' by Professor Rogers.

Our space is now so far exhausted that we can but give special notice to one of the foregoing papers, and we by an instinct of 'natural selection,' fix upon that which was read by Mr. Charles Thompson, one of the Executive and most active representatives of the United Kingdom Alliance, an organization whose interests were most ably and watchfully looked after in various sections, but more especially in Section F.

Mr. Thompson's paper did not get its most appropriate position among the papers on Taxation, but was put in the category of social and sanitary movements, where its bearings were not so specially applicable. The argument of the paper, as will be suggested by the title, goes to show that there are some articles which do not come under the legitimate rules of commerce, and are not desirable sources of revenue. The articles referred to are intoxicating liquors, and the chief ground upon which they are impeached by the paper, is the fact that their manufacture involves a frightful and criminal waste of the people's food. We can only give the following brief summary of the argument as reported in the 'Manchester Guardian,' and refer our readers to the entire report in the 'Alliance Weekly News' of September 14th.

'Mr. Thompson quoted from the budget speech of Mr. Gladstone in April last, which, he said, indicated suffering from a serious scarcity of food. Even in ordinary years, when our own harvest fields produced their usual crops, we were dependent upon foreign supplies for a very large proportion of corn food for man and beast. But when a year of great scarcity, or a series of bad harvests befel us, we found our monetary arrangements upset, and our commerce fearfully depressed. Mr. Gladstone's statements also indicated that an increased revenue from corn occasioned by an enormous increase of importation, to meet great domestic scarcity, was an evil element, inasmuch as it crippled and limited the power of the people to adequately sustain

tain the fiscal burdens of the country. In other words, Mr. Gladstone intimated that he had been a sufferer in regard to his fiscal arrangements, by the increased revenue of 366,000*l.* he last year received from duty on corn, over and above the sum of 500,000*l.* which he took to represent the average revenue from that source. This arose partly from the fact that there were other articles more highly taxed than corn, which was imported at the nominal duty of 1*s.* per quarter. A Chancellor of the Exchequer could not have overlooked the fact that nearly eight million quarters of grain are annually consumed in brewing and distilling in the United Kingdom. This calculation took no cognizance of what is appropriated by illicit manufacture either of malt or spirits, or in the legal production of methylated spirits used in the arts. They might safely conclude that upwards of sixty million bushels of grain were last year consumed in the manufacture of beer and spirits for purposes of beverage, being equal to two bushels for every man, woman, and child in the kingdom. In other words, an amount amply sufficient for the annual sustenance of upwards of six millions of people. Intoxicating liquors were not food in any sense; that was the latest verdict of science, and corresponded with all the conclusions of common sense, and unmistakeable experience. No one had a natural instinct or healthy craving for alcohol. It was not sustenance, but a seductive poison. The liquor traffic and the drinking usages it promoted were therefore "barriers interposed between our wants and an abundant supply" of food. No wise Government, and no high-minded statesman, would deliberately choose to derive the executive resources of the nation from a system that directly tended to promote scarcity of food, and to multiply the means and facilities for vicious indulgences. The liquor traffic, as now existing, and as it had always existed, where suffered to exist at all, was, and ever had been, a fountain of social pollution and national impoverishment. It took the food of the people to convert it into that which is not bread, and which satisfied not, but which worked in a thousand ways to promote scarcity, sorrow, and desolation in the land. What, then, was the remedy for the evil which was so palpably prevalent and so deplorable?

There was but one remedy,—simple, potent, effectual. Make it illegal and criminal to convert food into poison, and to tempt the ignorant and reckless to the purchase and use of intoxicants. There had been periods in the history of our nation when distillation had been prohibited, and when the happiest results had been realized. The tables of imports into Ireland (which, with other statistics, were quoted) showed, by comparison of the years of stoppage of the distilleries with the years when they were in full activity, that a year of scarcity, with prohibition, was better than a year of plenty without it. In addition to the decrease of disorder, crime, pauperism, and disease, and all their cost and consequences, it was seen that the revenue itself was greatly benefited by the increased consumption of other articles. There must be some powerful and all-prevalent reason why strong liquors were treated in an exceptional manner. Why should every other manufacture in the kingdom be emancipated from the heavy and embarrassing hand of the Excise officer? How to bridge over the transition chasm was the real difficulty. In conclusion, the suggestion of the United Kingdom Alliance, that Parliament should pass a permissive measure, was adduced as a mode of suppressing the evil.

The thanks of the section were voted to Mr. Thompson for the paper read by him, and several remarks were made in support of its conclusions by members present.

At the close of the sections on Wednesday, September 11th, a select soiree and conversazione of members of the British Association, and other leading friends of temperance, specially invited by the Executive of the Alliance, was held in the Friends' Meeting-house, kindly lent for the occasion. Nearly 200 ladies and gentlemen accepted the invitation and were present. Dr. John Lee, of Hartwell Park, Aylesbury, was called to the chair; and the proceedings, which were of a highly interesting character, were protracted till nearly eleven o'clock. Ample refreshments were served during the evening. The discussion of the principles and policy of the United Kingdom Alliance, and its proposed Permissive Bill, was of a very spirited and intelligent character. Several gentlemen stated their objections or difficulties, which were courteously and ably replied to. Professor

Hennessy

Hennessy and others avowed themselves not only inquirers but sympathizers with the object and principle of the Alliance.

A vacancy having occurred in the representation of PLYMOUTH, the question of the Permissive Bill has been prominently raised in that constituency, as that on which, at the present moment, the most earnest and popular feeling is manifest. Mr. Pope, the hon. secretary of the Alliance, having been influentially invited to address the electors on the question, the result has been that such an expression of public support has been evoked, that all parties now are convinced that any candidate that would command popular support, must declare himself in favour of the principle of that measure. This declaration has been publicly and explicitly made by Mr. Morrison, the candidate in the Liberal interest.

The question of the LIQUOR TRAFFIC, and the necessity of amending in some essential manner the present licensing system, have occupied the attention of the magistrates in various parts of the country. At Preston, the Annual General Sessions adopted a strong memorial to the Legislature, pointing out the enormous evils of the system, and praying for a remedy. At Liverpool, the magistrates are nearly equally balanced—the one party being desirous of an open system of granting licenses, and the other party praying for increased restrictions. But *all* are praying for some remedy for the present most intolerable evils. At Sunderland, an inspection of a large number of public-houses under magisterial control, has developed the glaring fact that they are the resort of prostitutes, and used for purposes of demoralization of the most frightful character.

In the House of Commons, the Chancellor, carrying out *his* mode of dealing with the universally acknowledged evil, made a very strenuous effort to obtain the repeal of the Tippling Act, so as to enable spirit dealers to recover debts contracted for small quantities of

spirits supplied on credit. But owing to the promptitude and energy of the Parliamentary agent of the Alliance, and the courageous manner in which Mr. A. S. Ayrton, the Member for the Tower Hamlets, opposed this motion of Mr. Gladstone, the evil threatened to the cause of sobriety and good order has for the present been averted. The Bill had to be discharged towards the end of the Session. The Scottish Public House Amendment Act Bill went into a select committee, and passed through several stages, but was ultimately discharged, after various efforts to get it adopted. The Alliance and the Scottish Permissive Bill Association laboured hard to obtain the introduction of a veto power for the ratepayers of the municipal or parochial districts, by a vote of two-thirds majority.

Numerous other movements and events of a social and progressive character claim our attention, both in and out of the sphere of legislation. A new educational code has been announced. Frightful fires, dreadful railway collisions, and other mournful disasters have filled the columns of the daily newspaper press. All around the horizon we have had streaks of lurid light, and clouds of portentous hue. America heaves, writhes, and wrestles under a mighty conflict, in the issues of which we, as a people and a nation, and the whole world of humanity, have vast interests. We can only look on, and pray that God may defend the right; and that the cause of freedom, commerce, peace, and brotherhood may eventually be advanced. The Italian troubles are not ended. Down-stricken Poland and menaced Hungary still claim all our generous solicitude; and the unfortunate war in New Zealand has not come to an end. But amid all these conflicts, disasters, and cruel wrongs, the cause of social progress, the cause of justice, truth, and humanity is still advancing. We do not despair, but work on and hope on.

## ART. IX.—REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*Slavery and Secession in America; Historical and Economical.* By Thomas Ellison, F.S.S., author of 'A Handbook of the Cotton Trade.' London: Low, Son, and Co. 1861.

'THE object of the author' in this work, as he informs us in the preface, 'has been to trace the origin and development of that antagonism between the Northern and Southern sections of the American Republic which has brought about the present deplorable internal strife, and which, it seems probable, will result in the dissolution of the Union.' This is done with fulness and thorough accuracy of information. Mr. Ellison sees in slavery the *fons et origo malorum*, and he shows how that question has tinged all the public politics of the Union throughout its history. His views on this matter are sound results from historical facts. The work is divided into four parts: the first, descriptive of the rise and progress of slavery in the United States; the second, the history of the secession movement; the third, 'a comparative view of the influence of free and slave institutions in promoting or retarding the general progress of the two sections of the country, as exemplified in the present condition of the Northern and Southern States;' and the fourth discusses emancipation. There is added an appendix of documents, political and statistical. A more complete, clear, or satisfactory exposition of the American crisis could scarcely be desired; and a careful perusal of this volume would tend much to correct the views of many in this country relative to the war in the United States.

'*The Sons of Light.*' A Paper prepared for Reading at the Visitation of the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells at Dunster, on the 25th of April, 1861, on 'Teetotalism and the Liquor Traffic.' By the Rev. Henry Gale, B.C.L., Rector of Treborough, author of 'Apostolic Temperance.' London: Caudwell.

THIS is a spirited attempt of the author to place the question of teetotalism and the liquor traffic before the minds of the clergy. Mr. Gale introduces both Biblical criticism and the opinions of eminent authors into his paper—a

mode of reasoning commonly weighty with divines. It will not be easy to reply to the arguments of the Rector of Treborough; and we sincerely hope that clergymen generally may give this important matter the careful examination which Mr. Gale's pamphlet and the cause it advocates demand.

*The Temperance Advocate.* The Organ of the British Temperance League. Published at Bolton.

THIS is a weekly paper, commenced in July last, and entirely devoted to the temperance cause. It is ably edited, contains an admirable digest of general news, gives considerable space to the record of teetotal advocacy and progress, and presents portions of higher literature. We rejoice in the appearance of this newspaper, and recommend it to all who wish to be informed of the temperance movement. Its extensive circulation would be a national boon.

*Address of the Very Rev. the Dean of Carlisle in the City Hall, Glasgow.* Scottish Temperance League, 1861.

THE words of the Dean of Carlisle are always smart and earnest, and in this address are made to touch a vital matter of our social life. The Dean is, an uncompromising teetotaler, and argues with much zeal that all others should join the abstinence cause.

*The Christian serving his Generation: a Sermon preached on the Anniversary of the Scottish Temperance League.* By the Rev. W. M. Taylor, M.A., Liverpool.

THIS sermon is able and eloquent, and admirably adapted to the theme. It is worthy of circulation, and will serve to commend the principles it advocates to Christian minds.

*The Social Reformer.* Grahamstown.

THIS is a monthly devoted to temperance and social reform in the Cape Colony. It is conducted in a good spirit, and contains very readable matter.

*The Sailors of New England; or, Prohibitions on Land and Sea.* Illustrated by some Yarns by Old Salts. By Peter Sinclair.

A REPRINT of several papers happily written, and calculated to advance the temperance cause.

*The*

*The British Herald.* Edited by the Rev. W. Reid, M.A. London: James Nisbet and Co.

THIS monthly paper is conducted by one whose name is extensively known by his successful editorship of the 'British Messenger,' from its commencement until its circulation was the largest of any religious paper in Europe. The 'Herald' is even more able than the 'Messenger.' Its contributions, theological, biographical, and hortatory, both in narrative, essay, sketch, and poetry, are all well written and intensely practical. It deserves, and we trust will receive, as extensive a circulation as its gifted editor formerly obtained.

*A Few Words about Cotton.* For the Cotton Spinners and Millowners. London: Wertheim and Co.

THE necessity for cotton from other fields than the United States has turned the attention of practical men to the West as well as the East Indies. The brochure before us advocates Jamaica as a suitable soil for the cultivation of the cotton plant.

*The Life-boat, a Journal of the National Life-boat Institution.*

AN excellent serial, devoted to a noble cause. As a means of promoting a philanthropic object, the publication of a monthly magazine is of great value. Information and appeal, clothed in such language as is used in this paper, is likely to perpetuate and extend the benevolent operations of the Life-boat Institution.

*The Present State of Education. The Census of 1861. Parliamentary Reform.* Lectures by Handel Cossham, Esq., Bristol.

MR. COSSHAM is a true friend of the people, and an active exponent of social science in theory and practice. Whatever he has to say on any of its branches demands respectful attention. We are glad to learn that he has been delivering popular lectures on the above subjects. We quite disagree

with him on the subject of education both as regards its promotion by the State and the compulsory system, to which Mr. Cossham is opposed. But his lecture contains, nevertheless, much sound and useful statement, and evidences Mr. Cossham's earnest desire to advance the education of the people. The Census of 1861 is well discussed, though the printed lecture is brief. The lecture on Parliamentary Reform is very able.

*This World or the Next?* By the Rev. W. Clarkson. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

AN earnest appeal to young men. Mr. Clarkson does not think it possible to make the best of both worlds, and goes against Mr. Binney's celebrated work on the affirmative side of that question. The best of this world he declares 'is not a legitimate object of Christian pursuit.' But it is surely Christian to pursue business earnestly on right principles. And do not right principles, with persevering industry, generally succeed?

*Honesty.* London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

AN excellent work for men in business.

*The Test of Truth.* An argument and a narrative. By Mary Jane Graham. Eighth Edition. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

A REPRINT of a work brief in words but singularly forcible in argument.

*The Scientific Basis of the Temperance Movement.* An Address to Medical Students of Glasgow University. By J. M. McCulloch, Esq., M.D. London: Alliance Dépôt.

LET our readers put a copy of this pamphlet into the hands of medical men in their neighbourhood.

*Temperance Policy Reviewed.* Reprinted from the 'Christian News.'

THIS is evidently by a writer fully informed upon the subject he has taken up.

# Meliora.

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ART. I.—1. *Ragged London in 1861.* By John Hollingshead. London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1861.

2. *London Labour and the London Poor.* A Cyclopædia of the Condition and Earnings of those that *will* work, those that *cannot* work, and those that *will not* work. By Henry Mayhew. 3 Vols. London: Griffin, Bohn, and Co.

OUR great cities are at once a history and a criticism of our progress, philosophy, and philanthropy. They tell their own unvarnished tale. We cannot blink our eyes to their meanness, cover their despair, or forget their shame. Day by day they chronicle themselves, trampling out in joy or woe, on hard and stony pavements, their wail or pæan, lyric or epic, euthanasia or epithalamium. Their greatness confronts us everywhere: their littleness and misery only at home. Our Londons and Liverpools, Manchesters and Birminghams, are known in their vastness and speciality wherever the English name has been murmured and the English nation has been represented. Even wandering Arabs and barbaric Bechuana give forth, like sea-shells, some lingering murmur of their might and mystery. But the guilt, the misery, and raggedness that hurtles in the alleys and courts of either of these four centres of civilization, wealth, and commerce, they know not, yea, too many of us, know not. Who shall reveal it? Local inspectors, and those hard-working, chivalric clergymen with whose names and labours, as far as London is concerned, we have now become acquainted for the first time, together with such men as Mr. Henry Mayhew, Mr. Hollingshead, and others, are alone fully able to estimate the drawbacks, gauge the depravity, and tabulate the weak shamelessnesses of the city life of this nineteenth century. Here even they must stop. Its influence upon this, as well as upon the next generation, it is impossible they should have the prophetic discernment to calculate, and so they leave it there, a blot, in all its hideousness and spectral leer, as a lesson for all men, and an especial problem for acute but erroneous philosophers. There, too, we must also leave it.

A city life is significant alike of the weakness and strength of human nature. It opens problems that cannot be discussed in

these pages, it furnishes men with arguments and hypotheses, leading to every possible and erratic philosophy, and it breathes upon most of us a witchery of sadness, a spirit of restlessness, and a fitful fever of scepticism. We leave others to descant as they may, and with justice, upon the triumphs and grandeurs effected in education, morals, and manners by such assemblages of people, such perpetual centralization. As critics and teachers, yea, prophets and apostles, it is our duty to point to the darker shades of the picture, to bring out the dance of death from beneath the shadows of the elm, and divert attention for a time from cathedral and church, museum and institute, free library and reading-room, to the great sea of raggedness and wretchedness that breaks and booms around them, settling in scum and filth almost within the domain of the priest, the mansion of the rich, and the sweeping robe of the Pharisee. We would do so hopefully yet sadly, soberly but not despondingly, believing in neither an old-clothes nor Malthusian philosophy. The evil and wretchedness about him it is a man's duty to point out, that it may be mended and not mourned over, that its subjects may get out of it and not be immolated therein. Whatever there may be around us that is wrong, impious, miserable, fretting its way into our cities and towns, trailing along our fields, and tinging our lives with mourning and mockery, is significant only as so much work to be done, as every death and every birth the register records is eloquent of what has been, might have been, and is to be achieved. The world is full of work, work too of no nice kid-gloved order, but stern, stalwart, Herculean toil. All cant about the nicety and prudery of Wisdom can be no longer tolerated. If of old she dwelt personified only with mystic and ascetic, she has long since left their company as a more homely, Socratic goddess, affecting neither dress, deception, nor niceties of speech, but passing from palace to prison, from home to hospital, library to garret, Mayfair to Field Lane, as one who possesses an universal password, an unfailing talisman, an eternal invisibility. One day she discourses with Kant, Humboldt, Herschel, and the next with Howard, Wilberforce, Buxton, and whosoever will have her for a companion, and discourse with her upon anything between nightly refuges and theories of the universe. She has none of that aversion to evil that some wise and good men have imputed to her and then adopted for themselves. If men had never meddled with disease, we should have had less health; never intermixed with the insane, less sanity; never studied crime, less honesty; never familiarized themselves with sin, less moral renovation.

The two works we have placed at the head of this paper deal with different aspects of the same question, and are mutually reflective. Mr. Mayhew's work comprises an amount of information

mation upon the London poor, their histories and habits, that entitles it to a foremost rank in that peculiar literature which is now becoming so common, the literature not of common life only, but the commonest, oddest, and most out of the way. A private commission of inquiry, conducted on purely public grounds, and spreading itself now over a period of ten years, it is rich in materials for the divine, the novelist, the statistician, and, if the biographies which are gathered into its pages be reliable—and we see no reason to doubt them—it reveals the secret springs and inner germs of much that were otherwise unaccountable and almost mythical. He brings up before us specimens of almost every class he describes, and as we know them more familiarly, there is much that is less harrowing and less repulsive than many might have imagined. Poverty is by no means deficient in the development of some of the noblest, if rudest, virtues in the human character; and there are recorded for us instances of self-denial, heroic struggle, and sublime endeavour that touch up the picture into almost poetic grace, and send memory, slipping through old time, to revel in the works of the ancient masters.

Mr. Hollingshead's book is more modern and more modest. He does not attempt to dramatize, so to speak, the ragged life of our metropolitan byeways, or enter into lengthy details about the lives and habits of the people he has visited. Familiar with London life in all its lower phases from his earliest boyhood, and invested with nothing more pretentious and exhaustive than the character of a special correspondent of a daily newspaper, he has merely endeavoured, as he says, to beat the bounds of metropolitan dirt and misery, and show us how a million of people are living, and for the greater part are content to live, in this same year of grace. He has done his work honestly, if not thoroughly. His book is opportune and useful in many ways. It supplies us with new facts for old arguments, and is not only a survey of the question 'from the time we are at,' but is an indirect expositor of the peculiarities of human amelioration. As we read we cannot escape the recognition of the fact, that what he terms tinkering philanthropy, like all movements that are human, is subject to fluctuations and moves by peculiar saltations that almost defy, when they seem most to favour, the formulation of the positivist. A fierce crusade, national and local, now and then breaks out, and enthusiasts imagine that everything will fall before their committees, vestries, boards, and byelaws. They work hard and fast, tooth and nail, head and heel. But the citadel of dirt is still unstormed, and its environs flout their impurities upon every hand. Then there is parleying and diplomacy, hesitation and lethargy, but still the foe spreads and increases. When the Select Committee of the House of Commons sat, in 1840, to inquire into the Health of

Large Towns and Populous Districts, as the result of the reports on the condition of the metropolitan poor made to the Poor Law Commissioners the previous year, the physical and moral condition of the poor seemed never in a fairer prospect of betterment. There was scarcely a point untouched, or skill neglected, or science that was not questioned, or experience that was not contributory. Much lasting good was done, we admit, many agencies set in motion whose results may not be apparent for many years to come, and public attention so completely aroused that it can never thoroughly be exhausted any more. But how feeble and pulseless has this enthusiasm now become! Facts may have daunted it, rates have crushed it, and years modified it; but what a poor, decrepit, ghostly thing sanatory reform threatens to become, and how ratepayers resent every movement in advance as an attack upon their purses! It may not, perhaps, press so forcibly just now as at some future time, although the certainty of a crisis wherein our efforts will be severely tried is not doubted. How we shall then fare it remains to be seen.

There is nothing in Mr. Hollingshead's book either very novel or very startling. Its worst, as well as its truest feature, is that it is so old. The homely antiquity its revelations carry with them ought to make us sad, thoughtful, and retrospective. The lapse of twenty-one years has wrought many changes elsewhere, but few in the special province with which he deals. If we will compare the results he has obtained in the several districts he has visited, and arranges somewhat in the postal district manner, with those embodied in the Health of Towns Commission, as it touches upon London, we shall be surprised to find how much there is still to be done in each place, how a certain character will cling to it when once it has obtained a bad name, and what a vitality and steadiness of movement there is in dirt and squalor, driven from one neighbourhood only to settle in another, and running in various irregular tracts, or following a special class, with a stolidity and pertinacity that is as marvellous as it is momentous. Whether it is possible to thoroughly annihilate such evils we do not here inquire; we merely wish to call attention to this locality of poverty and its concomitant evils, and suggest a steadier inroad and more patient opposition.

Various causes operate in perpetuating as well as propagating this locality of pauperization. Overcrowding is unquestionably one of them. Whilst, for instance, at Lewisham and Plumstead, with a population of 34,835, the number of persons to an acre, according to the Census of 1851 (the recent one, unfortunately, is not yet to hand), was only 2, St. Olave's, Southwark, with a population of 19,375, showed 115 persons to the acre, St. Saviour's 143 to the acre, out of a population of 35,731, the number increasing

increasing as we reach more central districts, until in Holborn it is 238 out of 46,621, in St. Luke's 246 out of 54,055, and in the Strand 316 out of 45,000. Even this does not show the frightful overcrowding in courts and rows. According to a private census, taken by the Rev. Mr. M'Gill, December 19th, 1860, in the district of St. George's-in-the-East, in 235 small rooms there was crammed a growing, breeding population of 344 adults and 357 children, making a total of 701. The number of persons who live on an acre in James' Square division is about 134, in the Golden Square division 262; but in the Berwick Street division, near Regent Street, it reaches the enormous total of 432 to the acre. The inequality of rentals helps to huddle the population together. They will resort to cheap rooms, and consent to pay even so much as four shillings per week for one room, but the rush in the end raises instead of lessening the rents. The labourers, too, under the foolish but excusable idea that they ought to be near their work, will submit to any privation, crowding, or rentage, to avoid a walk to and from their labour that might give their lungs and limbs freer play, and even supply their minds with some little interest and instruction. In one of the houses in Pulteney Court, within a few hundred yards of Regent Street, Mr. Hollingshead found a most pertinent instance of the home-clinging spirit that even poverty fails to extinguish. The stench, within and without the house, was sickening. In one apartment, rented at three shillings per week, with its roof broken in in several places by the snow, he found a shoemaker, his wife, and three children. When questioned as to why he did not leave such a place, he replied that he had lived in the parish so long, and was so familiar with every one about him, that for him to remove would be like going into a foreign country. In another court in Clerkenwell was one even more romantic. In an old smithy, with its dismantled grindstone, rusty iron rings and keys, cobwebbed rafters, and generally dilapidated appearance, he discovered two grisly men, in spectacles, that might have sat to Quentin Matsys for his picture of the 'Misers.' One of them had been in the parish seventy years, and was loud in complaints of the decay of trade, whilst the other did not fail to catch up the old cry about the competition of 'furriners.' It is sad to be told that this very court, with all its stifling air and filth, was owned by a landlord who kept a missionary, as well as a medical man, seemingly to so small a purpose.

Unfortunately, as matters at present are, we find no help from the poor themselves in removing the evils that surround and almost entomb them. They resist changes in their habits with as much conservatism as they elsewhere display radicalism. Sometimes, we fear, they do it because they love their dirt and delight  
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in their loose freedom ; and when they do not impute to private individuals and public bodies motives of personal interest and aggrandisement, they imagine the license of their special vocations infringed upon and unnecessarily restricted by meddlesome officials and fussy visitors. Dirt is their inheritance, privilege, and glory. Occasionally they are honest enough not to dispute their right, and passively allow other people to do for them what they ought to do for themselves ; but at times they will not clear away the refuse at their very doors, if you pay them to do it, and nothing but physical or legal force will rouse them into the energy of cleanliness. This love of dirt is nothing less than a species of social and moral insanity that we must not expect to easily master. The cleanliness of persons who are insane is always regarded as the result of an improved mental habit, and filthiness *vice versâ*.

The two districts in which this accumulation of ordure and refuse matter exists on the largest scale, are the so-called Potteries at Kensington, and the district of Marylebone. The Kensington Potteries, as the marshy district lying in the dip between the villas at Bayswater and Notting Hill is denominated, are nearly in the same condition as they were ten years ago, and especially distinguished for filth, bad roads, low pot-houses, dilapidated huts, and a loose, rough, vagabond, semi-sporting kind of population. The chief nuisance is that caused by the pig-trainers of the district, who collect the refuse matter from club-houses and hotels to feed their pigs, and boil down its fat for sale, and who seem to have a strong social bond and vested interests in the nastinesses about them. They have a village Hampden, who did duty as chief spokesman against the 'Bayswater Chronicle' and the authoress of the little work entitled 'Ragged Homes, and How to Mend Them,' having especial reference to the Potteries, for what he called ignorant misrepresentation and unchristian abuse. He boasted that, as pig-trainers, they always paid twenty shillings in the pound, and neither lived in the mud, like swine, nor neglected to properly bring up their children ; and when any one had something to say against the place, he said, 'Let 'em meet me at the Temperance Hall, and I'll not shrink from 'em.' Perhaps the plucky man had some good cause for his defensive eloquence, for he continued, 'Look at that brick-field, which we calls the "hocean ;" there's nothing much the matter with that. A brick-field ain't a drawing-room. Well, a gent comes down here, and takes a pictur' of that brick-field, and makes it look a awful place. He puts in such huts as I never see, and makes out that all the roofs of our cottages is covered with cow-dung. Now, that ain't the way to go and talk about people, and show people up.' In the better parts of Marylebone a similar nuisance is rampant, only that the wretched poor who dwell in the midst of such degrading circumstances

stances are only partially independent, and manage to hang on when they can to the large mansions behind which they cluster in such closeness and squalor. All kinds of labourers and honest poor are gathered here, and some of the latter, to their praise be it written, are so determined in their resistance to parish relief that in January last, according to the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Keeling who watches over the district, nearly the entire poor, some five thousand in number, had most of their garments in pawn to provide themselves with necessities, rather than lose a certain self-respect. Low-built houses, with high rentals, and crowded to excess with families, are common enough. A few thieves and prostitutes, and a sprinkling of Irish, who invariably carry their national peculiarity with them wherever they go, lowering the character of the neighbourhood even when they do not increase its crimes, make up the sum of its villanies. But its common mews and choked drainage are its blackest features. Often some old livery stables will be let out to cabmen, manure-heaps will be collected in the yards, and the men, with their wives and families, will crowd the room over the stables, winter and summer alike, subject to all the noxious effluvia arising from stables never thoroughly cleansed, and sewers never doing more than half their work. Fever is common enough in this district, and an outbreak occurred in Burne Street, so recently as June last, attributable to a ventilating shaft in the common sewer which opened in front of the house, but will ere this be removed. But the main nuisance is still untouched. Dr. Thompson, the medical officer for the district, writes in the report for June: 'I beg to direct the attention of the vestry to the nuisance of accumulated manure. I estimate the number of dung-heaps in the parish at nearly two thousand, and I consider that, in the summer especially, manure ought to be removed daily. But owners and occupiers of stables state it to be impossible to comply with such suggestion under present arrangements. If the vestry had the power of contracting for its removal, as in the case of dust, much annoyance to the inhabitants, and even injury to health, might be avoided.'

Houses and neighbourhoods sink by degrees into this low and prostrate condition. They have their histories, like our criminals, and gloomy and sickening are their pages. When clean and new they may have sheltered a hard-working, thrifty class of labourers, artisans, and costermongers, or have been occupied as family mansions by city clerks and reputable people; but when once they sink into dirt and untidiness, with damp, mouldy walls, broken floors, and dilapidated exteriors, their descent is certain. Lower and lower their occupiers become; they are let out into tenements to different families; bad characters live in their recesses; they get well known to policemen, and the influence of a bad name will  
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hang about them like a pall, and cover even their more honest inhabitants with shame and suspicion. For the landlord is often careless. This degraded condition pays him well, and hence he is reluctant to make improvements. The rent for one room, occasionally inclusive of some broken furniture, averages some two shillings a week, and may rise to as much as four, according to the district and the character of the landlord. Very often such miserable hovels as those immediately round Westminster Abbey stand upon crown or church property, and their rental goes to pay the salaries of officials whose duty it is to create a better state of things. Even the poor gain something by this living in tenements. It is true, many young men bring home their wives to live with their parents in this sheepfold fashion, and prostitution is not uncommon; but, as Mr. Hollingshead observes, at a certain depth of degradation the worst places are purified from vice, not because either thieves or their women are converted in times of scarcity, but because they invariably shift their quarters. A family feeling generated by this living in tenements provides help one to the other in many ways. If the inhabitants of one room are out of work, the others may not be; and if one is unable to pay his rent when the landlord's official comes his punctual round, the others are always willing to help. There may be a small fire upstairs, if not below, when father, son, or mother returns home, cold and starved; and little bright ministrations of this kind touch up these dark habitations, until it almost seems as if the inherent worth of our human nature never could be crushed or annihilated. Yet this style of living is more than any other characteristic of a low morbid moral condition, whether we find it in town or country. Model lodging-houses are by no means exempt from it. It is, indeed, recorded of a nobleman, the Duke of Bedford, that he built several superior three-roomed cottages on his estate for the benefit of the crowded poor, but no sooner were they installed, each family in one house, than they let off the remaining two rooms to other families, as if it were impossible to resist their former habits.

This locality of ragged Londons—for each district is almost entitled to be considered an independent community, or at any rate a distinct parasitic growth—seems to be the great problem in the question. It is easy enough for each one to grow worse and wider, deeper and blacker, for there is no reparative process within itself; but how are they to be checked, walled in, or ploughed up by the roots? The evil perpetuates itself, when once a certain amount or plusage of degradation is reached. It is this we want to stop or effectually conquer. How shall we do it? Where may we not be carried by it, if we do not answer the question speedily, practically? Mr. Carlyle has grown eloquent, in his own fierce way, over the dark trade-shops where the poor cross tobacco-pipes

tobacco-pipes and red-herrings 'to keep the devil out.' It seems to us that we have almost as fierce a monster to deal with here. Grow it will, if we hinder it not, and that terrifically. We cannot expect Government to stand still, and do it broadly and thoroughly, nor special commissioners, nor poor-law boards, nor visiting societies, nor soup-kitchens, nor yet the self-immolation of noble, hard-working clergymen by the hundred or the thousand. As long as these institutions and these men work hard to remedy the defects of other people's neglect, money-worship, and brutal indifference, so long must we expect things to remain much as they are at present. It is necessary to be emphatic on this point, as it would be uncharitable and untruthful to be otherwise. They have done good, and none will dispute it; they have saved erring men and women, brightened dark hearts, and restored valuable lives, resurrected the weak to strength, and the feeble to manfulness; and carried peace and mercy where hate and envy, villany and crime, scowled and scuffled, raged and despaired. We can scarcely expect them to do more. Ceilings may have been whitewashed, roofs repaired, and drains tinkered into a gulping kind of activity; but it is too much to expect that narrow courts, choked-up lanes, badly-built houses, and disgusting habits should have been altogether eradicated. There is an end even to charity, as there is also to mercy, and what belongs to landowner and house-proprietor can never become the express duty of any body of men, civil or legal, local or national.

Men have looked much to one source for hope, and not without much show of reason. Building improvements, widened streets, and the parcelling out of these low, huddled localities for public purposes of one kind or other, it was hoped might clear away the evil, and in some magic Merlin manner result in untold tidiness and unimagined ideals. It was the first mistake all ragged philanthropists made, and continues to be the last. Here is evidence how completely practical men opposed the idea, under this very form, twenty years ago. In answer to a question on the point, Henry Austin, esq., architect, told the Commissioners—

'It is a favourite argument in favour of opening thoroughfares through densely crowded poor districts, the great blessing it will prove to the neighbourhood in distributing the inhabitants. In my opinion there cannot be a greater mistake. This crowded population may be displaced, but cannot be removed to a distance; for the nature or situation of the labourer's employment will invariably determine the locality of his habitation; and until, in carrying out such improvements, suitable accommodation is provided for the disturbed inhabitants, the evils of overcrowding in the immediate neighbourhood must be fearfully aggravated. In the disturbance of the population to make way for the Blackwall railway, I could not fail to observe that the same poor people continued to live in the immediate neighbourhood, which before was greatly overcrowded. Although this railway cleared away some of the vilest property in London, I do not hesitate to say that it was an injury to the neighbourhood. I observe that the medical officer speaks of this

this increased overcrowding as a cause of ill-health. It always must be so unless a provision be made for the disturbed inhabitants.\*

Mr. Hollingshead, with quite as much pertinency, if less authority, takes the same self-demonstrating view, regarding such improvements as nothing better than 'quieting doses for grumbling rate-payers, and schemes for benefiting one part of London at the expense of another.'

The remedy, then, is difficult to select. Where force shall end and spontaneity begin, and the influence of one body merge in that of another, is by no means easy to demonstrate. Surely something better than the present civilized black-holes are within the scope of human ingenuity, human power, and human aspiration. A certain amount of force must be generated somewhere for a momentum. It should begin outside, and be focalized inside, Parliament. We have said that certain parties and officials could not be expected to do it; we meant singly, and in virtue of their limitation as so construed. Acting in unison, without and within the law, they may do wonders, short of Cyclopæan walls and Merlin fortresses, bearing upon the real parties who can, who ought, who must do something to remedy this overcrowding and consequent social, moral, and national degeneracy. One scarcely knows how to frame a proposition, the matter is so difficult and so many-sided, and so many clashing interests rise up the moment we unite strong words in favour of movements so stern and uncompromising as these must be. Anyway, some great force must be brought to bear upon property-holders, house-builders, and even house-occupiers. If a house, say, were declared by a local inspector to be unfit to live in, and the landlord were duly served with a printed notice to the effect that if in a certain number of days it were not extensively refitted, or altogether pulled down, if the case demanded it, the board or vestry, by virtue of powers invested in it, should proceed to do the work, charge for the same, as also for what extra rent might be paid for premises to which the tenants were removed in the mean time, the case of the worst houses would seem to be met at once. Of course this appears a necessary and severe interference in the liberty of the house-holder, as well as the house-owner; but under these circumstances both seem justifiable. So long as a man is able to take care of himself, the State does not interfere; but when once he has demonstrated the contrary to be the case, then his freedom as an individual is sacrificed. So with house property. A less severe measure than this, as affixing the names of parties thus warned to the doors of the parish church, might suffice in some instances, but the stringency of the former leaves

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\* Health of Towns Commission. First Report. Vol. ii., p. 355.

less room for deception and delay. Of course things should not stop here. When public bodies—the Blackwall Railway Company, for instance—have, as they had, adjoining waste land that is suitable for building cottages and labourers' tenements upon, they should be required to make some attempts to shelter more perfectly and house more humanly the population they have displaced. With districts we do not see how matters can be altered at present. Reforms must be slow, continuous, from within outward. But when once we have rid such neighbourhoods of dens fit only for Spenserian dragons and fabled monsters with slimy feet, there is fair room for our benevolence and charity. We cannot make men clean by act of parliament, but at least we can make landowners just, house-proprietors regardful of others than themselves, and local vestries alive and stirring for more liberal purposes than mean rivalries and petty squabbles. We can go to work in a thousand ways, assured that however bad the courts and rows are getting that we frequent in our ministrations, the compulsory house amendment act will step in to assist us in our extremities. For several years it were vain to expect that Angel Yards, Rose Gardens, and Paradise Rows should reach more than the faintest resemblance to the character they imply; but it is only fair to calculate that we should be rid of those tumble-down, hook-and-eye, kind of buildings so familiar to every inspector and hard-working clergyman.

We know that the failure of many alms-house and model lodging-house schemes stands directly across the path of this sound-house better-tenant theory. But not so much so as seems at first sight. The comfortable houses built in different localities in the metropolis, at different times, and by different societies and private individuals, may have been appropriated by a class for whom they were never intended, and the alms-houses erected by charitable individuals for the old and indigent poor may be so much money badly laid out, where, amidst awful silence and endless gloom, men and women wear away their lives in an Indian gymnosophist contemplation of the nose-point of pauperism; but still these results cannot be fairly chargeable to anything but the mismanagement of such property, which is common enough in the hands of those who are neither business-like in their habits nor experienced in their calculations. The tendency of most charities is to misuse. But private landowners, backed by their own interests and the moral as well as pecuniary assistance of relieving societies afforded to their tenantry, should surely be enabled to secure for themselves what, on a smaller scale, and with manifest disadvantages, more irresponsible persons have failed in doing—good houses and good occupiers.

Next to rooting up poor and wretched houses comes another  
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and nobler duty, which perhaps should oftenest be placed first, or, at any rate, concurrently attempted. All the vile habits, the loose improvident living, and the clustering around poverty and crime as a necessary vital centre, have to be dealt with firmly, seriously, even sadly. A rise in the rate of wages may improve the physical condition of the poor, but it rarely does more; nay, it has been observed in Paris, as elsewhere, that high wages, without a proportionate mental training, invariably lead to increased immorality, imprudence, and even casual want, a feast one day and a fast the next. Some excellent tracts are now to be had for the purpose; and as soon as men and women will read them, an immense concession for good is made. Such tracts as Mrs. Bayly's and others ought to be literally sown broadcast over ragged London. With those hardened by habit and age we cannot hope to effect much; with the middle-aged, perhaps, our hopes are less as their passions are stronger, but we must prevent the extension of the influence of both, curb their propensities, and hedge about even their liberty, how dear soever it may seem to philosophic men like Mr. John Stuart Mill, since they are led by them to physical, mental, and moral death. The curtailment of their liberty, or rather license, is a significant matter. Yet it is to their good to submit and ours to be severe. All men like license, and those who cannot have it honestly will contrive to have it other ways. Mr. Grote, in his splendid History of Greece, when writing of the growing greatness of the Athenian people, remarks, that it is always an indication of a high rate of civilization when men, communities, or governments are content to forego present for future advantages; and Mr. Ruskin has eloquently maintained as a kind of parallel principle, that the higher the creature and the thing, the more honourable is its obedience and restraint—'the sun has no liberty, a dead leaf has much.' Here are the two grand political and civil lessons the hives of ragged London have to be taught. They will not forego any seeming advantage. They have acquired the notion—and it comes of their hand-to-mouth habits—that to live for to-day is better than caring for a hundred morrows, as in a certain sense, if the care and not the thought for good be meant, it is, and the loose lawlessness of a vagabond, floating, peddling life is the highest earthly as well as, for them, the only possible good. They do not so much want energy as direction, capacity, as concentration, consistency, as combination. Their children are allowed a reckless freedom that they may not bother their parents, are turned out to take their luck in the streets, and grow up with most of the vices of their parents, with many great and original additions. A sewer-hunter, an active, intelligent man, from whom Mr. Mayhew derived much interesting information about his class, and  
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who originally came from Birmingham, puts the idea of a love of licence which we have indicated in an unmistakeable manner. He first remembered himself as a child fast sinking in the mud at Cuckold's Point. He was soon after apprenticed to a blacksmith in Bermondsey, whence he ran away, as he could not idle by the river when he liked. He concludes his narrative thus: 'The reason I likes this sort of life is 'cause I can sit down when I likes, and nobody can't order me about. When I'm hard up, I knows as how I must work, and then I goes at it like sticks a-breaking.'

This is by no means an exceptional, although rather an exaggerated instance of that peculiar desire which generates so much of the peddling of the metropolis, together with a variety of other employments known only in the slang terms of their followers. It will be difficult enough to control this perverted barbarism or nomadic habit, and can never be thoroughly accomplished except in the young, so that all endeavours to settle the more intelligent adults in lucrative and industrial pursuits will be fruitless. There is, in fact, an inward as well as an outward civilization to be accomplished. Our city Arabs exhibit the same defects and virtues as their prototypes of the desert, only that the condition of the former is made worse by its being a retrogression from civilization. They have their social life, such as it is, their fellow-feeling, their rough graces, somewhat even of their hospitality, but there is so much else that is repulsive, mean, and corrupt, that one almost prefers an uncivilized Arab, a fierce Hottentot, or a naked Bechuana to the filthy ragged specimens of nineteenth-century nomads that may be seen in any hour's walk in the midst of the highest and purest civilization of the world.

Our task, then, is plain, as it is homely and common. There is no new way. When the Parliamentary Committee of 1816 sat to inquire into the subject of pauperism and crime, all facts and opinions went to show that the amount of poverty and crime depended almost wholly on the character and habits acquired by the young. All the evidence accumulated from public and private sources since that date has confirmed it. All speculations into the origin of crime, the sources of physical degeneracy, of mental as well as moral aberration, have failed in the same direction; and all ripe, honest, genuinely successful efforts in the way of amelioration have commenced there. The young have recently acquired an importance they have never had since the world began. They have formed the staple themes of philosophers and divines, orators, poets, and novelists. Never before was so large an amount of genius and talent devoted to their service, or engaged in speculations upon their improvement and destinies. The Cossack of the Don, and the peasant of the Tyrol, expend their ingenuity to brighten

brighten their leisure hours ; acute Germans and brilliant Frenchmen are content to dissect their own minds and memories, to trot them through sciences, old and new, on almost royal roads ; charitable and manly speculators are forming their schools, their gymnasiums, their universities for a knowledge of common things ; and wherever we go we are prepared to hail the existence of the young as a sign of material as well as moral prosperity. This is certainly an advance, even upon Plato's time. No matter how old a world or a nation may be, so long as it is alive to the interest and well-being of its youthful population, it is renewing its own youth, defying decay, and rising to the full measure of a brighter civilization and a more intelligent life.

It may not be our only hope in dealing with the moral aspect of the questions in hand, but it is our best. We are long in building, but we build on sunken piers. Severe as it may be for the urchins accustomed to roam at large to be penned in a schoolroom for a few hours, it is best and quickest drill for them if they are to be made men. London is by no means behind in her provisions for those who will learn and work. She has now some one hundred and fifty ragged schools, containing something like twenty thousand children. There is, however, a rather striking deficiency in reformatories for such as have made a false start in life ; and there is, consequently, a larger class of evilly-disposed boys than is to be found in our other centres of population. A few more reformatories, and a few years' discipline, would thin this class very much, if it did not at once check it and stifle it. In his recent report on reformatories, we are glad to observe that Mr. Sydney Turner does not fail to remark this, and concludes his suggestions by observing that 'elsewhere such lads are rarely met with, and in the metropolis they would soon disappear before such continuous and consistent action on the part of the magistrates and the police as have been brought to bear in Liverpool, Leeds, and Manchester.' We heartily wish this may be the case. Meanwhile, the existing machinery may do much. So much patience, good-humour, tact, and adroitness in avoiding dangerous topics cannot but issue in a healthier mental and moral stamina. We hear no complaints of a lack of acuteness in either ragged schools or reformatories. When lads are sent forth costermongering, anxious for their over-money or 'bunse,' as it is called, and therefore using all manner of means to get exorbitant prices, their wits may never be supposed to lie dormant. Their wit and precocity, however, is rather of an obstructive than helpful kind. It is, after all, but a low type of intellect, which is often mistaken in men of apparent, but, in reality, no education, for shrewdness and deep penetration, when it is nothing more than cunning—a kind of impure instinct and defaced intelligence. Yet there is ignorance enough to try all the patience and

and good temper of masters and teachers. The old master street-seller might be right when he said, 'All a fellow wants to know to sell potatoes is to tell how many tanners make a bob, and how many yennaps (pence) a tanner;' but to brace up a young mind fresh from so much corruption, and familiar with so much degradation, and teach its possessor to see himself aright, his duty, and his fellow-men, much more is required, as verily there shall be more reward for its well-doing. Some of the boys whose histories Mr. Mayhew has detailed have done well as their chances have improved, and they have reversed their previous habits.

The boys, indeed, are more manageable than girls. This is sad enough to state, but is too plainly true. Most of the confirmed criminals now in our prisons are women; and Mr. Turner admits that girls are more difficult to manage in reformatories than boys. It may arise from their previous habits, and from the comparatively small number who can really follow any employment when living in honesty at home. They can sell articles, but cannot work. Mr. Mayhew says—and we have no reason to doubt his word—'To be a domestic servant, or a barmaid in a beerhouse, or a poor, badly-paid seamstress, is neither very inviting nor very lucrative.' That so many of them should turn aside into evil ways is not marvellous. So much filth, overcrowding, and disregard of commonest decency and cleanliness, issues, almost ere many are aware, in making them what they certainly never placed before themselves as an end, or even whispered to themselves as a secret wish. A temporary refuge for females, started by the Incumbent of St. Jude, in Boar's Head Yard, Petticoat Lane, in May, 1860, is spoken of by Mr. Hollingshead as having afforded temporary shelter to sixty-four young women, of whom sixteen are doing well in situations, seven have been restored to their friends, one is married, one dead, nineteen have been sent to other institutions; and of the remaining twenty-eight, eight are now in the refuge, and the others have left, some as failures, and others as uncertain and unaccountable. It is self-supporting, and managed by a committee of ladies. Mr. Mayhew records a touching incident, bearing upon the virtue of a poor, peddling Irishwoman. Her parents both died soon after she came to London; but on her death-bed the mother said to her in a low, earnest tone, 'Mary, my darlint, if you starruve, be vartuous. Rimimber poor Illen's funeral.' This was a poor relative, who died unmarried, at a lying-in hospital; and as the coffin was carried into the churchyard to be buried, it was met by a brother who had not seen his sister for some time, and wanted to see her. The coffin was opened, and, bad man as he himself was, he cursed her fiercely. 'It made me ill,' said the poor woman, 'to see Illen in her coffin, and hear him curse her, and I've remembered it ever since.'

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When once we have fairly instilled into the minds and hearts of the young such counsel as will stimulate them to honest work, it is our duty to find it them. This is easier with the boys than the girls, owing to many causes beyond our present province. Clothing and pecuniary assistance may be given at starting, but they should be led to understand that while an interest will always be felt in them, they cannot look towards charity for supplies to meet the defects of their own industry and thrift. The grand mainspring and motive power of their lives must be an inward, self-reliant, self-assertorial one. Heaven helps those who help themselves, and all the laws and ordinances of the universe so play and interplay in God's beneficence and law, that sooner or later work must end in victory. No good can come of them so long as they look back, look aside, or look down. There must be no lazy love for charitable homes and parish workhouses. All must be open, earnest, and transparent. Work, and work alone, shall be to them a holy worship, whereby they may toil out of murk and misery into thrift and contentment. As a rule, the poor, both young and old, are not and cannot be so lazy as in our ignorance we often imagine. It is pleasing to be told of the flourishing nature of such an institution as the Christ Church Penny Bank, in the district of St. George's-in-the-East, with its last year's receipt of 944*l.*; and also that there is a very large amount of modest, unobtrusive poor, who seldom clamour at police courts, crowd the soup-kitchens, or hurry theatrically to the workhouse, but who are always willing to work when they can get it, and will tramp miles through mire, and wind, and rain, to secure their bit of leather or strip of cloth, hurrying home joyfully as with precious treasure. It makes the future more hopeful when we find examples amongst the older and mature of what we are so anxious to impress upon the young and tender in experience. Such virtue, like its counterpart, may have to be dug out by frequent visits and patient querists; but its very existence is significant and cheering, and fruitful in suggestions that cannot be overlooked even if they are never realized.

There are many other considerations opening out of Mr. Hollingshead's volume, as also Mr. Mayhew's, which we cannot now discuss, and many special topics requiring lengthy and exhaustive treatment. Moderate in our wishes as well as in our hopes, we are neither inclined to be despairing nor joyful over the peculiar features of our great city life these works have unveiled. But we have still many reasons for believing that whosoever will write the history of the ragged London of 1871, will reveal a more brightening condition and a more wholesome atmosphere, moral as well as mental, in the dark places that hide our fellow men and women from the light of day, the light of truth, and the light of God.

- ART. II.—1. *John Angell James: a Review of his History, Character, Eloquence, and Literary Labours.* By John Campbell, D.D., Author of the ‘Martyr of Erromanga,’ &c. London: Shaw. 1860.
2. *The Life and Letters of the Rev. John Angell James; including an Unfinished Autobiography.* Edited by the Rev. R. W. Dale, M.A., his Colleague and Successor. Third edition. London: Nisbet & Co. 1861.

SIR JOHN STODDART makes the following remarks in his admirable ‘Introduction to Universal History:’ ‘If the attention of mankind is strongly drawn to the contemplation of great actions, it is perhaps still more forcibly attracted to that of remarkable *persons*. There is no object so interesting to man as man. There is no glass in which we can so well dress our moral nature. There is nothing that so fully enables us to obey the famous oracle, “Know thyself.” There are no such effectual means to stir up our latent powers; to kindle passions unknown even to ourselves; and to impel us to act by showing us that we possess the means of action. If Cæsar wept before the statue of Alexander; if Burns felt the enthusiasm of a patriot possess his whole soul in perusing the valiant deeds of William Wallace; if the benevolence of the Roman Catholic has been kindled by the example of St. Vincent de Paul; if the British sailor will for ages to come feel his heart beat at the name of Nelson,—all this, and a thousand times more, is owing to that most fascinating species of history which is called biography.’ How much ministerial devotedness may be traced to similar influences! The study of the life of a man of God has led many invested with the sacred office to emulate the virtues, and to imitate the labours of the holy and useful ministers of Christ. More perhaps has this been the case from the biographies of the good than of the great, of the earnest evangelist rather than of the profound divine. The means of doing good which such possessed are more within the range of other men than are the lofty powers of thought which belong to the great, and which place them on a pinnacle of eminence too high for ordinary men to attain. John Angell James was one of these earnest and eminently useful men. Without learning or philosophy, with modest pretensions and ordinary powers, he attained an eminence and a ministerial success such as few in the ministry reach. His life, therefore, has a surpassing interest. ‘I set out in my ministry, even when a student,’ he said, ‘with the idea of *usefulness* so deeply imprinted on my heart, and so constantly present to my thoughts, that I could never lose sight of it long together; and I mean usefulness of one kind—that is, the direct

conversion of souls.' It pleased God to fulfil, in a large measure, this idea of his life and labour.

He was born at Blandford Forum, Dorsetshire, on 6th June, 1785, of humble but respectable parents. Like most men who have been eminent and honoured in the Church of Christ, he had a godly mother, who was wont to take her children to her chamber, and, with each separately, to pray for the salvation of their souls. This exercise, while fulfilling her own responsibility, was moulding the character of her children, and most, if not all, of them rose up to call her blessed. When did such means ever fail?

Another circumstance tended to his Christian decision. When apprenticed to a linendraper, at Poole, young James discontinued his daily prayers, from a sense of shame. But a new apprentice, who had lately joined the establishment, and who occupied the same room with him and the other apprentices, knelt down in his presence to seek his father's God. This faithfulness reproved the transgressor, and from that night he recommenced the practice which his mother taught him. He never left it off again. Conscience was henceforth at work, and filial piety passed into personal religion. In this transition the youth was aided by an aged shoemaker in the town, whose soul yearned after the young. John Angell James became a visitor at the old disciple's, and ere long his voice occasionally led the supplications of the little company in that good man's house. The circumstances connected with his first effort Mr. James mentions in his autobiographic sketch: 'In order to take off all fear from my mind, he requested me, the first time I prayed, to go and stand in a place that was boarded off, in which coals and other matters were kept. Here, in this dark corner, I stood to pour out an audible prayer for the first time with a fellow-creature.' His religious impressions were greatly deepened at this time by a sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Sibree, of Frome, from these words: 'Therefore will the Lord wait that he may be gracious unto you.' (Isa. xxx. 18.) Good books and good company aided the growing piety of the young apprentice, and he was induced to take a part in Sabbath-school teaching—a means of usefulness which has often reacted upon the religious convictions of youthful converts. While engaging in this work, a desire arose in his mind to become a minister of Christ.

When his mother discovered his serious impressions by observing a pocket Bible in his coat, her heart was overjoyed. It was to his sister, however, that he most freely communicated his religious thoughts. His letters home now became Christian. The new individuality pressed itself on paper; and his sister, who corresponded with him, had the joy of recognizing a brother in Christ in her brother by blood. She showed some of his letters to the Rev. Mr. Bennett, then of Romsey, where she was on a visit  
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to a friend. Impressed by their evidences of ability and zeal, he suggested that the writer might be useful in the ministry of the gospel. To this the young tradesman responded, and, when the objections of his father were overruled, he became a pupil in the academy of Dr. Bogue, of Gosport, in the end of the year 1802.

Dr. Bogue was chiefly occupied with the preparation of young men for missionary work abroad. He had been the principal originator of the Missionary Society, to which the name 'London' was afterwards prefixed. Mr. Robert Haldane, whose name is inseparably associated with the revival of the work of the Lord in the beginning of this century, gave a hundred pounds a year towards the maintenance of ten young men at Dr. Bogue's academy. This sum was supplemented by two hundred more by the liberality of Christian gentlemen in Hampshire. Mr. James was received as one of the scholars on this foundation. He had several missionary candidates as his fellow-students, among whom we may name Dr. Morrison, afterwards of China. The course of instruction at Gosport was theology. Dr. Bogue was not a scholar, though possessed of more academic learning than many of his contemporaries in the dissenting ministry. He was anxious to make his students preachers, not scholars. Most of them had a scanty stock of preparatory education, and made more progress in theology than in literature or science. Mr. James was one of these; but he ever afterwards lamented the want of elementary scholarship, and did his utmost, as we shall learn, in his subsequent history, to establish and encourage well-equipped colleges for candidates for the ministry.

Mr. James had not been baptized in youth, on account of the scruples of his mother on that point; he was therefore received into the church of Dr. Bogue by this initiatory ordinance. He was young; but he was decided, and took his place among the band of future ministers and missionaries. At that time evangelical preachers were scarce, and students for the ministry were fully employed in preaching—an exercise, within certain limits, and subordinate to studies, of great value in schools of the prophets.

Mr. James early showed aptness to teach, and received invitations to the pastoral charge of several congregations ere his studies were finished. One of them was the scene of his life-long labour. In the year 1804, he went to Birmingham for a month, on the recommendation of his friend Mr. Bennett, who had preached there on his wedding tour. The month's services won the affections of the congregation, and they entreated him earnestly to return as their pastor when his theological course was terminated. He was ordained on the 8th May, 1805. 'It was,' he said afterwards, 'a solemn and delightful day. The Church had gone through

much trouble, but now seemed to see happier days approaching. The old men wept for joy; the young men rejoiced in hope.' The congregation was small, not quite two hundred, and the members only forty. For seven years, though he preached thrice every Sabbath, and laboured otherwise, there was a very small increase. His earnest preaching had little fruit, and his prayers seemed unavailing. But he did not remove, though he felt greatly discouraged. He was strengthened by the counsels of his friends, and, above all, by the assiduous appeals of his wife, not to desert his post. He was married to her on December 2nd, 1805, and found in her an helpmeet becoming a minister. She firmly set herself against his leaving Birmingham till he could see his way out as clearly as he had done into it. At length patience had her perfect work, and in the eighth year of his ministry the chapel had to be enlarged. Six years afterwards it had to be rebuilt to hold eighteen hundred people, and from that time to his death it was full.

These seven years had not been lost. Mr. James had cultivated all his powers with great assiduity. Without having a liberal education, he made himself master of the English language, and an accomplished expounder of Scripture. He threw his whole soul into whatever he did, and hence he did all things well. His *preaching* was eminently evangelical. Christ was the alpha and omega of his ministry. The fulness of the gospel overflowed in all his services. The many-sidedness of sacred truth characterized his expositions. But it may be said he never lost sight of the grand object of his office as a preacher—the conversion of souls. As an ambassador of Christ he besought men to be reconciled to God. In one of his books, 'An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times,' he referred to this in these words: 'If, without any offence of the law of modesty, I may refer to my own history, labour, and success, I would observe that I began my ministry, even as a student, with a strong desire after this object; and long before this, while yet a youth engaged in secular concerns, I had been deeply susceptible of the power of an awakening style of preaching, which was strengthened by the perusal of the rousing sermons of Dr. Davies, of New Jersey. From that time to the present, I have made the conversion of the impenitent *the* great end of my ministry, and I have had my reward.' Baxter's 'Reformed Pastor' was the handbook of his ministry; and according to the high ideal of earnestness and fidelity sketched in that powerful book, did he labour in the Lord.

Mr. James used to the best advantage his abilities to preach. He acquired a habit of good speaking, in addition to the natural eloquence with which he was endowed. He delivered his sermons without *reading*. He spoke with singular intelligence, and un-  
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folded the truth with clearness. He evidenced real emotion, tender sympathy for souls, and intense anxiety to win sinners to the Saviour. His prayers corresponded with his preaching. 'If entreating and beseeching importunity,' he said, 'be proper in dealing with sinners for God, can it be less so in dealing with God for sinners? Our flocks should be witnesses of both these, and hear not only how we speak to them, but how we plead with God for them; should be the auditors of our agonizing intercession on their behalf; and be convinced how true is our declaration that we have them in our hearts.' This was not done in a priestly way for them; for he endeavoured to gather up and express the desires of his people when he led their prayers. Such ought to be the character of public preaching and prayer. When we consider the high design of the ministerial office, the truth with which it deals, the solemn responsibility entailed on it, and the precious opportunity afforded from time to time to reach the hearts of men, it is far too solemn, and the issues are too tremendous, to be done lightly, without thorough preparation, conscientious employment of the best powers, and believing supplication for divine aid. In a very quaint way, Dr. Campbell tells us, Mr. James once took occasion, while addressing the students of Spring Hill College, to express his sense of the essential qualifications which all preachers should have: '1st, *Brains*, to take in all the Latin, Greek, and logic you can receive, or your professors give. 2nd, *Bowels*; for intellectual power without pathos and tenderness in preaching will not succeed; preach with sympathy and feeling, not as reproaching men. And, 3rd, *Bellows*, also, you must have; and without you give full exercise to your breathing apparatus, by frequent platform and pulpit exercises, you will not be efficient ministers. Get out of doors in the summer months, and give free play to your lungs in the open air; and make all your classical attainments bear on the one great object—saving souls.'

His popularity rapidly increased after he had really made his power as a preacher felt in Birmingham. It speedily reached London, and he was induced to appear there as an advocate of the missionary cause. A speech which he delivered in his own town on behalf of the Bible Society made a very great impression, and was extensively circulated as a tract by the London Committee. These things led to an invitation to settle in London as early as 1815, but he remained with his first charge.

In 1817 he passed through much illness, and in 1819 was bereaved of his wife. In the last-mentioned year he was invited to preach the annual sermon on behalf of the London Missionary Society, in one of the chapels of the metropolis. The sermon was then as much the object of public interest at religious anniversaries as the speeches at Exeter Hall are now. A very large congrega-  
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tion assembled to hear him, as his fame had preceded him. His sermon was equal to the occasion, and brought him to the zenith of his popularity. For two hours he held the people in rapt attention, and made a deep impression on their minds while he pleaded for their enlarged liberality and interest in the many millions of Eastern idolaters. He brought forward five petitions, which he pressed upon the hearts of his auditors :—

‘The first,’ he said, ‘is uttered in the groans of six hundred millions of human beings, who, as they pass before you on their way to eternity, repeat that imploring language, “Come over, and help us!” The second is from several hundred missionaries, who, looking around upon the immeasurable scene of their labours, urge the admonitions of their Master, “The harvest is great, but the labourers few; pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that he would send more labourers into his harvest.” The third is from the directors, “stating that their expenditure this year has exceeded their receipts above five thousand pounds, and entreating that they may not be forced to slacken their exertions for want of funds to support them, which must inevitably be the case unless they are encouraged to go forward by increased liberality on the part of their constituents.” The fourth is from heaven, borne to us by the spirits of departed missionaries who hover over our assembly this morning, “beseeching us to carry on with renewed vigour that cause in which they sacrificed their lives, and the magnitude and importance of which, amidst all their zeal for its interests, they never perfectly knew till they were surrounded with the scenes of the eternal world.” The fifth is—will you believe it?—from hell. Yes, directed to your hearts in the shriek of despair, comes the solicitation of many a lost soul in prison, “Oh, send a missionary to my father’s house, where I have got five brethren, that he may testify to them, that they come not to this place of torment.” You cannot reply to this, “They have Moses and the prophets; let them hear them.”

What Christian mind can withstand these appeals?

In the year 1822 Mr. James married again. He was led to one who possessed many qualifications for being a minister’s wife. She brought him an ample fortune; but as in her widowhood, so in her married life, it was her study to be liberal. Her husband seconded her benevolent views with his whole heart, and throughout his life gave ample illustration of his beneficence. By his first wife he had surviving only a son and daughter. The latter was an invalid. The second Mrs. James had no family; but she was a mother to his children. He was bereaved of her in 1841.

Mr. James early devoted himself to authorship; and all his works are full of evangelical truth pressed home to the conscience with much fervour and point. They are his ministry applied to the press, and by which he, ‘being dead, yet speaketh.’ When many who occupied the pulpits throughout the land looked coldly upon Sabbath-schools, Mr. James gave them his support, and encouraged those earnest labourers who entered upon the work of benevolent teaching. So early as 1815 he prepared a work specially for the use of this class, which is still fitted to be ‘The Sunday-school Teacher’s Guide.’ ‘By a most fatal error,’ he says in his ‘Earnest Ministry,’ ‘too many of our ministers deem these institutions as either beyond their duties, or below their notice. They are neither. . . . No one who ever threw his mind and heart into

into his Sunday-schools had to complain that he laboured in vain, or spent his strength for nought. No part of ministerial labour yields a quicker or a larger reward.'

This small treatise arose out of an address delivered at the formation of a Sunday-school Union for Birmingham, and is now in its twentieth edition.

'The Anxious Inquirer' alone will carry his name to latest posterity. It was published in 1834, and has already had a circulation of upwards of half a million copies in the English language, and it has been translated into Welsh, German, Italian, and French. Very many souls have found the way to Christ by its blessed pages. His 'Pastoral Addresses,' originally intended for his congregation, have been circulated to the extent of a million copies. His 'Young Man from Home,' a most admirable book to put into the hand of a youth as he leaves for business, has already reached 88,000 persons, each of whom may have given several others a perusal. For young women, too, he prepared an admirable Guide; and parents, teachers, church members, and ministers have each received his counsels in a book. He has comforted the widow by a seasonable work. He has expounded and commended the graces, 'Faith, Hope, and Charity' in separate volumes. Sermons and tracts have frequently issued from his prolific pen, and circulated over a large portion of the Church in this land and in America.

Since his decease, his works have been collected into eleven volumes, edited by his son. The smaller books and tracts published by the Religious Tract Society are not included in the new edition, as they belong to the Society. They have had a marvellous circulation. At his death the following calculation was made, which may interest our readers, and illustrate the influence for good which belongs to the press in the hands of the noble Society which now enriches the world with its publications:—

Anxious Inquirer . . . . .	456,421	
Royal Edition . . . . .	20,217	
32mo. . . . .	101,227	
Welsh . . . . .	7,710	
Italian . . . . .	160	
German . . . . .	429	
French . . . . .	279	
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Pastoral Addresses . . . . .		1,049,319
Young Man from Home. . . . .		88,001
Christian Progress. . . . .		37,817
Believe and be Saved, 32mo. . . . .		30,260
Path to the Bush . . . . .		13,813
Elizabeth Bales . . . . .		8,262
Tracts:—Believe and be Saved. . . . .		450,900
Your Great Concern . . . . .		128,250
The Pious Collier . . . . .		121,575
The Man that killed his Neighbour . . . . .		416,310
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Total . . . . .		2,930,950

Is not this an amazing multiplication of a preacher's ability? Nor is it confined to the author's lifetime. Mr. Angell James will go on preaching Christ by means of these works for ages yet to come, until the mystery of God is finished. The English language is being extended over a vast portion of the world. With that language goes the missionary of the cross, the word of God, and a Christian literature. 'The Anxious Inquirer' accompanies the preacher's message, and is read at home; and thus the pastor of Carr's Lane Chapel continues to preach, and many souls will hail him in the kingdom as their spiritual father. America, too, has aided the circulation of his works over the length and breadth of that mighty continent. More copies have been published there than even in England.

Many most interesting testimonies came to Mr. James of the usefulness of his books in the conversion of souls. 'One instance,' he says, 'out of many I may here relate. In one of the back settlements of America, where a stated ministry had not yet been fixed, a single copy of "The Anxious Inquirer" had found its way. It was lent from one person to another, and seven-and-twenty persons were thus hopefully converted to God by the perusal of the solitary copy found among them.' Not a few of those who are now in the Christian ministry in various branches of the Church have confessed that their first serious impressions arose from the perusal of this work. How many more have had their first love rekindled, and their ministry revived by the earnest appeals of the work which Mr. James specially addressed to his brethren in the sacred office—'An Earnest Ministry the Want of the Times!'

To his latest day his pen was employed; and a very interesting sketch of the Rev. Richard Knill was written shortly before his death. Throughout all his works he is the same plain, practical preacher, ever aiming at the conversion of sinners, and urging professors of Christ to adorn the vocation in their daily walk and in the relationships of life.

Under such preaching as we have described, and as may be read in these practical works, many of his hearers were awakened and edified. His congregation was large, and about a thousand communicants belonged to the Church. Throughout the long period of his ministry he had happy relations with his people, and retained their respect.

He developed the liberality, missionary zeal, and general usefulness of his congregation, in every way where there was an opening for Christian effort. His own statement supplies the result of this.

'When I became pastor of my church, more than fifty-three years ago, the only object of congregational benevolence and action was the Sunday-school, which was then conducted in a private house, hired for the purpose. There was nothing else;

else; literally nothing to set our hands to. We had not then taken up even the Missionary Society. We have now an organization for the London Missionary Society, which raises, as its regular contribution, nearly 500*l.* per annum, besides occasional donations to meet special appeals, which, upon an average, may make up another 100*l.* a year. For the Colonial Missionary Society we raise annually 70*l.* For our Sunday and day schools, which comprehend nearly 2000 children, we raise 200*l.* Our ladies conduct a working Society for Orphan Mission Schools in the East Indies, the proceeds of which reach, on an average, 50*l.* a year; they sustain also a Dorcas Society for the poor of our town; a Maternal Society, of many branches, in various localities; and a Female Benevolent Society for Visiting the Sick Poor. We have a Religious Tract Society, which employs ninety distributors, and spends 50*l.* nearly a year in the purchase of tracts. Our Village Preachers' Society, which employs twelve or fourteen lay agents, costs us scarcely anything. We raise 60*l.* annually for the County Association. We have a Young Men's Brotherly Society, for general and religious improvement, with a library of 2000 volumes. We have also night-schools for young men and women, at small cost, and Bible-classes for other young men and women. In addition to all this, we raise 100*l.* per annum for Spring Hill College. We have laid out 23,000*l.* in improving the old chapel and building the new one; in the erection of school-rooms, the college, and in building seven country and town small chapels. We have also formed two separate Independent churches, and have, jointly with another congregation, formed a third, and all but set up a fourth; and are at this time in treaty for two pieces of freehold land, which will cost 700*l.*, to build two more chapels in the suburbs of the town.

During that period of fifty-three years, how many souls have been brought to God! The great day only will declare the result of an earnest ministry, carried on successfully during half a century.

He took a great interest in the establishment of Spring Hill College, an institution for training young men for the ministry, near Birmingham. He collected for it, preached for it, and watched over it with a parental care.

'Sometimes,' says his biographer, 'though not often, he begged in vain; sometimes he was confounded by his success. On one occasion, he called on a gentleman of great wealth and equal eccentricity, from whom he was very doubtful whether he should obtain a single guinea. Mr. James's friends had told him that it was certain his visit would be a failure; however, he was not quite hopeless. The gentleman received him quietly, listened to his pleading without manifesting much interest, and then rose, and said: "Well, I will give you a cheque for 5000*l.*" "Did I understand you, rightly, sir?" was the reply. "Yes, 5000*l.*" was the rejoinder.'

After the college was established, Mr. James was elected Chairman of the Board of Education. He evinced a lively interest in the students, and was in the habit of inviting some of them to his house on Saturdays to dine with him. On these occasions he conversed freely with them respecting their prospects, and they prayed together before separation. He had a strong conviction of the duty which senior ministers owed to those aspiring to the work of the Gospel, and he carried out his views among the Spring Hill students. In a conference on the subject of ministerial education, held in London in 1845, he expressed his views to his brethren, and urged their adoption of a plan similar to his own. We are persuaded of its paramount importance in reference to the Church of

of the future. 'Verily,' said Mr. James, 'we have no need to wonder, and no right to complain, that our rising ministry fall below some of the older ones, if the older ones do not take pains to make them better than themselves. It was said of Earl St. Vincent, under whom Nelson was a pupil in the art of naval war, that he formed a greater hero than himself, and then admired him without envy. So ought it to be with the senior pastors of our churches.'

That he succeeded in the object he aimed at is undoubted. Almost all the students who shared his hospitality and intercourse felt better for the contact with this holy and earnest man. One who has given expression to his reminiscences declares: 'Our own earliest and best impressions were revived and intensified, and we ourselves were led to express our convictions of the sacredness of the ministry as a testimony and entreaty of reconciliation between an offended God and perishing men. We could not help seeing how right it was to hold fast to the fundamental doctrines of repentance, regeneration, and faith in our Saviour Jesus Christ.'

Another, in stating his experience, says: 'I will enumerate, as I can hastily recall them, the principal elements of Mr. James's influence upon myself. First among these, undoubtedly, was his character. I never knew one in whom I saw so much of the mind that was in Christ; so much of the beauty, and, I will add, the grandeur of the Christ-like character, and saw it so uniformly as in Mr. James. If I have since felt any ardent longings to possess it myself, I cannot forget that his example was one precious means of their becoming what they have been. The individual traits of excellence that I especially observed in him were—the realizing sense which his faith gave him of eternal things, his unrelapsing spiritual-mindedness, his never-halting pursuit of the things which are before, his studied avoidance of everything bordering on the selfish or the mean; his sedulous practice of the things that are true and honest, just and pure, lovely and of good report; his tenderness, that was so ready to weep with them that weep; his magnanimity, that the slimy trail of envy never defiled; his charity, that might have furnished the apostle with his memorable description of that grace; his circumspection, his prudence, his never-tiring industry; his intense zeal for the conversion of the heathen; and his much more than negative, his intensely positive catholicity of spirit towards all, of every name, who hold the head, and who keep the commandments of Jesus.'

Such influences as are here acknowledged could not fail to mould young men, and give a more serious tone to their character and ministry. It is this we want for all; and those who occupy high places in the Church have the opportunity, and theirs is the responsibility of performing such a service. It is seriously to be  
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desired that the lesson which Mr. James's life on this point gives may have its wholesome effect. Generations to come in the Church of Christ would be indebted to the influence.

The missionary spirit of Mr. James was begun at Gosport by the associations he formed with students who were devoted to the work of the Gospel in heathen lands. Never did that spirit flag throughout his whole career. Indeed it was fanned, until it flamed into a consuming passion. In his early ministry he felt strongly the importance of sending missionaries into the populous fields of India and China; and he remonstrated with the directors of the London Missionary Society for their preference of the South Sea Islands, where the population was comparatively thin. He urged this in his celebrated missionary sermon. He kept it before his own mind and the public; and when the Chinese revolution excited such interest in 1852, he took up the suggestion made to him by Thomas Thompson, Esq., of Poundsford Park, to send a million of New Testaments to China. He wrote many letters on the subject, and induced the British and Foreign Bible Society to adopt the scheme. The result of his appeal was a fund capable of affording twice the number of Testaments required! Very many of these have been circulated. Very many more are still waiting the means of distribution. It is easier to provide Testaments in Chinese than to obtain agents to take them to the homes of the people. One of Mr. James's last pamphlets was an earnest appeal to the British and American Churches to send labourers to China. He embraced in the circle of his Christian charity the benighted millions of that distant empire, and laboured hard to imbue others with his views and feelings. The Church is slow to respond. There are not enough of men ready to accept the call. Let the Christian people then pray the Lord of the harvest to send out—literally to press out—labourers to his harvest.

The Evangelical Alliance was one of Mr. James's catholic projects. He anticipated more from such an union of brethren of all evangelical denominations than has been realized; but he enjoyed the fellowship which its meetings afforded. The time was scarcely come for the full and unrestrained communion of saints. It is sad, it is shameful, it is sinful that it should be so.

Nor less attached to his own denomination that he was so catholic in his sympathies; he was one of the original proposers of the Congregational Union, and did much to promote its annual assemblies and real efficiency. Some occasionally thought he was not sufficiently nonconformist; but he had his controversies on that very point, and defended his own principles. He was a thorough puritan, and a hearty dissenter; but was not so political in his dissent as some. He was never ashamed of his party; but he rejoiced in opportunities to meet with ministers and members of other  
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other branches of the Church. In the early period of his ministry at Birmingham, his most congenial fellow-labourers were in the Established Church, and he always continued on the most cordial terms with them.

For six years before his death, Mr. James had a colleague in his ministry, with whom he continued to labour, both in counsel and in preaching, with great happiness and peace. In 1855, he reached his jubilee, when he received the congratulations of his congregation and the Christian people of the country. All denominations had an interest in him, and he was beloved by all. In 1859, he felt his strength failing, and he bade farewell to most of the associations with which he had been connected. In the autumn of the year he was poorly; but rallied so much, that on the Sabbath morning before his death he preached at Edgbaston chapel, and in the evening worshipped at Carr's Lane. He had prepared a sermon for his people for the succeeding Sunday. On the Friday evening, however, after correcting for the press his review of the life and labours of the Rev. Richard Knill, he felt indisposed, and was aided to bed by his medical adviser, Dr. Evans. His night was restless, by reason of his coughing; but his sleepless hours were happy by his holy meditation and repetition of favourite passages of Scripture and of hymns. As the morning of 1st October dawned, his spirit fled, and he was ushered into the immediate presence of the Saviour, whom he loved so much and served so long. When the tidings spread, Birmingham was in tears, and the whole Christian community mourned. All denominations paid him honour as they bore him to the grave, under the pulpit he had occupied for so many years; and in one of the parish churches, the Rev. Dr. Miller preached his funeral sermon. In this discourse there is the remark, which has been echoed all over the world, 'John Angell James belonged, not to Carr's Lane, nor to Birmingham, but to the Church of Christ.'

Mr. James was honoured on more than one occasion by the degree of Doctor of Divinity; but he had conscientious scruples against using such an academic title as a minister. He by no means disapproved of literary titles, but the religious distinction appeared to him invidious and inconsistent with our Lord's counsel to his disciples to decline being called rabbi.

'Apart from conscientious scruple,' he says, 'I never thought myself warranted on the ground of any superior learning or attainment to be thus called rabbi. True it is, I have written books on religion, not a few; but they are all of a practical nature, and contain no profound theology, nor any new elucidations of Holy Scripture. Perhaps I might lay claim to as much of this, and therefore as good a claim to the distinction as very many on whom it is conferred, and who now consent to wear it. This, however, is saying very little. As regards some who are now called rabbi, I wonder they do not blush at this iteration of their own distinction. May I but be considered as a faithful, earnest, and successful minister of the new covenant, and be accounted such by the Great Master,  
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and I am quite content that my name shall stand, wherever it is recorded, without any academic affix.'

Mr. James's piety was the spirit of his life. It embraced his whole being and gave him his character. In reference to it his son remarks—

'I have no information to give as to his habits of personal devotion; but I am sure that, in that respect, he performed himself all that he exhorted others to do, and that his life might be drawn from his sermons and writings. I know that he practised social prayer to a very great extent. It was his comfort when any members of his family were leaving him, or taking any important step in life; and he indulged in it with all in whom he felt peculiar interest, such as young men, especially students, his old friends, and his brother ministers. He loved to commend them, and be commended by them, to God, and to pray with them for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ.'

He kept no diary. There are therefore few materials to judge of his private devotion, except the writings in which he embodied his holiest thoughts, and the life which all acknowledged to be a commentary upon his discourses. There are, however, one or two glimpses afforded of his private thoughts in relation to God and his work, in his biography, from which we make a few extracts.

'The following was written in 1840, at a time when he was prevented by illness from fulfilling an engagement in a town in Staffordshire.

'Having been prevented by God, or His permission, from fulfilling a public engagement abroad, and being prohibited from undertaking many foreign services for the future, I have examined in what way I can be more useful at home, in what is more immediately the sphere of my labour. And the following appear to me to be subjects to which more attention should be paid, and in the more devoted regard to which some compensation will be made for the neglect of public objects:—

*'1. My own congregation.*

'In preaching, endeavour to be more evangelical, more of unction combined with my present practical style; more of Romaine combined with Baxter.

'More solemn in manner, and less of rhetorical loudness and vehemence.

'Be shorter. Three quarters of an hour or fifty minutes.

'Take up the whole subject more solemnly, more impressively, more in earnest.

'2. *In the neighbouring congregations*, to preach every fortnight at one or other of the following places:—Walsall, Bilston, Wolverhampton, Stafford, Broomsgrove, Stourbridge, Tipton, Brierly Hill, Dudley, Solihul, Gornall.

'To preach at week-day lecture at the Lozell's Chapel.

'Once a month at Garrison Lane.

'Once in two months at Smethwick.

'Principal defects in preaching—not entering with sufficient frequency, fulness, and in an experimental manner, &c.

*'Pastoral Duties.*

'Visit every member at his own house, except servants, during the present year.

'Meet a class of female servants, and distribute a tract to each. Duties of servants.

'Visit every one of the districts and invigorate them. Visit a family every Monday.

'A Saturday evening prayer meeting.

'A solemn church meeting for prayer and humiliation on Good Friday. Pastor, deacons confess.

'A solemn meeting with the deacons to deliver to them an address.

'Catechizing

‘Catechizing the children in some way or other. To labour much to promote the spiritual welfare of the Church.

‘Always write a New Year’s address, at least begin.

‘A mothers’ society.

‘Principal defect in pastor.

*‘For the Students.*

‘To lay myself out much for their spiritual welfare—to consider myself solemnly bound to do this. Never a week without one or more at my house. To labour for their good.

*‘Public.*

‘To write, if possible, six essays on subjects connected with professors and young ministers, in evangelical Congregational magazines; to have a class of Scripture readers.

*‘As to my own Personal Habits.*

‘Learn to think of death not only with composure, but even something of desire; overcome dread of death and love of life.

‘Subdue besetting sins, and become indifferent to the objects of them.

‘Rise earlier, more meditation, prayer, devotional reading.

‘In family prayer more devout.

“ ‘Learning Scripture *memoriter*.

‘Consider the propriety of monthly fast.

‘All these things I do solemnly promise to review, and to add such others as occur to me with the intention of deliberately adopting as many of them as I can.

‘This paper to be reviewed every Monday morning, after breakfast.

‘If God will carry me through my present state of mind, all these things will I solemnly weigh, and practise as many of them as I can; and as a thank-offering give 50*l.* to some special object, the best I can think of.’

These private thoughts indicate how thoroughly he devoted himself to the service of God, and how anxious he was to be faithful to his holy calling. In 1848 he drew out a similar paper for his guidance. But perhaps the best view of his spiritual state and character may be obtained from his pastoral letters. There he seems to pant after full conformity to Christ, and to wrestle against all besetting sin. There he breathes out his prayerfulness to God for every needed grace and blessing both to himself and his flock. There he manifests the intense longing that he had after the salvation of his congregation. There he evidences how specially he considered the case of all classes among his people, and how faithful he was to each, the old, the young, the rich, the poor, parents and children, employers and employed. There he appears as a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.

The social duties of Christianity formed a large portion of Mr. James’s public instruction. His biographer states that—

‘He thought it necessary to show the application of spiritual principles and moral laws to the minutest circumstances of human life. He was incessantly preaching to particular classes on their peculiar duties and dangers. He did not think it a violation of the dignity of the pulpit to preach to mistresses and servants, masters and workmen, husbands and wives, on their mutual obligations. His ethical sermons were among the ablest that he ever delivered. Whatever truth there may be in the reproach often thrown on the evangelical pulpit of neglecting the inculcation of ordinary moral duties, no one who heard Mr. James frequently would bring the charge against him.’

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This we conceive to be one of the great functions of the Christian pulpit, and one by no means to be set aside. There have been times when moral duties formed the chief topics of pulpit instruction, when the servants of Jesus Christ delivered the morality of Cicero and Seneca to their people; but though a higher standard is now professed, the plain principles of common morality are never to be in abeyance. Mr. James is a model to ministers in this respect. He felt the great importance of this kind of preaching, and said to his son 'not long before his death, that if his time were to come over again, he should preach on moral subjects more often than he had done, though he could not reproach himself with having neglected them.'

He felt a deep interest in social reform. He was a friend of the Temperance movement, and so early as 1834, we find him writing to that veteran abstainer in America, E. C. Delavan, Esq. :

'For the sake of the world, my dear sir, and all future generations of mankind, I beseech you to go on in this splendid course of national virtue. I have patriotism enough to wish this laurel had been plucked by my own country; but since this is not granted to us, I rejoice that it is *yours*. It is a precious one. Preserve it from fading by a relaxation of zeal in the cause, and deem not the honour complete till the world shall talk of the United States as a land without a still, and without a drinker of ardent spirits.'

Mr. James also practised total abstinence. His medical advisers thought that he injured his health by not drinking wine; but his son remarks, that 'he felt, however, so strongly on the matter, as an advocate of the Temperance Society, that when compelled to take it temporarily, he always left it off too soon.' Medical views of the virtues of alcoholic liquors have for a long period been very strong; but recent scientific investigations are diminishing the confidence of some eminent physicians in their value in disease, and causing their discountenance in health.

In his work on the Earnest Ministry, he says: 'Would God that those of my brethren who have acquired the habit of smoking, if they cannot leave it off, would abstain from this practice in the houses of their friends, and confine it to their own; would that they did not permit the young inquisitive eyes of the junior members of the families which they visit to see the pipe brought out as a necessary adjunct.' Writing to his future colleague, he says: 'I forgot to ask if you smoked. If you have contracted this habit, I beseech you to break it. To me it appears of so much importance, that it would tend to disturb our intercourse if you were addicted to this habit. You are not so far committed to it, even if you have begun it, as to find it difficult to destroy the pipe. You can have but little idea with what disgust and loathing it is regarded by many of our people, to whom your company would be less pleasing if you carried this habit with you.' These counsels are wise as became the advice of so good and exemplary a man

man as Mr. James. We sincerely wish that every minister gave the weight of his influence and example against the two customs of drinking and smoking. There would be an incalculable amount of good effected by the testimony. Leaders of public morals ought to stand up against vices so pernicious to public virtue as these.

Mr. James was a hearty supporter of the Peace Society, and 'he hated slavery with a perfect hatred.' Coloured men were welcomed to his table and pulpit; he glowed with indignation when denouncing the crimes of America against her coloured people; and in his letters to his American correspondents, earnestly remonstrated with them on their national sin, and urged them to do their utmost for its removal.' He took a warm interest in public affairs, and honestly avowed his politics. 'He could speak at a town's meeting without preaching; but he never spoke in a manner that diminished the influence of his preaching.' It is well when this golden mean is kept. It ill becomes a teacher of religion to ignore public affairs, and it is as unbecoming to see the preacher forgetting his sacred office in the politician.

To the clergy of all branches of the Church, John Angell James is a bright example. His single aim, his untiring zeal, his consistent life, his unswerving faithfulness, and his great success, mark him out as a noble illustration of apostolic devotedness to his high and holy calling.

In private life he was always happy, and capable of promoting the happiness of others. He loved to show hospitality to strangers, to his brethren, and to students; but he was no *bon vivant*. He abstained from dining out as much as possible. 'He often said he was determined that no one should say of him, that he liked to go out to a good dinner, which he knew was the common reproach of the cloth.'

In public business he was very punctual to the hour. 'He was never known to enter the pulpit one minute too late, or to commence the service one moment before the appointed time.' He attended regularly all philanthropic and religious committees of which he was a member, and appeared at public meetings where he was expected.

In church polity he was congregational in opinion; but his son informs us that 'he wished as much presbyterianism introduced into congregationalism as is compatible with its remaining congregationalism.' He thus always managed his church business without difficulty and dissension. He 'was saved from mistakes in his pastorate by his habit of always taking advice;' and this he could do without losing authority.

There were united in his character those elements which fitted him to be useful to his fellow-men; and this was the result of diligent

diligent cultivation, as well as of natural endowment. He seemed early to apprehend his *forte*, and spared no pains to use it to the best advantage. He fully realized his own idea, and left the impression of his character upon the Church when he passed away. 'In some humble degree,' he wrote with his dying hand, 'I have aimed at usefulness both in my preaching and writing; and God has, to an amount which utterly astonishes and overwhelms me, given me what I have sought. It seems a daring and almost presumptuous expression, but with proper qualification a true one—that usefulness is within the reach of us all: the man who intensely desires to be useful, and takes the proper means, will be useful. God will not withhold his grace from such desires and such labours. O my brother! how delightful is it, notwithstanding the humbling and sorrowful consciousness of defects and sins, to look back upon a life spent for Christ! I thank a sovereign God I am not without some degree of this!'

The life of Mr. James by his colleague and successor, Mr. Dale, is in many respects admirably executed. The skill and taste with which autobiography and biography are intermingled invest the book with great interest, and give it fulness. There are just two points to which exception may be taken. The first is, the criticism which Mr. Dale has pronounced on the theology of 'The Anxious Inquirer,' which, while sure to be displeasing to many, seems gratuitous and uncalled for in a first biographer, so soon after the death of the author. This is all the more to be regretted, since it is manifest that the views of Mr. Dale on some points had caused alarm both to his venerable colleague and the congregation. Mr. T. S. James has thought this of sufficient importance to vindicate publicly the orthodoxy of his father. The other point is this—the letters of Mr. James (most of them very interesting and valuable) should be thrown to the end of the volume. Indeed, we would suggest that an edition of the biography, with emendations as hinted, and without the letters, would be a popular book, and one which posterity would not willingly let die. Dr. Campbell complains of the short-lived character of recent ministerial biography among Nonconformists, and expresses great anxiety that the life of Mr. James might be such as would be often reprinted. Mr. Dale, we feel persuaded, is capable of making his work occupy a permanent place in literature. Angell James deserves thus to linger in the memory of men. One so good and so useful has by his example lessons to teach many generations.

Dr. Campbell's work is a hurried performance, but possessing all the characteristics of his vigorous style. It was designed to be ephemeral, and is now superseded by the excellent memoir by Mr. Dale.

ART. III.—24 & 25 Vic. c. 14. *An Act to grant additional Facilities for depositing small Savings at Interest, with the Security of Government for due Repayment thereof.* 17th May, 1861.

THE advantages to be derived from savings banks are shown by the remarkable patronage they have received from the industrial portion of the community. From a recent official statement, the total amount of savings invested in those institutions may be regarded as thirty-seven millions of pounds sterling, and the number of accounts as a million and a half. As, however, there are many populous districts in the kingdom where no savings banks exist, while, on the other hand, there is hardly a hamlet so insignificant as not to possess its post office, the idea occurred to a benevolent individual, Mr. Sikes, of Huddersfield, that this disadvantage might be obviated were the post offices throughout the country authorized to act as savings banks. Representations on the subject to the authorities were favourably received; and a bill was subsequently introduced into Parliament to give the requisite permission to the Postmaster-General. The bill became law on the 17th of May, and the authorities of the Post Office have for several months been actively engaged in making the necessary arrangements for giving effect to the enactment. These arrangements from their nature must occupy a considerable time before they can be completed. Three hundred of the new institutions, however, commenced business on the 16th of September. Since that date no one can complain of the want of opportunity for investing his savings, as there are the new institutions, the original savings banks, and the penny banks open to receive them; besides the separate institutions for the army and navy. The preamble to the late act will rejoice the heart of every depositor in a savings bank, as it declares 'the expediency of enlarging the facilities now available for the deposit of small savings, by making the General Post Office available for the purpose, and of giving the direct security of the State to every such depositor for repayment of all moneys so deposited by him, together with the interest due thereon;' for who is there at all conversant with the history of savings banks, but can recal to mind numerous instances of the partial or total loss of savings of depositors by the dishonesty of officials? Of course the Government was, and still is, liable for all moneys invested by the managers of savings banks; but during the interval which occurs between the time of deposit and that of actual investment, or between that of realization of the investment by the managers, and that of repayment to the depositors, the Government is subject to no responsibility. During these intervals the depositor has only the vigilance of the managers, and the sureties

sureties of the officials, on which to depend for the investment, and the repayment of his deposit. In one savings bank in Lancashire, the depositors were deprived of 70,000*l.* by the dishonesty of the official appointed to receive and repay the deposits. This, and similar occurrences, though productive of grievous injury to the depositors, have luckily tended to make the managers of savings banks more careful than formerly in attending to their duties; but the erroneous idea is even now unfortunately too prevalent among depositors, that the Government is responsible for the repayment of their deposits. The new institutions, however, will in some respects be much akin to the original savings banks, as 'all the provisions of the acts now in force relating to savings banks as to matters for which no other provision is made by the act are applicable to the act so far as the same are not repugnant thereto.' This provision will, in great measure, tend to dispel all mystery regarding the new institutions, as the nature of the original savings banks is well understood by the public. To carry the act into operation, the first thing done was the appointment of such of the offices as the Postmaster-General thought fit to receive deposits for remittance to the general office, and for repayment to the depositor.

In October, November, and December, additional offices were empowered to act as savings banks, so that at the present time their number is nearly seventeen hundred. Post offices, which are also money-order offices, as well as those which are not, are in the number. The appointments, and the regulations of deposits and withdrawals, are subject to the approval of the Lords of the Treasury. The persons who may become investors, and the amounts they are entitled to deposit, are the same as in the original savings banks.

To become a depositor, a person must first sign a statement expressing his willingness to abide by the rules of the post office savings banks, and that he has no account at any other institution of a similar nature. The deposits must not be less than one shilling, nor than a multiple of a shilling. On the receipt of the deposit, the post office official will enter it at the time in the depositor's book, and the entry of such deposit is attested by the official and by the dated stamp of his office. The amount of such deposit is upon the day of such receipt to be reported by the official to the Postmaster-General. An acknowledgement of the Postmaster-General of the deposit, signified by the officer whom he shall appoint for the purpose, is to be forthwith transmitted to the depositor, and the acknowledgement is to be conclusive evidence of his claim to the repayment of the deposit with the interest thereon, upon demand made by him on the Postmaster-General. To allow a reasonable time for the receipt of the acknowledgement, the entry

in the book is to be conclusive evidence of title for ten days from the lodgement of the deposit; and if the acknowledgement should not be received through the post within ten days, he should then make application for it to the Postmaster-General, when the entry in his book is to be conclusive evidence of title during ten days more. The absence of the acknowledgement does not, however, affect the right of the depositor to repayment. The acknowledgement is a document of no use except to the depositor, but will be of great advantage in insuring the honesty of the post office officials, as the non-arrival of an acknowledgement in due course, will at once induce a communication to that effect to be made by the depositor to the head office.

The most important enactment is, however, the one providing for the payment of interest. In the original savings banks the interest allowed is usually at the yearly rate of three pounds and ten pence per cent.; but in the new institutions the rate will be only two and a half per cent. per annum. The interest, too, is only to be calculated where the amount is not less than a pound, or a multiple of a pound, and not to commence until the first day of the calendar month next following the day of deposit, and is to cease on the first day of the calendar month on which the deposit is withdrawn. The interest on deposits is to be yearly calculated to the 31st of December. In some of the original savings banks the interest is added to the principal every half-year, but in the new institutions the depositor will not have this advantage. In other respects, however, the provisions regarding the calculation of interest are not very different from those of the original savings banks. Once every year, on the anniversary of the first deposit, the depositor will have to forward his book for examination, and the addition of interest, to the Postmaster-General, and in a cover provided for the purpose. On examination and completion of the entries in the book, it will be returned to the depositor. This provision is well adapted as a preventive of dishonesty by the officials of the post office savings banks, a similar practice in many of the original savings banks having worked remarkably well. The deposits will be paid over to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, and invested in the same securities as the funds of the original savings banks. A separate account will, however, be kept of the position of the new institutions, and a balance-sheet for the preceding year laid before Parliament not later than the 31st of March.

When a depositor wishes to withdraw money, he will have to make application at the General Post Office in the authorized form, and the requisite warrant of the Postmaster-General will be forthwith transmitted to him, and he will be entitled to be paid within ten days at farthest from his application. In the original savings banks

banks money may be withdrawn usually after seven days' notice, and probably the same period will be adopted by the new institutions. The warrant may be made payable at any other post office savings bank than the one where the depositor's account is kept. This provision will be found exceedingly convenient when a depositor intends to visit any place at a distance from his residence. When the warrant is presented for payment, the depositor will have to bring his book, when the payment will be entered and attested by the signature of the official, and the dated stamp of the office, while a receipt for the amount will be written on the back of the warrant. All sums withdrawn by depositors will be repaid to the Postmaster-General by the Commissioners already named, out of the moneys invested by them; and if at any time the fund comprising the investments shall be insufficient to meet the lawful claims of all depositors, the deficiency is to be provided out of the Consolidated Fund. Provision is made to prevent disclosure of the particulars of the amount deposited or withdrawn, or of the name of any depositor.

Where a depositor wishes to transfer his deposit to one of the original savings banks, he will have to make application to the General Post Office, in an authorized form, accompanied by his book, when a certificate of the amount due to him, with interest, will be forwarded; and when he opens the account at the original savings bank, the certificate will be transmitted to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt, and the account with the post office savings bank will be closed. On the other hand, an original savings bank depositor wishing to transfer his account to a post office savings bank, must procure a certificate in the authorized form from two of the trustees of the institution, when his account will be closed; and on delivery of the certificate to a post office savings bank, it will be subsequently transferred to their account with the post office savings banks.

The new institutions will nearly all be open during the days and hours when the money order offices are open. In this respect the post office savings banks will possess great advantages over the original savings banks, as many of the latter are only open once or twice a week, and then for an hour or two hours. An account of the post office savings banks for the preceding year will be annually audited and laid before Parliament not later than the 31st of March. Provision is made for paying the expenses of the new institutions out of the receipts.

An idea has now been given of the general nature of the post office savings banks. On the whole, they are likely to be productive of great benefit to the industrial portion of the community; and as there are nearly 2,500 money-order offices in the United Kingdom, the streams of savings which will flow to the chief office  
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in London are likely to be exceedingly numerous. There is no probability, however, of the absorption of the original savings banks in the post office savings banks, so long as the rate of interest payable by the former is higher than in the latter. Experience shows that a high rate of interest will attract investors, although there may be bad security. It is strange, too, that the original savings banks should pay a higher rate of interest than the post office savings banks, which must from their nature be conducted at much less expense. Perhaps, however, the advantage of government security, and the convenience of the rate in an arithmetical point of view, may explain the circumstance. To have different benevolent institutions with the same end in view is objectionable, and only lessens the advantages which might otherwise be derived by depositors; but the disadvantage is perhaps more desirable than the complete amalgamation of the penny and original savings banks with the new institutions.

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ART. IV.—*Bell's Life in London.*

2. *The Field.*

3. *The Sporting Life.*

4. *Nimrod on the Turf.*

WHATEVER else the English nation may, or may not be, there can exist no doubt that we are the most sporting people under the sun. Grave as is the character and inclement the climate ascribed to us by our continental critics, we have a greater variety of in-door and out-door amusements than all the rest of the world can boast of; and although we are set down as a nation of shopkeepers and money-grubbers, we spend more time, thought, and treasure upon games than the gayest race that we know. The pastimes we follow are not all of our own invention, it is true; but like the flowers and the fruits that we have raised from foreign seed, we have cultivated them into a state of vigour and luxuriance unknown to the parent stock. Not only do our sports provide healthy recreation for those whose time is their own, and bring about that mixture of classes which is so beneficial in smoothing away the prejudices of high and low, but they are instrumental in procuring a livelihood for thousands. Game-keepers, huntsmen, and billiard-markers may, indeed, be found abroad in plenty, but—excluding the latter—it is probable that the Surrey Cricket Club supports more persons than get a living by playing games of skill in any capital of Europe. Sports so extensively pursued cannot fail to have their effect upon the age, both in a moral and physical point of view; and an inquiry into the condition and tendencies of the most popular of them may well be permitted

permitted to take its place amongst the subjects to which these pages are devoted.

The sporting interest has a press and a language of its own. The three journals named at the head of this article contain the chronicles of every game of any importance which is played in the United Kingdom from one year's end to the other. The first—long without a rival—is still considered the prime oracle of the sporting world. Its answers to correspondents show that it is the great arbitrator in all sporting questions; and to have his name in 'Bell' is the young sportsman's first ambition. 'The Field' claims a place alike in the smoking-room and the boudoir, and, consequently, discards many subjects which its elder contemporary admits. Its secondary titles, 'The Garden and The Farm,' suggest its mission, which is to open its columns as an exercising ground in which every one of the inmates of a country house may ride his or her hobby. 'The Sporting Life' is a close imitation of 'Bell's Life'—so close, indeed, that it would have adopted its name as well as its subjects, if the Court of Chancery had not put its veto upon the assumption. There is a great deal in a name in these days; and as it is a slow process to make one for yourself, the prevailing idea seems to be that the cheapest plan is to steal one ready made.

A glance at these special journals will show that a new generation of sports has arisen, almost with the present generation of sportsmen. Never again shall we read how an Earl of Derby drove from Knowsley in his four-in-hand with outriders clearing the way, to fight his mains with the Cheshire squires at the Salford cockpit; how he was followed by a gallant equipage in which his game cocks were conveyed—each in a crimson velvet bag, upon which the famous arms of Stanley were emblazoned in purple and in gold—to do battle, as beseemed them, against all comers, to the death. We shall learn nothing of 'throwing' at less aristocratic scions of the Chanticleer family on Shrove Tuesday; of bull and of bear baiting as public sports patronized and supported by the county gentry. But do not let us flatter ourselves that we have done away with all such bloodthirsty and savage amusements. In the number of 'Bell's Life' that is current whilst we are writing, we find that there are prizefighters who can be backed to pound each other's heads into a jelly for so small a sum as five pounds aside; and that a host of publicans are anxious to inform the world that they have ratting every Tuesday and Thursday evening, an excellent pit upon the premises, and a large supply of vermin constantly on hand, with which the nobility and gentry are invited to 'try their dogs.' We also learn from the same authority that there is a good deal of dog-fighting about; and hear that the life of that intelligent animal, the badger, in  
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certain 'sporting houses' which could be named, is not an uneventful one. We know of no class so thoroughly vile, so hopelessly worthless as that which patronizes and supports these brutalities. It is no use to say that the roughs and sharpers, and scum of rascaldom which the prospect of a bloody struggle between savage beasts—human or animal—gathers together, are doing no worse *now*, than princes of the blood royal, peers, and members of Parliament did, without blame, fifty years ago. Your 'Corinthian' had little pity for the bulls, and the dogs, and the cocks, and the badgers, and the rats, that he had baited and maimed and killed outright for his sport; but he fought them fairly. We have heard of a creature who flung his game cock alive into the fire because it had turned tail; but we never heard of an earl or county gentleman who called in the police to stop a main because he was getting the worst of it. The ring was not broken into at convenient moments when Belcher, and Gully, and Gregson fought their famous battles. There was a fair field and no favour in those days, and the best beast won. Not long ago we read an account of a 'great international dog-fight' between 'Rosa,' an English bull-dog of the feminine gender, and the 'Brooklyn Pet,' a similar animal of American breed; and it appeared that one important preliminary to the combat was that the backer of each dog was to 'taste' the other, *i.e.* *lick it all over* to see if poison had been put upon its skin! We all know how another 'great international' brutality was brought to an untimely end. Is it necessary to apologize for not discussing such things under the present subject? For our own part, we would as readily include burglary and picking oakum amongst British sports as the rascally and savage pursuits from which we now turn as from a foul drain that we had stumbled upon in a pleasant country walk.

Our object is not so much to criticise the number of our national sports and their characteristics, as to notice the effect which the all-prevailing, all-demoralizing betting mania is producing upon them; and when they are divided into two categories—those which are followed for the pure love of sporting, and those which are followed for the love of gain—the number of the former will be found very scanty. It is pleasant, no doubt, to possess some substantial token of a triumph, and therefore the latter class should be subdivided into those sports which are followed for the sake of a cup, medal, or other prize which we may exhibit on our sideboard and hand down to our children after us, or of a stake which will recoup us our expenses; and those which are followed for the mere sake of winning money upon them in bets. Put field sports, with chess, and other sedentary amusements from consideration, and cricket will be found to be the only sport that is sought for its own sake.

sake. Yachting, boat and foot racing, wrestling, racket, tennis, and fives playing, &c. &c., are all tolerably free from the betting nuisance, though man is by nature a gambling animal, and will stake his money on any event, from the issue of a trial at law, or the appointment to a vacant bishopric, down to a race between two drops of rain upon a window pane, or the wriggling of two maggots to get back to the caseous home out of which they have been shaken on to a dining-table. Cricket, our model game, has lately been degraded, we are sorry to say, by the match played recently between Carpenter and Hayward against three members of the Stockton Club for 400*l.*; but this is an exceptional case—long may it remain so!—and the rule is that the fine old honest pastime should be played for ‘love.’ But what are we to say for that great English sport—the only one which is expressly sanctioned by Act of Parliament; the only one which is supported by grants of public money in which emperors, kings, and princes, lords and commons have joined; a sport which is governed by a club amongst whose members the noblest names in the land have been, and are enrolled—in which more persons are employed and more money spent than in all the rest combined—which *ought* to be, considering the character of its patrons and the simplicity of its legitimate aims, the fairest and the most honourable of all—what are we to say of the Turf? If platitudes are to be put aside, and the plain truth told, we must admit that horse-racing has degenerated into a *business*; that a blight of crawling, heaving, loathsome rascality has descended upon it and eaten into its very core; that it is no longer ‘a sport’ at all, any more than stockbroking, or obtaining goods under false pretences! And why? Simply on account of the betting! Some 2,500*l.* is given annually to be run for in what are called ‘Queen’s Plates’—the excuse for the grant being that racing tends to improve the breed of horses. It did at one time, when a horse was not put into training till he was three years old, and the great races were over three-mile courses in heats, and ridden by men of weight. Bone, muscle, and endurance were then brought into play, and a really useful animal produced. Now, we take a colt before his joints are set, put a child upon his back, send them spinning for three furlongs, and call that racing! If we want to get a nag that is worth the straw on which he stands in the stable, for any other purpose than being a machine to win and lose money upon, we must breed *back* from our high-mettled racer to the point from which we have departed. As it is, he is the most expensive, the most delicate, and the most useless creature under the sun.

It must be confessed that to some minds horse-racing is a most fascinating pursuit. How proud a man must be when he sees the horse which has been bred on his own estate, which he has fed  
with

with his own hand ever since it was a rough shambling colt, and which knows his voice and the touch of his hand, rush past the shouting thousands that line the Derby course—the hope, the fear of all, and win for him the blue ribbon of the turf! How pleasant to saunter into your stable with your friends on some crisp wholesome winter morning, to throw back the clothes which hide his glossy shoulders, and whilst he is sniffing and nibbling at your pocket for the accustomed lump of sugar, say, ‘This fine fellow won me the Chester Cup!’ How satisfactory, after all, when his day has passed, to behold him quietly browsing under the great elms in the paddock, an honoured pensioner, one who has well earned his retirement, whilst his sons and daughters are travelling his old road to fame! These, and such-like feelings of triumph and affection for the noble animal who has won honours for you, give what we should take to be the best pleasures of the turf; and some few honest sportsmen enjoy them still. But for the majority—ninety-nine out of every hundred turfites—a race-horse is naught, a race is naught. The former is to them a mere instrument of gaming, like a dice-box or a roulette-board, and the latter the mere machinery by which it is put in motion. They do not even care to see the struggle on which their money is staked, but stand with their backs to it, and shriek for bets till the winner is at the judge’s chair. What do they care about winning or losing a race, so that it suits their book? Only the other day a person of respectability—as turf respectability goes—gave his jockey instructions to lose a race, contrary to the laws of the Jockey Club, and the best excuse he could offer for his conduct, when called to account by the stewards, was that he felt piqued at not being able to get enough money ‘on’ his horse! To win the race, as he could have done easily, was no satisfaction to him. The betting was the charm, and—this not obtainable—the favourite was held back, and those who thought that an English gentleman was sporting for sport’s sake were taken in and disappointed.

At one time the necessary expenses of the turf made horse-racing a purely aristocratic amusement. We are not complaining that this time has passed away. There may be no good reason why bill-discounters, publicans, biscuit-bakers, pawnbrokers, quondam coal-miners, carpenters, lodging-house keepers, and others, should not invest their money in race-horse flesh if they feel so inclined. All we contend for here is, that some other term than ‘sporting’ should be applied to the operations of some of these persons upon our race-courses, and in our betting-rooms. Horse-racing is setting a number of trained animals to try their speed, and letting the swiftest win. But with the fraternity that we have in our mind’s eye the race is not to the swift. They bet against their own nominations, by commission and otherwise, and the result

result is obvious. They club together, buy a favourite, if he is to be sold, and 'scratch' him. They send their horses in bad condition to Epsom and Newmarket, and manage that they shall be beaten, time after time, until they gain a reputation which causes them to be lightly weighted for some rich handicap, and then, to use the slang phrase, they 'go in and win.' Is this sporting? If so, the pursuit of our Richmonds, Zetlands, Hawleys, Townleys, and their class, must be something else.

But the machinations of the gentry whose horses win or lose according to the state of their betting-book are not the worst evils with which the turf is at present afflicted. There are the betting men, *pur et simple*, a genus that has increased and multiplied within the last twenty years to an alarming extent. One of the great founders of this school was a man named Davis, a carpenter at Brighton, with a retentive memory and a good head for figures. He did not know the best horse in a race from the worst, as far as appearances went, but laid against everything. And here let us try and reveal to the uninitiated the principle of 'book-making.' It is evident that of all the horses entered for a race only one can win; consequently, if you have betted a larger sum against the unsuccessful ones, than you lose upon the winner, you are in pocket by the difference. Herein lies the entire mystery. Hundreds of horses are entered for races who never appear at the post, and the betting upon great events commences sometimes more than a year before they take place. Thus the 'quotations,' as they are called, for the Derby of 1862 were made as soon as the 'blue ribbon' of 1861 was acquired. So if you begin in good time, and lay against everything, if you have managed well, it may happen that by the time the race comes off you stand so that you *must* win whichever horse is first; though more or less, according to the odds you have laid against him. The 'odds' are the number of chances calculated against each horse. Therefore, if fifty horses are entered and you have bet against them all, and the winner was at two to one when you bet, you lose two pounds, or fifties, or hundreds, as the case may be, and receive forty-eight pounds, or fifties, or hundreds. But if the winner was at fifty to one, you are two pounds out of pocket, unless, indeed, you have bet a great number of times against the others, and only once or twice against him. What complicates the matter is, that a horse may be at a hundred to one to-day, and owing to some success, or the break-down of a rival, be at five to one, or less, to-morrow. If you have bet against him, under such circumstances, more than you desire to risk, you must 'hedge,' *i.e.* bet *on* him, till you have reduced your liabilities. But if you have begun by betting *on* him, you are in clover. You have a chance of winning a hundred pounds and

and can only lose one—nay, by ‘hedging’ you can manage so that you cannot help winning, always supposing you are paid your debts. You lay five-and-twenty pounds, we will say, in fours to one against him. If he wins, you lose that sum and win a hundred; if he loses, you pay one pound and receive five.

The odds fluctuate according to innumerable rumours, and speculations, and lies; but are, for the most part, based upon the performances of the horse, or even upon those of his stable companions, or blood relations. Thus, if Lord Downey’s grey filly Goose was beaten by Mr. Cackler’s colt, the Gander, and he afterwards had to succumb to Sir Merrythought Giblets’ Gosling—*à fortiori*, what is sauce for the male bird will be sauce for the female; and the Gosling may be backed to beat anything that she may have distanced. But if the course upon which the Gander happened to be victorious was one of a mile and a half, over which Lord Downey’s mare had to carry 7st. 5lb., whereas in the race in which she is to compete with the triumphant Gosling is only for half that distance, and she is weighted at 7st., what then? All the conditions are altered, and the success of Sir Merrythought Giblets is no longer mathematically certain. This, however, is a very simple case. Bear in mind that horses are running from February to November, in all sorts of weather, on all varieties of soil, for various distances, under changing weights, and ridden by jockeys good, bad, and indifferent. Add to this that they are not machines to run alike, well or ill, at all times, and that it is not always convenient, as before observed, that they should do their best, and it will be perceived that a man must have a long head to make an honest living on the turf by general betting.

Your genuine book-maker, however, does not trouble himself much about such calculations. He rarely backs a horse except to hedge. Davis—the leviathan, as he was called—began by betting shillings and half-crowns against everything. He won, and fixed his head-quarters at a tavern in Holborn, where he would give the current odds on any race, however distant, to anybody; the better depositing the money he might lose, to receive it back, with addition, if he won. Davis thus had always a stock of ready money in hand to meet immediate losses; and once having lost some eight thousand pounds at Epsom, he went round the ring with his hat full of bank-notes, and paid his losses there and then, without waiting for ‘settling day,’ thus gaining a reputation for capital and integrity which never left him. He was strictly honest; he won and lost with the noblest in the land; was trusted, and won the respect of all, and never forgot his position. The betting of the wildest gamblers of the Regency shrank into insignificance in comparison with his. He would stand to lose on a single Derby more than

than Mr. Crockford staked on horseflesh in a year. A book of fifty, sixty, eighty thousand was within his grasp. The strain of such speculation on his mind, and the anxiety, proved at last—as might be expected—too much for it. He retired, and died at Brighton very miserably.

Of course a host of imitators sprang up. At every tavern in London there was some one who would ‘lay you the odds’ from half a crown up to a hundred pounds or more. Betting-offices were established. St. Martin’s Lane, and the districts round Leicester Square and Tottenham Court Road, teemed with them. They received all the deposits that they could lay their hands on. If the result of a great race was in their favour, they pocketed their winnings, and went on; if it was against them, they pocketed their losings, and went off! When the ‘noble sportsman’ who had deposited his five-pound note at ten to one, upon the winner, went for his fifty pounds, he found the shutters up, and the spirited proprietor nowhere! Thousands were ruined, body and soul, in these dens, which in too many instances were ante-rooms to the work-house and the hulks. At last the strong right hand of the law was laid upon them, and they were shut up by act of parliament. Many a frantic dash has the betting-man made against the bars of his legal cage. He has tried to work upon the miscellaneous public by ‘lists’ of the odds, hung in the bars of public-houses, by haunting the corners of streets, by setting up booths, and standings upon race-courses—all in vain. The well-drawn enactment cast a very wide net, and into one or other of its meshes he invariably fell. ‘The Ring’ at the race-course is the only public place where he may bet in safety, and thither we must repair to see him in perfection.

The following extract from a recently published work by, perhaps, the most picturesque writer of the day—Mr. G. A. Sala—will give a good sketch of the scene. It is Epsom Downs on the Derby day; the saddling-bell has been rung; the numbers of the starters are exhibited on the telegraph. We are in the enclosure at the right of the Grand Stand, where there is a ring some six or eight yards in diameter, formed of posts and rails, around which—

t. ‘Ai! Ai!—which is an exclamation which I hope will be pardoned to me by the critics—the hullabaloo, the hue and cry, the frenzied exclamations of the bookmakers. They will bet against anything. Who will lay against the field? Who will back everything? They will do everything. Bar one, bar two, bar three. What will anybody do on the event? His Lordship wins; the Captain wins in a canter. Didn’t they say so? Green wins; black wins; red wins.” The very fiend himself would seem to be bending to listen to the unearthly screeching of these men.

“Such hot, dusty, steaming, common, knavish, or brutal faces, too. Now the wolf type, hungry and savage; now the fox-type, cunning and cynical, and, the day being warm, not of too sweet a savour; now the terrier-type, honest enough, but exceedingly ravenous after rats. Men—old betting-men—with faces like owls, like magpies, like ravens; not many of the eagle-type, I fancy, saving so far as

as aquiline noses reach. Of these, with the accompaniment of greasy ringlets, pulpy lips, and much glittering jewellery, there is sufficient and a little to spare, it may be. And there are weazel faces, ferret faces, grinning otter faces, hawk faces, bull-dog faces, and bull faces; but on every human face amongst the book-making crew there is always and ever the unmistakable stamp and brand of the gambler—the nervous tick of the head from side to side, the teeth busy with the lips, the fingers busy with the chin, the unrest of the eye. In a lesser degree you may see these signs amongst bargainers in corn and coal marts, amongst chafferers upon exchanges, amongst punters at rouge et noir tables, amongst bidders at auctions; but for the gambler's look—*l'allure de celui qui joue gros jeu*—commend me to the book-makers in the ring.

'They are of every variety of build and stature, and of all ages; but they have all gotten their symbol, and have taken Mammon's arles, and are soldiers in his great black and yellow regiment. Whence come they? From Manchester, Preston, Blackpool, Rochdale, Stockport, Blackburn—from the great black striving, working, gaming, spinning, heaving, savage north of England;—many of them, I think, from the dialect in which they yell. The harder, but not harsher Yorkshire makes itself heard too, with a vengeance! The unadulterated cockney, showering its "h's" about, as from a pepper-castor, is not behindhand; every province in England seems to have sent a contingent. It is Babel; but Babel with an universal tongue concurrent with the confusion thereof; for every one of these money-mongers understands the one primeval language taught by professor Mammon.'

The author goes on to say he has heard that the word of many of these men may be taken for tens of thousands of pounds; and that there are some of them strictly honest and scrupulously honourable. For 'many,' read 'two or three,' and for 'some,' read 'a very few,' and it would be nearer the mark. However, they have all the ring to themselves, for no person with the slightest self-respect would be seen in it for a second five minutes. When people of 'respectability' of the gig-driving order, want to bet, they do so 'by commission,' *i. e.*, by employing a regular ring-man to bet for them. There is no difficulty in finding one. Here are specimens of their advertisements, which swarm in every sporting paper. Of course we exclude the names and addresses:

**M**ESSRS. — and —, Members of Tattersall's, and all the City and West-end Clubs, beg to state that, on receipt of cash, Commissions will be executed on every event throughout the year. The market price guaranteed, and the money forwarded on the MONDAY after the RACE.

Address, — Strand. P.O.O. to be made payable at the Strand Office.

— —, Box —, General Post Office, London, executes COMMISSIONS from town and country correspondents on all races throughout the season, from 2s. 6d. upwards. Stamps taken. Market odds guaranteed, and prompt payment may be relied upon.

**M**R. — — executes COMMISSIONS, by letter only, on all races, from 2s. upwards. A stamped envelope must always be enclosed.—Address, — —, London.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE—A GOOD THING AT LONG ODDS.

— 'GUIDE TO THE WINNING POST,' price thirteen stamps; end of the season, 7s. 6d.; is the best publication of the kind in print. This week's number will contain selections for the Cambridgeshire (a good thing), all races at Newmarket, reports from training quarters, &c. — —, Manchester. — will attend Newmarket.

**50** TO 1 can be obtained about the Winner of the Liverpool Cup. Your own sense will tell you that this horse cannot lose. Sent for twenty-five stamps and promise after event. — —, Farringdon-street, City.

**66** TO 1.—CAMBRIDGE WINNER, tried on Friday morning by one of the best horses in England. Sent for twenty-five stamps, and promises after the event. — — —.

You can thus make your fortune for twenty-five postage stamps, and if only liberal enough in your promises to the benefactor of his species who advertises from Farringdon Street, you can win 100*l*. without fail. ‘Your own sense,’ he says, ‘will tell you that this horse cannot lose.’ Will it not also hint that a sage possessed of such valuable information would be likely to keep it to himself? Sometimes the prophet and speculator combined is correct, and then great is his exultation :

‘J — H — & Co.’s Glorious Success.—Kettledrum, Kettledrum.—We told you Kettledrum would be first or second. Do not throw your money away on horses that have no chance. We have a certainty for the Ascot Stakes and the Gold Cup. Send early, for the Ascot Stakes winner is at 30 to 1. The St. Leger is as good as over. The Wizard of the North will have a hot one for you. Enclose 12 stamps, and per centage for Kettledrum. Address, — — —.

Judicial statistics prove that the crime of embezzlement is sadly on the increase. Have these gentlemen, who execute commissions on all races from two shillings upwards, and thus boast their ‘glorious success,’ no share in blighting the prospects of silly young clerks, and bringing misery and tears and shame into many a home that but for them would be happy and honoured?

These ‘commissions’ are executed in the Ring, and cunning, coarse-mouthed, dirty—in every respect—as we find it, it is, nevertheless, a paradise, round the closed gates of which a certain order of betting-men wander—disconsolate—like the Peri in Moore’s poem. There is a deeper, and a deeper still! These fallen ones have been expelled for default in paying their losings; and it is not such trifles as a drop of blood, a sigh, or a tear that will appease the janitor. When they have paid up all their debts of honour(?), and given security for future solvency, they may enter; but not until then. These mal-odorous ‘Peris’ are the fellows who have been setting up light booths, formed of portable frameworks, as betting-offices on the race-courses of Doncaster, Warwick, Manchester, and elsewhere: not near the hawk’s eyrie of the Ring, but outside the ropes where the pigeons flutter. Three of these persons, captured by the police at Manchester, were found in possession of 120*l*., deposited in sums of half a crown and upwards, by the clerks, factory hands, and mechanics who frequent that meeting. If any reader is uncertain as to the effect upon morality of the betting mania, let him attend these same races, and take up his position, so that he can see the Ring, and over the paling which divides it from the open ground. Ah me! the shouting, the struggling, the cursing with joy at success, the cursing with rage at loss; the lamentations, the drunkenness, the dirt! The eager jumping up outside Paradise, to catch the eye of a happy layer of odds within;

within ; the thrusting of grimy hands, full of half-crowns, over the palings ; the imploring of wives that the bread-winner will come home, before all the money which alone can 'keep the childer fra clemming' for a week, is gone into that seething vortex ; the scoffing rejoinders of creatures bearing the outward resemblance of women ; the glaring eyes, the reeking breath, the sodden, stunted, reckless look of all ! Have they won—there will be riot and debauchery till the money is spent ; wives with bleeding faces, children whimpering with fright in corners, furniture smashed, a quarrel, a knife, and the Liverpool assizes in store ! Have they lost ? There will be sulks, starvation, and brutality ; always upon the wife and children. Win or lose it is all the same to them.

And how does this betting mania affect the turf otherwise than has been already stated ? When thousands of the reckless and unprincipled are interested in the winning of one horse and the defeat of another, it is not difficult to imagine that the lives and limbs of those animals are in no little peril. In good sooth, a favourite racer must be guarded like the man in the iron mask, to be safe ! During last season, two horses were drugged on the eve of a race ; one was shot at in his travelling box ; one had a narrow escape of being burnt to death ; and one actually destroyed by fire (which there is every reason to believe was raised wilfully) ; and a plot was laid to lame all the inmates of a famous training stable, by concealing sharp-pointed pieces of iron in the tan over which they were accustomed to be galloped for exercise ! These are only a few of the most notorious cases ; how many others, less well known, there may be, we cannot tell. The precautions taken to protect racers from injury seem to indicate that they are not exceptional. As long as a favourite for the Derby has a bloodhound chained by his stall, his trainer living, day and night, in his stable, and a detective policeman on guard at the door, he is considered secure from violence ; but not until his corn and water are tested by chemists, and sealed up, the latter in jars for his use, and the very bit which goes into his mouth washed and sand-papered, the last thing, by a trusty hand, for fear it should have been poisoned, is he safe against the more subtle, but no less certain contrivances, by means of which races are lost and won in this betting age.

It comes to this, therefore, that if the owner of a favourite horse be honest, and intend him to do his best ; if all who have access to his stable be honest, and neither drug him nor let him be drugged ; and if he be not lamed, or shot, or burnt on his way to the course by, or at the instance of, 'sporting men,' who have bet heavily against him ; then, if the jockey who rides him be but honest too, the race is for the swift ; if he be the best horse he will win. But the turf has fallen rather low when such contingencies have to be taken into account.

And

And so it will be with every sport as soon as it is chronically afflicted with the betting plague. If it should ever fall on our model game, cricket—may the day be far distant!—we shall hear of the Haywards of that time being accompanied by a body guard wherever they go, lest some ruffian who stands to lose fifty pounds if Cambridgeshire should win, might gash his right hand; and Dr. Letheby or Mr. Grace Calvert will have to attend in the tent to test the bitter beer before the Jacksons, Stevensons, and Caffyns of the day be allowed to drink it. But long before that time gentlemen will have deserted the cricket-field, as they are now deserting the race-course; and a fine, manly sport, invaluable for bringing all classes together to contend in a friendly spirit, will be degraded, like the Turf, into a mere vehicle for gambling.

ART. V.—1. *Works of Dr. Lees.* Vol. I. London, 1854.

2. *Ale, Wine, Spirits, and Tobacco.* A Lecture, by John Barclay, M.D., Leicester. Second Edition, 1861.

THE confidence we expressed, in reviewing the French discoveries on the action of alcohol, nine months ago, that they would powerfully tend to complete the revolution of opinion already initiated, has been justified by the issue of the controversy. Those discoveries have not only shaken the faith of the most intelligent medical teachers in the dietetic properties of alcohol,—they have given a shock to the fashionable epidemic of freely prescribing strong drinks in a large class of disorders, wherein, as it is now both declared and demonstrated, their use has been followed by ‘wholesale slaughter.’ So Dr. Murchison has stated in his October address to his students; while the great Medical Quarterly compares the plan with the still extant Spanish and Italian system of Sangrado, boldly asserting that the results of bleeding and of stimulating are merely ‘a balance of destruction.’ We shall not now examine the ‘conclusions’ of the faculty as to the medical uses of alcohol, our present aim being to trace the course of the discussion opened in our previous paper, and to record such facts, and expose such fallacies, as the retrospective review may seem to demand.

If the reader who may possess the first work named at the head of this article will turn to it, he will find an elaborate dissection of a lecture read ten years ago before the Literary Society of Leicester, by one Dr. Barclay, who, uninstructed by the past, has again favoured the philosophers of that city with a hash-up of the old material. This second lecture is as nearly a model specimen of platitudinarian philosophy, and of dull and incorrect composition, as any literary critic could well desire for the exercise of his satirical or logical propensities—would, in fact, afford protracted amusement to the reader in dissection. This, however, does not

fall within the scope of 'Meliora,' and we should have noticed the production in no way, save for the accident, that, running in the channel of the prejudices of a clever but unveracious periodical, a notice in its columns has lifted 'the country practitioner' into a little prominence, by getting rid of an edition of his pamphlet. It becomes interesting, therefore, to inquire what are the character and calibre of the arguments to which so many drinkers eagerly rush, at the signal of a 'Saturday Review'? The answer will afford a curious insight into the sort of mental culture that distinguishes so many persons in the nineteenth century, and which sufficiently explains the observation made by Sir Henry Holland in 1852, that 'during the last twenty years he had known the rise and decline of five or six fashions in medical doctrine or treatment, some of them affecting the name of "systems," and all deriving too much support from credulity, even among medical men themselves.' When, from deficient intellectual discipline, the doctors are the victims of verbal imposture and hypothesis, who can wonder that either legalized or unlicensed quackery should flourish amongst the patients?

In his first lecture, in 1851, Dr. Barclay had said :—

'According to all observations hitherto made, neither the expired air, nor the perspiration, nor the secretions, contain any trace of alcohol after indulgence in spirituous liquors.'

To this Dr. Lees replied : \* 'This is simply not true: Dr. Percy's experiments prove that several of the secretions and excretions of the body *do* contain very sensible quantities.' Dr. Barclay, at pages 16, 17 of his second lecture, revives the doctrine of Liebig as to alcohol being decomposed in the system, and, therefore, food; *i.e.* just three months after the French physiologists had exploded the fanciful theory altogether. Worse than this, Dr. Barclay, in his 'Advertisement' to his second edition, says that 'Dr. Lees took much pains to confute a statement I have never made, *viz.* that alcohol is never eliminated.' The citation above will show who is in error; but the next exhibits Dr. Barclay very disingenuously engaged in obscuring the truth, even after the real facts had been publicly declared in Leicester—

'MM. Lallemand and Perrin find that alcohol is to be discovered unchanged in more organs of the body than had hitherto been supposed.'

By no means, Dr. Barclay; for Dr. Lees had shown you in 1851, and your profession in 1843, that alcohol had been extracted from the urine and the bile, and was sensibly present in the breath and in the odour from the skin. It was a very different work which these physiologists have performed. The next statement would be a fine specimen of audacity, were it not an example of pure blundering—

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\* 'Works,' vol. i., Appendix, p. clxv.

'The experiments would not in any way affect the evidence as to the uses of alcohol while in the body. . . . They require careful repetition before they . . . prove that more than a very small quantity of the alcohol ingested is given off unchanged.'

Dr. Barclay does not appear to comprehend these experiments, for they prove, by the most varied tests and processes, the exact contrary—that none but the very smallest quantity of alcohol can be left behind. Mark, however, the plea put forward for alcohol being food! It is decomposed in the body, says Dr. Barclay, replacing oil or other fuel food; therefore it is food, and not 'poison.' Possibly, however, it might poison the organism before it was decomposed in the circulation, and then it would be poison first and fuel afterwards; but what we want explaining is this: If it have the alleged use in the body of being consumed as fuel, how can it come out of the breath and other excretions as alcohol? When coal is burnt up as fuel in the gas furnaces, does it come out as coal at the end of the gas-pipes? If alcohol be not used up in the body, how can it 'enable us to dispense with starch and sugar in our food,' as Dr. Barclay says it does? Will he still persist in saying that the French experiments do not affect his alleged use of alcohol in the body? It would be charity to suppose that his preface had been written in a fit of somnambulism.

Dr. Barclay echoes the effete and tiresome common-places about 'temperance in all things,' and 'use' not being the same as 'abuse.' The teetotalers, we surmise, know that quite as well as himself; still the question returns—What is temperance?—what is *use*? At page 7 he tells us that 'alcohol can no more cure all diseases than any other drug,' and he repudiates 'the indiscriminate abuse of a powerful remedy.' Now, really, is this language properly applicable to our 'daily bread'? If alcohol be a 'powerful remedy' for 'disease,' and a 'dangerous drug,' then it has nothing to do with ordinary health and diet, which, as we understand the matter, is the very essence of teetotal doctrine. Dietetic temperance, as De Quincey long since defined it, is 'adaptation to the organism;' and if there be any normal want in the human system which alcohol can satisfy, then its use, in right measure and time, is certainly temperance. Why cannot Dr. Barclay show this simple fact, if fact it be, without so many words and such obscure and confused arguments? What want of the healthy body will he fix upon? and how will he show that alcohol is adapted to it?

Pages 15 to 18 are occupied with mention of the experiments of Böcker, Lehmann, and others, familiar to the teetotal world through the writings of Dr. Lees, so far back as 1853-4. Unfortunately for Dr. Barclay, his information is not only somewhat stale, but in great part discredited. He somehow contrives to arrive 'a day after the fair,' and he is then found dealing in goods

which have gone quite out of fashion. A concrete example will explain our metaphor. Dr. Barclay revives the foolish theory as to tea and alcohol 'arresting the waste of tissue,' quoting that very number of the 'Medico-Chirurgical Review,' in the reply to which, in 1854, Dr. Lees anticipated the altered condition of opinion which has already come about, and gave that very explanation of the facts which Dr. E. Smith's experiments have more recently established (p. ccii). Long before the lecture of Dr. Barclay was delivered, however, Dr. E. Smith had proved that tea wasted the tissues; and even about the time that he was publishing his last edition, in which he speaks of alcohol as 'accessory food,' borrowing his notion from the old 'Medical Review' of 1854, the author of that article was himself not only reconsidering his views, but actually preparing to recant and publicly repudiate them, which he has since done!

It would be unsafe to construe the phraseology of our lecturer literally; otherwise we might ask him to reconcile such language (p. 6) as 'the victims, it is not fair to say of the bottle, but of their own vicious, depraved, and uncontrolled desires,' with that which (p. 8) speaks of 'persons who have delivered themselves over to the power of the demon of drink' (p. 6), 'the irresistible desire for strong drink'? He insinuates, indeed, a natural instinct for these things: but the idea seems quite as absurd as a native gorilla or human instinct for pipes and tobacco. It is the business of our 'philosopher' to explain the origin of these depraved desires. Has it no concern with 'the power of the demon of drink'? or is drink an angel until the folk deliver themselves up to it? Is it a fact, too, that people assume their chains with their eyes open, *i.e.* voluntarily, and by some single conscious act? Dr. Barclay asserts that alcohol has no more tendency to produce excess than tea; or, in other words, that Confucius might just as truly have said, 'Bohea is a mocker; Souchong is raging,' as the Hebrew sage that 'wine is a mocker'—and 'he who is deceived thereby is not wise.' At page 32 we are told 'Great care should be taken that no bad habits be formed during illness, when stimulants have been necessary.' Now, are we to understand that this caution is equally needed in regard to tea and coffee?

At page 14 Dr. Barclay quotes the loose statement that of 500,000 persons in America who had signed the pledge, 350,000 had broken it. We should like to know who, in the busy States, found time to collect the statistics? by what machinery it was done? and over what time it extends? Some one has evidently made a rude guess, and upon this Dr. Barclay makes an absurd and hasty comment—

'Truly, "an awful outburst of Nature!" What other solemn obligation has ever been thus overruled by what I am justified in calling an instinct? The truth which the vow-breakers testify to, is that which modern philosophical investigations prove, that alcoholic drinks . . . are proper alimentary matter.'

Professors

Professors Lehmann, Moleschott, Lallemand, and Perrin unite with Dr. E. Smith and Dr. King Chambers in saying that alcohol is not food; yet, says Dr. Barclay, in italics, the contrary is 'proved'! As to the American statistics, Dr. Barclay is as far wrong as with his own. The only possible source of reliable figures on such a subject will be the books of the Sons of Temperance, or some other similar body. We have the last annual report of the 'Sons' before us, from which it appears that out of 51,020 members reported, only 9,792 violated their pledge, of which number one-half signed again, and 2,685 were reinstated in the order. The proportion of 7,107 to 51,020 is certainly in rather broad contrast to the ratio between 350 and 500, and reduces the 'awfulness' of the outburst exceedingly. We should like to ask Dr. Barclay a few questions as a man of the world, if not as a philosopher. Has he not heard that most men, in one shape or another, or at one time or another, make professions or take vows of honesty, purity, and fidelity? Does he, with his knowledge of society, not to speak of the 'Gazette,' the dock, the bankruptcy and divorce courts, the statistics and revelations of prostitution, truly believe that any but a very small minority of the world fulfil these vows and pledges? Shall we plead for sin, therefore, that it is 'an awful outburst of nature'?—a reaction against ascetic virtue? Shall we be 'justified in calling it an instinct'? Is 'the truth' these millions of vow-breakers testify to, this—that 'sin is proper alimentary matter for the soul'? If not, what does such pernicious sophistry signify or tend to? Why make language so fatally ambiguous as to become an apology and excuse for the great fountain of sensuality and social demoralization?

In our former article we reproduced the language of Dr. Michel Levy and of Dr. Edward Smith, in which it is stated that the action of alcohol from (miscalled) moderation to dead drunkenness is one progressive unbroken series of abnormal effects, differing in degree not in kind. Dr. Barclay, at page 14, quarrels with this old temperance doctrine and modern scientific truth. The difference, he says, between the effect of 'a little' and 'much' is as marked as between agreeably warm water and a scald!—that only 'the excess is poison.' He further compares alcoholic use to 'rust or iron-mould,' but abuse to the 'burning spark' which explodes the mine. How does this accord with the subsequent statement (pp. 21 to 23) as to 'the habit of frequently taking a drop; for even the same amount of spirits taken at a bout of intoxication,\* will do a man an infinite deal more harm if divided into repeated doses, and taken at short intervals during the day'?

\* He means to say, 'an amount of spirits equal to that which is often taken at a weekly bout of drunkenness.' In the first edition, 'once in a week' follows the word 'intoxication.'

We cannot understand how the constant absorption and presence of a little food in the blood can do such infinite mischief; and Dr. Barclay's explanation of what 'philosophy tells us' about 'the moulting of the tissues,' is calculated to excite inextinguishable laughter! His own authority, Dr. Chambers, has truly said, in reference to the comparison of warm water and scalding, 'one distinguishes in a moment the normal and abnormal;' and we cannot help thinking that a juster comparison would be found between the little and large, or the rare and frequent use of alcohol, in the difference between preliminary diarrhœa and developed cholera, or between a slight and a dangerous attack of fever. At any rate, what we understand the teetotalers to maintain is, that any sensible quantity of alcohol injures, just as a drop of hot water scalds, though a larger measure is required to kill. Phrases and figures of speech, definition and dialectic, however, will never settle that point; but only the facts of experience on which the temperance men profess to found their doctrine. They would not, we imagine, demur to the comparison of the effects of alcohol to rust, which is unquestionably a process of decay, not desiderated in any perfect machinery or organism. As the proverb says, 'Better wear out than rust out;' better employ the mortal body in its allotted functions of use, than 'iron-mould' the fibres and faculties by sottishness and sensuality. Further on Dr. Barclay says of the publicans who constantly imbibe their drops of diet, that when one of them dies he is 'actually, as well as metaphorically, rotten.' This is a frightful form of rust, indeed!

Dr. Barclay, like Dr. Lankester, snatches at an absurd comparison between alcoholics and onion, gin and garlic, sherry and shalots. All taint the breath, say they; but shalots and onions are food, therefore alcohol is food! Now is that element of the onion which comes out of the breath really food? On referring to Professor Pereira's books, we find it classed under the head of 'Materia Medica' as 'an acrid, volatile oil, which quickens the circulation, occasions thirst; passing out of the different excreting organs, it communicates its peculiar smell to the secretions: if the oil be dissipated by boiling, onions and garlic no longer possess any acrid qualities, and then form mild and easily digested aliments; whereas, in the raw state, *i. e.* with the oil, they are pungent, acrid, difficultly digestible substances.' Tapioca (a species of arrow-root) is an innocent, well-known food—but the tuberous root from which it comes, the *Janipha Manihot*, is a poisonous plant. So is the potato, but not when boiled. That the distinct qualities of compounds should be ignored under one common name, the poisonous or medical element of a vegetable confounded with its alimentary parts, and that which the body uses, with that which it expels, is an example of mental fogginess very pitiable in public teachers.

teachers. Their own illustration is fatal to their own argument, since alcohol leaves no substance behind, but is eliminated, like the 'volatile oil' of onion, 'in totality and in nature.' That which 'taints the breath' can neither be food which repairs the tissue with substance, nor feeds the furnace with fuel; in both cases it is 'an acrid, volatile poison'—a medical, not an alimentive substance. After all, this theory appears to be a plagiarism from these old-world pagans, who were so fond of assæfetida (or stinking gum) in their cookery, that they gave to it the seductive title of 'Food for the gods!' If assafoetida be food, because taken with food, why not alcohol?

Strange as are the pranks that Dr. Barclay plays while engaged in what he calls 'philosophy' (which seems to signify, in his use of it, the reasoning from phrases as though they were facts), when he comes to statistics and figures, he transcends himself. At p. 31, for example, in order to prove that teetotal statements are extravagant, he adduces statistics from six asylums, showing an average of 14·36 per cent. of insanity dependent on 'intemperance.' Who but Dr. Barclay would ever think of inferring, that because some 850 persons are annually put down in the Registrar-General's Return as dying from 'intemperance,' therefore that number represents the whole mortality actually resulting from drinking? Why, Dr. Barclay's 'rotten publicans' are not included! If there be even 15 per cent. of insanity arising from admitted, impossible-to-be-disguised intemperance, we may be sure that a very much larger proportion will be found, by those who closely inquire, to have its origin in drinking. At all events, Dr. Barclay's dispute is not so much with the temperance people as with the great authorities in his own profession. How the facts behind the figures are hidden from his vision may be shown in a couple of instances:

'If Lord Shaftesbury's statement were true (that 60 per cent. of insane cases are due, directly and indirectly, to drinking), we should have few such cases among Quakers, the great body of whom are total abstainers. But it is well known that mental alienation is quite as prevalent among Quakers as among the population at large.'—(P. 31.)

From what data does Dr. Barclay gather this? We know a good deal about the Society of Friends, and we entirely discredit the statement. There are facts behind the returns on which our lecturer founds his rash assertion, which he has not examined. Take the case of the 'York Retreat.' Out of 119 patients there in the early part of 1861, we ascertained that only 77 were Friends; thus compelling a deduction of 33 per cent. from the bare and total figures, which Dr. Barclay would assume to represent Quaker insanity. But these asylums have peculiar principles in their management, without knowing which, the returns would lead (if blindly manipulated) to altogether delusive inferences. For instance, by way of inducement to send the insane to their keeping early,

early, one year's maintenance gratis is furnished to a patient who is brought within the first three months of the attack. Friends, notwithstanding some peculiarities, have, owing to their comparative temperance, not only a much higher average of life than 'the general population,' but an extraordinary exemption from insanity.

Dr. George Robinson, of the Bensham Asylum,\* has shattered the sophisms of Dr. Barclay by his able and exhaustive analysis of the facts. The returns from 98 asylums in England and Wales exhibit the proportion of 18 per cent. of insanity directly dependent on drinking; but he adds, 'A very brief examination will suffice to prove that this estimate is greatly below the truth.' He then adduces the facts of 25 asylums, private and pauper mixed, metropolitan and provincial, showing nearly 25 per cent. arising from intemperance. 'It will be seen,' he adds, 'that these returns refer to intemperance alone one-fourth, and to it in "conjunction with vice" and sensuality, nearly one-third of all the cases of insanity admitted.' In one of the asylums at the east of London, the Lunacy Commissioners' Report states (p. 100), that above 41 per cent. arose from intemperance. These figures take no account of the indirect influence of drinking, or of drinking short of absolute excess, which, in our judgment, issues upon the whole in mental disturbance not less mischievous and real, though less apparent in their development.

In like manner Dr. Barclay strives hard to diminish the estimate of the amount of disease accruing from our drinking habits, and fails as signally as before. He has but one canon of criticism, and that is, not his own experience, but his interpretation of his experience. Now it is not simply needful that a man should have facts of his own, it is equally necessary that he should know what to do with them. The science of statistics is not merely a mass of heterogeneous facts, heaped together higgledy-piggledy; it consists of facts systematically arranged by an intellect competent to interpret and manipulate them. Any one can cook figures, but the genuine philosopher can alone arrange them into a science, representing the truths and order of nature. Of these qualifications our lecturer evinces an utter absence. As to Peter Bell, the potter, a primrose was a primrose, and nothing more, so to Dr. Barclay, figures are figures, and nothing else! All differences of circumstance, of time, and of place, are ignored, and one set of figures are pretty much the same to him as another—if they but answer the purpose of the moment. In Leicester, for example, he fancies he has arrived, by some careful (but possibly confused) method, at the fact that amongst his poor patients there is not more than 5 per cent.

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\* 'On Mental Disorders.' London, 1859. Chap. iv.

of sickness due to drink—at which, says he, ‘I confess myself astonished.’ Therefore, is his conclusion, Dr. Gordon was utterly wrong when he traced 75 cases out of the 100 in a London hospital to that agent; and another doctor was equally fallacious when he attributed 50 per cent. of the sickness in the Glasgow Infirmary to the use of spirits.

On looking at Dr. Barclay’s own tables, however, we find a sufficient refutation of his method and his inference. The per-centage of difference between insanity in one town and another ranges from 6 per cent. in Hull (a drunken seaport), to 24 per cent. in Edinburgh!—so had our figurist himself dwelt in the former place, he would have denounced the statistics of the latter as incredible and exaggerated! He even allows that his own private, middle-class patients have above ‘13 per cent. of disease dependent on drink’—i. e. above 1 in 8—while he puts down only  $3\frac{1}{4}$  per cent. to his poor patients! This statement by no means confirms the notion on which he insists so stoutly, that drinking is gone out of fashion with the richer classes, and is chiefly confined to the poorer; unless the wealthy are suffering vicariously for the sins of the labouring people.\* He ‘appeals to every one that goes into society,’ whether there be not an ‘improved state of matters among the upper classes,’ having first excellently confuted himself by showing that 100 of his own upper-class patients yielded 11 cases of direct drink disease in 1858, 14 cases in 1859, and 16 cases in 1860. Has Dr. Barclay, we wonder, ever tried to fulfil the ‘religious responsibilities’ whereof he speaks; and in reference to those 100 persons especially who constitute the seed-plot for 16 drink-diseased patients annually? He hints that he cannot afford to do so, because ‘that very same argument which is powerful when used by a missionary to a poor debased drunkard, would, from the lips of a doctor, only lead a rich man to consider his physician a fool.’

No doubt Dr. Barclay is quite right in believing that to rebuke corrupt appetite entails the loss both of professional reputation and pecuniary reward. In other words, he here very naïvely allows the truth to peep out—that medical men are under a strong temptation to pander to the appetites of their rich patients, and to sneer at opinions as ‘extreme,’ which, acted upon, would limit the area of their professional business so prodigiously. To the poor, degraded class of drinkers, abstinence is necessary, and may be taught by the

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\* Dr. Barclay will not learn modesty of judgment even from himself. In his old lecture, he states that he had ‘the notes of 11,344 cases’ showing ‘the evils resulting from the use of stimulants in only 199, or not quite  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per 100.’ As these cases included many rich, we may separate them, and say that according to Dr. Barclay in 1851, drink-disease amongst the poor was  $1\frac{1}{4}$  per cent., but in 1861, 5 per cent. Amongst the rich in 1851, only 2 per cent.; but in 1861 not less than 16 per cent.! So much for ‘improved habits’ as tested by Leicester statistics!

missionary, if not the medico; but to the sixteen per cent., nay, to the whole hundred, who cannot bear the truth to be spoken, Dr. Barclay gives the rule of 'moderation.' If it be inquired what that is? he replies, 'I cannot tell; but conscience will warn us against the earliest approach to excess.' Will it, indeed! Do the genteel sixteen take the warning; or 'the honest publicans,' who are 'actually, as well as metaphorically, rotting?' How do *they* come into the doctor's hands? Do they in sooth believe themselves to be in 'the power of the demon'? Does conscience speak when the physician is silent? or are the victims not still quite unconscious that they are gravitating with an accelerated intensity as they descend earthwards, while the celestial counter-attractions become feebler as the stars grow more dim and distant?

Dr. Barclay has at least performed one stage trick which, with the help of the 'Saturday Review,' has produced a sort of effect which entitles it to the name of 'the great-sensation statistic.'

'It shows that total abstinence actually predisposes to some diseases. This influence is dependent on the state of the nervous system; and, if the philosophical explanation of the action of alcohol on that system be correct, we should find total abstainers more subject to attacks of diseases which invade most easily those whose nervous system is below par.'—(Pp. 23, 24.)

This is the hypothesis, but what are the facts? Are the nerves of teetotalers below par? If so, would not the whole system suffer, and manifest the fact of diminished power, endurance, and vitality, by a general and proportional inability to reject and expel disease? Is it true, then, either in India, England, or the Continent, that drinking affords a general immunity from disease? Dr. Barclay himself admits that 'by not using alcohol, except in disease, we are better able to bear up under the ailment, and less of the drug is needed to produce the desired effect.' This is a clear admission that, in health, abstinence from this drug, as from all drugs, allows the vital or reactionary power of the body to accumulate. Why, then, should the teetotalers' nerves be below par in particular? Sir Charles Napier relates his experience thus: 'I was tumbled over by the heat with apoplexy. Forty-three others were struck, all Europeans; and all died within three hours, except myself. I do not drink—that is the secret.' Will Dr. Barclay, or the ingenious Saturday men, explain how that healthy condition of the blood and brain, which saves from sun-stroke, should invite fever? Dr. Barclay quotes the Indian statistics as follows:

ALL DISEASES.

Class.	Sick, per Cent.	Deaths, per Cent.
Teetotalers . . . .	130·88	1·11
Temperate . . . .	141·59	2·31
Intemperate . . . .	214·86	4·45

The death per-centage indicates, in the most impressive manner, the milder form of sickness to which the teetotal soldier was subjected. Now, it is utterly impossible to believe that a regimen which so strengthens the body as to exempt from the usual average of disease, and which conquers it more frequently, should specially expose men to the assaults of fever, dysentery, and diarrhœa.\* To prove this, is precisely one of those things which statistics cannot do—for the figures would only prove that the statistician had somehow tricked himself. No 'figures' can prove what is contrary to the first principles of nature. Nevertheless, we will take Dr. Barclay's advice, who says: 'Now look at Table, No. IV.'

EUROPEAN REGIMENTS IN INDIA.

Class.	FEVER.		DYSENTERY.		DIARRHŒA.	
	Sick, per 100.	Deaths.	Sick.	Deaths.	Sick.	Deaths.
Teetotalers. .	31·33	0·22	11·55	0·66	11·11	0·22
Temperate . .	17·78	0·02	7·96	0·71	8·05	0·09
Intemperate .	20·16	0·21	11·88	1·59	11·46	0·00

Here, on the very face of the table, is the most conclusive evidence that it has no comparative value. The items show that the per-centage is obtained from a very small induction; and the last especially proves (if it proves anything) that drunkenness is less fatal than what is called 'temperate' drinking.

Why, we ask, are the statistics of cholera not given? If abstinence from alcoholic stimulants predispose to the other epidemics, by inducing 'nervous depression,' it must assuredly manifest itself in the same direction of increased sickness and mortality with respect to the most formidable of the type? But Dr. Barclay lays down a principle which applies to 'fever, dysentery, diarrhœa, and cholera;' and his statistics not only prove too much in regard to one, contradict each other in respect to three, but so totally negative the wild hypothesis with relation to the fourth, that the facts are conveniently excluded! In other words, we have detected our 'philosopher' in the act of cooking his statistics.

Let us suppose a parallel case, to show the kind of trick that has been played off upon the public by Dr. Barclay and the *Saturday Review*—the latter not only ignoring altogether the table which shows that in all other diseases, save the three, tee-

\* 'Nationally,' says Dr. Chambers, whose discarded notions our lecturer is retailing, 'muscular and mental energy always run in couples. Indeed, it is a question whether the first is not the cause of the second.' If teetotalism improves the nutrition of the muscles, it cannot deteriorate the nerves and brain; nor, therefore, specially predispose to the three typical diseases of 'fever, dysentery, and cholera.'

totalers have the advantage of 50 per cent. of exemption on the average, but dishonestly\* representing the proportion to hold of sickness generally! The reader will remember the horrible catastrophe of the Black Hole at Calcutta, into which above 140 persons were thrust, of whom only some dozen survived after a few days, the majority dying of asphyxia before the following morning. We may presume they were not teetotalers, but usually moderationists.† Now suppose we were to adduce their experience, and place the results of 96 per cent. mortality to the credit of drinking a little wine—were to say, in fact, that *that* habit ‘predisposes to some diseases, as asphyxia’—what would Dr. Barclay reply? Would he not ask whether teetotalers would fare much better in the same circumstances? whether a similar trial had been made with them, and had ended in a different way? The answer would be the exposure of the fallacy, since the value of comparative statistics depends entirely upon the similarity of the circumstances under which the facts are produced, and the frequency and uniformity of the results.

Now Dr. Barclay’s little table gives the statistics only of a single year, and the results of circumstances peculiar to the teetotal soldiers, from whose experience the figures are obtained. We will give the details in regard to one disease—dysentery, on the authority of Dr. E. A. Parkes, Professor of Hygiene at the Army Medical School, Chatham, and formerly serving with the 84th Regiment.

The regiments serving in the Madras Presidency in 1849, and included in the return, were the 15th Hussars, her Majesty’s 25th, 51st, 84th, and 94th regiments, and the 1st Madras Fusiliers. The 84th was, *par excellence*, the temperance regiment. Owing to the exertions of Lieut.-Col. Willington, Major (now Brigadier-General) Russell, C.B., and the late Major Seymour, this regiment (from 1843 up to the date almost of the mutiny) was so temperate that, from 1844 to 1849, no case of delirium tremens occurred. It included at one time above 500 teetotalers, and the rest of the men were very limited drinkers. The 450 teetotalers, of whom Dr. Barclay says, ‘one died of fever,’ but ‘only one in 4,318 of the temperate soldiers’ belonged chiefly to this single regiment. Now in 1849, the year of the statistics, this teetotal regiment was sent to Secunderabad, in the Deccan, which was then, and for years

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\* Professor Carpenter’s letter of correction was rejected.

† This shocking event happened in 1756, and was the consequence of a catastrophe brought about through drunkenness. Surajah Dowlah, having besieged Fort William, the English troops, before terms of surrender were mediated, ‘obtained access to the liquor, and were so intoxicated that the enemy took possession without resistance.’ 146 officers and men were thrust into a dungeon only 18 feet square, with two small barred windows. Next morning but 23 men were found breathing, most of them raving or insensible. Not a dozen ultimately survived the horrors of the Black Hole.

after, the very hot-bed of dysentery. Owing to the position and construction of the barracks, and a bad supply of water, no regiment left that station without crowding the churchyard with the dead. Now, to compare the risks of dysentery among the teetotalers serving at Secunderabad with the rest of the force serving in other much healthier stations, is the suppositional fallacy of the Black Hole made actual. Instead of a comparison there is a contrast; instead of an uniformity of continued result there is but one trial under peculiar circumstances.

Dr. Lees (vol. i. Appendix, p. 138) exposed this sophism in 1847, in replying to Dr. Glover; and we may borrow his language, and say that Dr. Barclay is 'guilty of the same fallacy as he would be who, to prove the unhealthiness of an entire town, should go to the narrow lanes, confined courts, and miserable cellars of the very scum and outcasts of the community, and thence draw his inference as to the healthiness of all the rest. The best proof would be a trial of the principle, not among the same class merely, but the same men; and such a trial is detailed in reference to the 84th Regiment in the "Medical Review" for 1847.' In that year it marched to Secunderabad (450 miles); and, 'although the road is proverbial for cholera, and passes through several unhealthy and marshy districts, the men were free from sickness to an extent absolutely unprecedented in our marches in India. They had no cholera and no fever, and lost only two men from dysentery, both old chronic cases. The officers were surprised to find that the men marched infinitely better than they had ever before known, and were unusually cheerful.' Dr. Lees adds the testimony of Dr. Ramsey Sladen, Physician-General of Madras, who says: 'I have always been most temperate, and have enjoyed an uncommon share of health; but I find that I can go through bodily and mental exertion much better when I abstain altogether from alcoholic or fermented liquors.'

Had Dr. Barclay desired to discover the truth, he would carefully have sought for proper conditions of comparison, and at once have suspected the character of those which even seemed to a superficial view to prove that drunkenness was better than abstinence as a prophylactic against epidemics. The losses of the 84th Regiment should have been compared with the losses of other regiments at the same place and under similar circumstances.

Now the annual average mortality at Secunderabad was for many years more than 70 per 1,000. Some slight improvements in the barracks in 1837-1838 were of little use, for subsequently several regiments were literally more than decimated by dysentery. The 84th Regiment served here during part of 1847, and in 1848 and 1849. In the Annual Report up to the 31st March,

March, 1849, they had lost, out of a strength of 1,068, only 24 men from all causes; of these 10 only were from dysentery. The annual mortality was little over 22 per 1,000, instead of 70 per 1,000, which was the average. For 1849 the returns do not extend later than the end of September; but in the quarter ending 30th September, the period of all the great dysenteric outbursts, the admissions from dysentery were 68 out of a strength of 1,044, the deaths only 6.

There is here, then, the clearest evidence that, although the 84th Regiment did not escape the terrible influence which for so many years assailed the troops at Secunderabad, it yet suffered from these influences in an inconsiderable degree; and thus the entire facts support the view that teetotalism protects against the attacks, as well as against the severity, of epidemics. We may say of Dr. Barclay, in conclusion, that there is nothing more fallacious than his facts, unless it be his figures. He can not only make facts on paper, but can stoutly deny them. We have had in our hand this day a bottle of virgin wine—pure grape-juice, as thin as is the juice in the grape itself—which has been bottled three years. It would keep three centuries as well as three years. Dr. Barclay, however, like the French *savan*, boldly declares that ‘it is so much the worse for our fact’! At p. 42, ‘to make unfermented wine, however desirable,’ he asserts ‘to be quite impossible, except by boiling down to the consistence of a syrup.’ How stubborn the wine must be to continue to exist in the face of this proclaimed impossibility! How absurd on the part of Mr. F. Wright to advertise it at 28s. per dozen! But mark the Doctor’s reason. ‘For wherever sugar, water, and air meet, they *must* ferment.’ Really we did not know this. We had fancied that ‘a ferment’ was essential to fermentation.

But enough for the present—we shall return to the discussion. The work of Dr. Brinton, and the interesting controversy which has been going on for some months in the medical journals, we reserve for notice in our next issue. It is sufficient to indicate here that the old ground of alcohol being food is abandoned as entirely untenable, after the conclusive experiments of Professors Lallemand and Perrin, and of Dr. Edward Smith.\*

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\* The reader, in referring to an article in the preceding volume (p. 34), will observe that we spoke of the chromic acid test as a discovery of Lallemand’s, for so it would appear to have been to him, judging from his language. However, there can be no doubt that Rudolf Masing first used it. On the next page a printer’s error requires correction. ‘1 $\frac{1}{10}$  French pint,’ should be ‘1 $\frac{7}{10}$  pint’ (i. e. nearly a quart).

We may add here, that the book entitled ‘*Ebrietatis Encomium*,’ of which we gave so full an analysis (p. 103), was a reprint of 1812; the *original* bearing date, ‘London, 1723,’ in 12mo., with frontispiece.

## ART. VI.—MR. BATES, THE ARCHITECT.

IT was a dull, cold October afternoon; twilight was coming on, accompanied by small drizzling rain. In the drawing-room of a tolerably large house in one of the suburbs of the metropolis sat a lady, restless, and apparently uneasy in mind. Her eldest child, a little girl of some ten or eleven years of age, sat on a low stool near the glowing fire, stitching away at a piece of white work.

Mrs. Bates was not still for five minutes together. She would go to the window and look out in the gathering mist, as if expecting some one; then, heaving a sigh, would return to her seat, only to start up again to the window in a minute or two, to look out as before.

Little Mary was not surprised to see her mother so agitated; of late it had been no uncommon thing to see her so, and the child half divined the reason of it. 'Isn't papa very late this evening, mamma?' she said.

'He is, dear, especially for Saturday. I can't imagine what detains him.'

Saturday evening was looked forward to most eagerly by the younger members of the family, for the sole reason that on that evening they were allowed to take tea in the drawing-room with their parents. On other days, Mr. and Mrs. Bates dined alone at the tea hour, in consequence of Mr. Bates being engaged the whole day in business in the City. On Saturdays, his office was closed at midday, and accordingly the home arrangements respecting meal-times were altered, to the great satisfaction of the aforesaid 'younger members.'

The little timepiece on its marble bracket rattled out the hour of six. 'Papa is late,' said Mrs. Bates, for nearly the twentieth time; then, pausing in her march to the window, exclaimed, 'Hark! what can those children be doing? Turning the house upside down, I should think. Mary, just run up and tell Ann I will come and—or, never mind, I will go myself.' And as she ascended the stairs, peals of laughter and the clatter of childish feet scampering madly about made her brow grow dark. Mrs. Bates was not a good woman in the true acceptance of the term, and her temper being already ruffled by her husband's non-appearance at the proper time, she did not feel in a mood to deal leniently with offenders. Moreover, the scene that was presented to her as she opened the nursery door was in no wise calculated to soothe her perturbed feelings. There were four children there, and a young, careless, rosy-faced nursemaid 'fresh from the country.'

Little Jessie, the eldest of the four, was seated on a high stool, poring

poring over a picture-book, and apparently unconscious of the confusion that reigned around. Two little boys were playing at horses, scouring round and round the room at express rate. These were the young gentlemen who were creating such an uproar. One was going full speed astride the poker, which made no slight noise, and likewise left jetty tracks crossed and recrossed on the uncarpeted floor; the other was flourishing an apology for a whip in the shape of an old doll, with which he most unmercifully belaboured his brother's back, every blow shaking out a respectable amount of sawdust from the novel 'whip,' which fell in most undesirable showers upon the curly heads of the two laughing, shrieking, romping youngsters.

The baby—a merry little fellow of ten months—sitting on the floor, ever and anon manifested his appreciation of the fun by uttering a loud prolonged crow of delight, resting, during its delivery, in his attempts to tear to pieces Jessie's spelling-book, which, thanks to the ingenuity of the age, was 'indestructible.' The nurse, in the midst of it all, was quietly writing a pencil note home, telling the old folks how well she and London agreed together.

Mrs. Bates's sudden appearance, and her emphatic ejaculatory 'Well I never!' produced a startling effect. The nurse was covered with confusion, the two little lads stood in grotesque attitudes, as if petrified; only Jessie was calm. To flirt the poker from Master Johnny's hand and replace it in the fender was the work of a moment, and then the sawdust was sent flying out of Freddy's hair by a sharp sudden box on the ears, and the two would-be equestrians retreated crest-fallen to a corner to set up a low whining cry, but whether to shed tears was very questionable. Then Mrs. Bates found her tongue, and used it with remarkable energy to the innocent-looking nursemaid, who bore the tirade with praiseworthy resignation, all the while secretly grieving over the sheet of pink-edged paper, which she reckoned would create such a sensation at home, and which was of course completely spoiled through her having to thrust it so expeditiously into her pocket.

'And you, Jessie,' Mrs. Bates went on, turning to the little lady on the high stool, 'I should have thought you would have known better.'

'Mamma dear, I have been reading here all the time; I have not played once.'

'Reading in such a place as this, eh? You are a little, stupid, dreamy thing, Jessie. I'll turn over a new leaf with you children, I really will. Now don't let me hear you again, or you'll not get off so easily, I promise you.' And she departed.

'I'll turn over a new leaf' was one of Mrs. Bates's household phrases. She used it as regularly as her watch-key, and sometimes

times for a similar purpose. Did any part of the household machinery get foul and flag in working, she calculated upon winding the whole up to its normal condition of 'going' by the use of that expressive threat.

As for the children, they knew it as well as they did their *A B C*, and the 'twice-times' of the multiplication table. It fell dull and heavy on their ears as a thrice-told tale, and they had gradually ceased to notice or be moved by it, more especially as of late it had been unaccompanied by those terrible illustrations which had adorned, or rather disfigured, the 'leaves' turned over in times gone by, but still within their recollection.

As Mrs. Bates reached the drawing-room, the hall door was heard to open, shoes were noisily rubbed on the mat, and a heavy step ascended the stairs. It was Mr. Bates. He entered the room with a slow, careless, swaggering gait. He was a tall, fine-looking man, attired in a loose and not ungraceful style of dress, which well became him, and he moved and spoke with that air of nonchalance peculiar to a certain class of well-to-do business men. But his face,—ah! it could not be called a pleasant one, for it was somewhat bloated and disfigured, and the eyes were dull and lustreless; no one could gaze long at him without coming to the conclusion that there was something going on wrong. Yet not so very long ago, that countenance was exceedingly attractive, and his genial smile irresistibly winning. He was changed. The truth was, he drank deeply, deeply. This was the grief that haunted his wife through the day, and disturbed her slumbers at night. Even the children knew a little of it—for intemperance is a sin which cannot be hid—and their young faces would be sometimes clouded, especially little Jessie's. She was a quiet, delicate, thoughtful child, strange and 'old-fashioned' in her manners, and the family seemed to have an instinctive idea that she would be the first to go, and accordingly bestowed on her an extra amount of affectionate care. Most intensely she loved her father, and the happiest moments of her young life were spent when sitting on his knee, with her arms twined lovingly about his neck.

But we are digressing.

Mr. Bates made a slight apology for being late, as he saw his wife waiting tea.

'I could not think where you were, Aleck,' she replied.

'Dare say not,' he said, carelessly; 'the fact is, I ought not to have come home at all, for I had a most pressing invitation to dine with an old friend who arrived in town to-day. As 'tis Saturday, I thought of Jess and the children; however, I must run out directly after tea, so let us have it with all possible speed, my dear.'

Mrs. Bates did not reply, but turned and rang for the urn. In a few minutes a rush was heard on the stairs, and, laughing and chattering, the children came bounding in.

‘Behave yourselves!’ cried Mrs. Bates to the two boys, who had so recently undergone punishment, but who, by the way, seemed to have as much remembrance of it as though it had been inflicted twelve months before. They took their seats, but their faces were all a-glow with suppressed merriment, and papa’s sayings were greeted with an unwarrantable amount of laughter. Certainly he must have been uncommonly jocular that evening. Mrs. Bates’s face in the midst of it all relaxed not a muscle; she could see below the surface of things, and knew only too well the cause of her husband’s lightsomeness.

‘He will pipe a different strain,’ she said, mentally, ‘when he arrives home to-night.’ He said something to her about being ‘glum,’ and bantered her on her mopishness. She coloured to have him speak so before the children, and retorted. Then followed one of those family jars which had so disturbed the peace of their home of late. We shall decline the task of recording Mr. Bates’s unmanly sayings, and the replies elicited from his annoyed wife, which would not prove interesting or edifying in the least degree. Jessie was very quiet, listening with pain to what was passing between her parents, and when at liberty to move, she ran round to her father, and climbing his knee, laid her soft, pale face against his rough, bushy whiskers.

‘Well, puss, what have you been doing to-day?’ he asked.

‘Sewing a bit, pa, and dressing my doll, and reading.’

‘Very nice work for a little lady.’ Jessie felt pleased to receive his commendation. After leaning there quietly for a while, she drew his head down and whispered—

‘I want to speak to you quiet, papa.’

‘Well, my dear, go on.’ She hesitated. ‘What is it, Jessie?’

‘Papa, ducky’ (this was the fondest term she thought she could possibly use), ‘will you turn over a new leaf?’ He started; such a request, coming from such a quarter, threw him momentarily off his guard, but recovering himself, he said—‘There is no necessity for doing so, my dear. What has papa done wrong?’

‘I don’t know,’ replied Jessie, timidly; ‘but I think you might turn over a new leaf, somehow, pa.’ He thought so too, but laughingly kissing her, he lifted her down, and rose to go out.

‘Will you turn over a new leaf?’ Those words rang in his ears as he walked through the wet uncomfortable weather towards the City. They would not cease their importunity even when he was seated round the convivial board, apparently the most jovial of those jovial ones who, like himself, were making shipwreck of health, wealth, character, happiness, and everything. That night

his

his wife listened with astonishment to the frequent repetition of the words in his drunken almost unintelligible soliloquies.

At such times he invariably let fall ominous words confirmatory of Mrs. Bates's fears that they were getting into difficulties. No other ground whatever had she for such a supposition. On the contrary, by actions that spoke louder than words, Mr. Bates represented that they were in a prospering state. Costly articles of furniture were unexpectedly sent home by him; pictures, statuettes, &c.—for he was an ardent admirer of the fine arts—and which Mrs. Bates, in her first bursts of astonishment, declared were altogether superfluous, and were purchased in a fit of extravagance. Had she said in a fit of intoxication, she would have been nearer the mark, for that was the fact. However, she finally took a more charitable view of the matter, and was secretly pleased with the costly 'superfluities;' and what housewife would not be?

Mr. Bates never troubled his wife about his commercial affairs nor talked to her about business matters. When sober, he was emphatically 'close' with regard to such topics, though it evidently cost him an effort to keep so. He did not hesitate to tell her, when he had been particularly successful with any of his designs, of the praise and admiration he had gained. Indeed, he could not have disguised his pleasure and satisfaction, for he was naturally a demonstrative man. But nothing further did he deem it expedient to disclose to her; consequently, she had about as much idea of their being in a declining state as the man in the moon, until she learned the import of her husband's drunken mysterious mutterings.

Then fears became her constant companions. She began to think. Yes, her husband was indeed an habitual and a hard drinker. Under such circumstances could business be properly attended to? Such thoughts, such questions, perpetually distressed her. Would he 'turn over a new leaf?' She had herself, with much misgiving, once proposed that question to him; but the next moment had accused herself of foolishness, as he scornfully tossed the proposition aside with words of pleasant banter.

A month or two from the time of the commencement of our story, on one of the mid-week evenings, he brought a friend home to dine with him. As usual, he had been drinking, and Mrs. Bates felt in nowise agreeable to the task of entertaining his guest. Besides, Mr. Jones was not a man calculated to produce a favourable impression on the mind of such a woman as Mrs. Bates, sensible, educated, and generally refined as she was. He was loud and noisy—hilarious would be the best word—and his frequent jokes were coarse and ungentlemanly. Mrs. Bates was not sorry when she could leave the room, and long after her

departure the two gentlemen sat over their wine. Half an hour or so passed in loose, desultory conversation, when Mr. Bates said, as if suddenly recollecting, 'Those are the pictures I was speaking of.'

'Ah!' ejaculated Jones, rising to look at them; and raising his eye-glass, he scanned them attentively for five minutes with the air of a connoisseur. They were beautiful paintings—one of a Spanish girl with fruit, the other an exquisite Italian landscape.

'Humph! you must come down a cool fifty,' said Jones, after a quiet survey, and swinging his eye-glass round and round.

'Not a fraction,' promptly responded Bates.

'You won't get your first sum anywhere.'

'Won't I, though? I tell you, Jones,' said Mr. Bates, bringing his hand down heavily on the man's shoulder with tipsy confidence, 'I would not part with them for anything that could be offered, although I have such a posse, were it not that I am pushed for cash just now. Why, man, they're splendid!'

'Yes, they are fine pictures,' said the other, slowly; 'but, at any rate, you'll knock off twenty; come, that's fair.'

'I won't!' said the uncompromising Bates, very decidedly. So, as Jones saw he was determined, he pressed the subject no longer; and after discussing another bottle of wine, the bargain was arranged satisfactorily to both parties.

Jones met Mrs. Bates on the stairs as he was leaving the house, and wished her 'good evening,' but she comprehended not the meaning of the words to her husband, 'I'll send for them to-morrow, Bates.'

When he had gone, Mr. Bates seemed woefully ill at ease. He took up his hat, put it on, and took it off. Presently taking a seat immediately opposite his wife, and making an imbecile attempt to look uncommonly sober, he began: 'I've been thinking it was very foolish, Marian, to buy those paintings'—waving his hand towards them—'quite unnecessary; a piece of unpardonable extravagance.'

'I thought so at the time of your purchasing them,' said his wife, quietly; 'but as we have them it's no use regretting. They are very beautiful.'

'Humph! The value of them in pounds, shillings, and pence would be infinitely more beautiful to me just now. In fact, I've been talking to Jones about converting them into ditto, and he seems to take up with the idea.'

'Sell them, do you mean?—to him?' said she, in undisguised disgust. 'Never should such a man have a shilling's worth of mine! There is something about him that I hate!' and her eyes flashed.

'Very probably,' replied Mr. Bates; 'I don't admire him myself;

myself; but the fellow abounds in riches, and it is well for one in my position to have such a friend. The truth is, Marian, my affairs just now are in a critical state, and a good round sum would be of incalculable service to me, therefore I think my wisest plan would be to dispose of those two paintings; they will be the least missed of anything we have.'

Mrs. Bates felt alarmed to hear it hinted that it was really necessary to convert any of their possessions into hard, serviceable cash, and then to hear him say, 'They will be the least missed of anything we have,' sounded like the prelude to something terrible. However, there was no help for it; the paintings went, and, ere long, a few other 'superfluous' articles followed them.

One night Mrs. Bates was sitting up alone, waiting for her husband as was her wont. He was unusually late—it was past the midnight hour. The poor woman, weary in mind as well as body, was leaning her head down on her hands, and bitter tears were trickling slowly through her fingers. Her hopes were dying, her cup of happiness seemed dashed aside for ever. It was strange how, at such times, her heart seemed to go out after God; how the burdened spirit seemed to find relief in thinking of Him, and in breathing broken, imperfect prayers, like the first trustful lisplings of a little child to its father. Very strange it seemed, for Mrs. Bates had not been a praying woman.

Her husband came in intoxicated, and apparently in a furious passion. She secretly trembled as he paced the room, with rolling, unsteady gait, his eyes glaring, his lips muttering terrible imprecations.

'What is it, Aleck? What's the matter?' she said at length.

'Matter enough,' he growled; 'but why are you up now? You'd better go to bed, and mind your own business.'

She still kept her seat, however, and he went on raving in the same unaccountable style, and uttering horrid oaths. All the intelligible words he let fall from which she could determine the cause of his excitement were—'The wretches! the hypocritical wretches! And so they have been pleased to blaze it abroad that "Alexander Bates, the talented architect, has completely failed with his designs for ——"' He spoke mockingly, and then came another volley of oaths, uttered in a voice of thunder.

Mrs. Bates rose, and with trembling steps approached him.

'Aleck,' she whispered hoarsely, 'it is not so really?'

'Of course not; never succeeded so well in my life. It's their jealousy; but I'll be revenged!' and he clenched his fists savagely.

'But who has said it, Aleck?' asked his wife, in the same anxious, trembling tones.

'No one that I care for. I'll ride over their heads yet!' he raved, throwing his arms about tragically. 'I'll let the world  
know

know who Alexander Bates is! How dare they speak with derogation of me? I'll teach them yet!

The truth was, those last designs had been almost wholly conceived and drawn out by him whilst under the influence of alcoholics, and were, consequently, most extravagantly and absurdly done. Indeed, when, a day or two subsequently to the above-mentioned outburst of passion, he reviewed his work with sober eyes, he felt ashamed, disgusted, and mentally admitted that the censure he had received was deserved.

From that time he drank more deeply in vain efforts to forget himself and his multifarious troubles. His pride had been sorely wounded.

The family suffered much, and, already on the sliding scale to ruin, their speed became fearfully accelerated.

## II.

'Important sale of excellent household furniture and effects at 18 — Terrace, Kensington.

'Messrs. Hook and Walker will sell by auction, at 18 — Terrace, on the 10th and 11th of November, 18—, commencing each day at twelve precisely, all the modern household furniture, comprising, &c., &c., &c. We need not copy the whole of the bill, such may be seen and read elsewhere any day of the week. Thus was Bates's home broken up. Month after month rolled wearily by, and then came this crisis.

The family were about to leave London for Liverpool. Just before their departure Mrs. Bates received a foreign-looking letter: it was from her only brother, and although she had heard from him regularly since he had left England, never had any of his letters been looked for so eagerly as this one. He was in America, transacting business for a Manchester house; and with tears of disappointment she read his words: 'Do not write again until you hear from me; I expect to leave this place (Charleston) for New Orleans in a day or two, and my whereabouts will be uncertain for a time. I will send the address as early as possible.'

'How foolish,' murmured Mrs. Bates; 'why did he not tell me to write to the Post Office? How can I tell him to write to Liverpool now? I shall never hear from him again:' and so she grieved that he would not know how or where she was situated.

In the dead of winter they sought a home in a strange place. They rented a small four-roomed house in N—— Street. Mr. Bates, after some difficulty, obtained a situation in an architect's office: he was very clever, and fortunately quite unknown in Liverpool; and to avoid recognition by name, he adopted the pseudonym of Bryant.

For a time he went on steadier, and hope began to revive in his

his wife's heart. She would have gladly taken in a little sewing, but, to use her own words, 'her hands were tied' by a baby of five months old. The home and children were kept very neat and clean. Had a stranger peeped into the little room designated 'the parlour' (although it was made a sleeping-room at night), and had he noticed how well brushed the bit of faded carpet was; how tastefully the very coarse white curtains were looped up; how nicely the cheap pictures were hung, and how well the whole of the poor furniture was arranged, he would have said that the place belonged to some one who had seen 'better days.'

Mr. Bates had not been in his situation three months before he exposed himself. All along he had drank deeply, but secretly, which his employer had reason to suspect. But one day he presented himself completely intoxicated, and was forthwith ordered out of the place. Mr. L. was a stern, proud man: he looked upon a drunkard from only one point of view, and judged him mercilessly. He had 'no sympathy with men who made brutes of themselves; where was their self-respect?' and so on. The declaration, 'No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God' seemed perfectly just and right in his eyes. But he never cared to light on such texts in the Bible as—'It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor anything whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is made weak.' He considered himself included in the brethren addressed, 'Ye who are spiritual,' yet he heeded not the exhortation made to such, 'If a man be overtaken in a fault, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness.'

Without having any recollection of his abrupt dismissal, poor Bates went the next morning to business as usual. Great was his astonishment to receive a severe reprimand from Mr. L. How the old proud spirit rose up and could scarce be restrained from resenting the unnecessarily harsh words! Thoughts of his wife and children deterred him, however, and with tightly-compressed lips, and a face dark with suppressed feeling, he bowed to the decision of the man (whom he felt to be his inferior in many respects), that he should receive 'a prompt dismissal on the repetition of the offence.'

Within a month from that day the 'offence' was repeated, and the threat put into execution.

That was a time of sore trouble whilst Bates was in search of another situation. The family could not live without food, the father would not live without drink, and so they were reduced to great straits. There were the same old difficulties to be met and overcome in applying for employment. Character was inquired into, recommendations, &c., required. One day, weary and worn, Mr. Bates entered a large warehouse, and made the usual inquiries. A gentlemanly-looking man, with a pleasant, benevolent countenance,

countenance, came forward to speak with him. He saw at a glance what sort of a man Bates was and had been, and he felt for him. He thought of the temptations that surrounded the drunkard, and could make allowances for his circumstances.

Mr. Bates told him much. Mr. Harris was a man who could easily win the confidence of those in trouble. He listened patiently and kindly to what Bates had to say, and finally offered him a situation which would engage him in writing the whole of the day. This, though different from what he had been accustomed to, was gladly accepted, and he went home fully determined to merit the kindness and good-will of his benefactor, and to prove himself worthy of the trust reposed in him when he should enter upon his new duties.

Very pleased was his wife to hear the welcome news. 'Now, Aleck,' she said hopefully, 'if you will only mind, this will prove the beginning of better things, I believe. Do you think, dear, you would like to take the pledge? *Do, now.*'

'Not a bit of it, Marian; I shall take care of myself this time, never fear. I always feel weak and low; I am sure I need stimulants.'

His wife sighed. 'Do be careful, Aleck,' she said earnestly.

Time went on, and Bates kept pretty steady, at least during the daytime. But he never went to bed perfectly sober, and consequently felt the craving for the early morning dram, in which he regularly indulged. Throughout the hours of business he made strong efforts to control himself.

At the time he was earning nothing for a week or two, Mary, their eldest child, had sought for something to do, and had been successful in getting 'a little place'—viz., to take care of a baby for sixpence per day. However, now that their prospects were becoming brighter, Mrs. Bates thought she might give it up, to attend school with Jessie. So one evening she said, 'I think, Mary, dear, you might leave Mrs. Smith, and get to school again for a time; you will be learning something.'

Mary looked pleased. 'I should like to, indeed, mamma. I do want to learn so much.' Her eyes were tearful.

It was arranged, therefore, that on the following Monday she was to be free once more for school.

But (alas! for the 'buts') the very day succeeding the one on which this arrangement had been made Mr. Bates came home sadly intoxicated. It was a lovely afternoon in early summer. The warm, pleasant sunshine streamed through the little window and danced on the kitchen floor, and the soft breeze, which plays as kindly in the dirty streets of the city as around the tree-embowered cottages of the country, dallied with the few cheery-looking though common geraniums that bloomed on the window-sill.

Jessie,

Jessie, poor little fragile, delicate Jessie, was out with her two brothers. The baby was asleep in one corner of the kitchen; and Mrs. Bates every now and then had to look up from her sewing to say 'Hush!' to a bright little fellow who was building a house of empty cotton-reels on the floor. 'Don't you talk, Harry dear,' said she, as the child was chattering to some old gentleman who he fondly imagined was the keeper of his 'house.' 'Ma doesn't want baby to wake yet; she has such a lot of work to do before tea.' And so Master Harry carried on his conversations in whispers for the next five minutes. Then came some one bursting in at the street door. Mrs. Bates rose hastily, thinking it was the children. She raised her finger as the door opened; but it was not they. Her heart sank. What could have happened to make her husband like this again? She put the question very softly to him. He swore at her, and commenced raving like a madman. The baby woke up screaming, and the little boy hid his face in his mother's dress. Words were unavailing at such a time; so Mrs. Bates silently moved about, preparing the children's tea, with the baby in her arms. Poor children! On their return from a very happy walk they became gloomy at sight of their mother's distress, moved about half-frightened, and spoke only below their voices. Jessie went to her father, and slipped her thin hand into his, but was told to go away, and not tease. It was a miserable time for them all. Many such afternoons they knew throughout the beautiful summer. Mr. Harris bore long and kindly with poor Bates. Time after time he listened to his promises of amendment, and encouraged him in every possible way. He talked to him as an equal and a brother, and advised him as a true friend. Indeed, he was a man of a thousand.

Bates knew what he owed to him. He knew how he had requited him for his kindness; and, when sober, his self-reproaches were bitter indeed. He wished, above all things, to show how he appreciated his generosity, but, alas! he was bound. He had the will—sometimes strong, and sometimes very, very feeble, but he lacked the power.

Summer faded away and died, and the fairest of her flowers drooped and paled, and vanished. Autumn, with sober mien, commenced her march across the beautiful earth, chanting low, solemn dirges over the bier of summer, the while her train of faded leaves rustled strangely in the winds. Sometimes the nights were glorious with mellow moonlight; sometimes wind and storm held carnival on the earth. Mrs. Bates dreaded the coming winter. Last winter she knew how her poor children's faces had been pinched by hunger as well as cold—provisions had been so dear. Then Jessie was so unwell. She feared the cold for her; she would certainly suffer much.

It was a cold October day. Large masses of gray cloud had drifted for hours across the gloomy sky, but no rain had fallen. The shades of evening were darkening, and the wind, which had been moaning all day, was fast rising to a gale. Johnny and Fred came in from school, and settled themselves near the fire. Mrs. Bates put the baby in Jessie's keeping, and brushed the little boys' hair.

'You mind you are good lads this evening,' she said pleasantly, 'and perhaps pa will stay at home with you, and help you to do your lessons.' She always liked to talk cheerily to the poor children.

'Ma,' said Johnny, starting up, 'there's the lamp<sup>\*</sup>lighter; we ought to have the shutters shut. Let me go and do it, ma; and we can have a candle lit, and have tea jolly to-night.' He ran outside and closed the shutters. 'It does blow, ma,' he said.

'Yes; the wind's rising, my dear.'

'When shall we have tea, ma? I'm hungry.'

'We must wait for papa, dear; it would not be kind to go on without him.'

'We had drawing to-day, ma,' said Freddy. 'And didn't I get some marks? I'm going to try to draw as well as papa.'

'That's right, Freddy,' said his mother. 'You'll learn to do grand things, I know.'

'I shall, mamma,' said the boy, with an earnest face; 'and Johnny too. He's at the top of his class.'

'I know mamma will be proud of her good little sons some day,' said Mrs. Bates, stroking their soft curly hair. Such motherly encouragement used to help her children much. She never heard them say they could not do their lessons, no matter how difficult they might be.

How sad that any circumstance should cloud that bright home that evening. Mr. Bates came in intoxicated as usual, but unusually excited. It was the same old, old story he had to tell. Mr. Harris had given him notice to leave.

'Aleck,' said his wife, 'don't trouble. He will have you again. He has been kind and forgiving hitherto.'

'I won't go back!' cried he, almost at the top of his voice, and speaking in thick, guttural tones. 'I'll never ask him again. I'm a devil! I hate myself!'

The children cowered. 'Hush!' said his wife. 'Come and have tea, and let to-morrow bring its own troubles. "Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."'

'Don't talk like a fool, Marian,' he replied. And sitting down on a chair that stood near the table, he pushed aside the tea-tray, which sent a plate or two clattering to the floor, and leaned his head down on his folded arms with an air of utter weariness.

Jessie

Jessie stooped to pick up the broken pieces, and to hide her tears too. Having tea was out of the question now; so the little boys got their lesson-books, and engaged themselves with slates and pencils.

Presently Bates looked up, and said, with strange calmness, 'It's a wonder that I came home; the temptation was fearfully strong to-night. I shall be sure to do it some day. Mark me, Marian, I shall! I am burning, soul and body; and the water is cool! It gives me an idea of rest. And there is no rest here: no rest anywhere! I wanted to get away from myself. But all the fiends rushed past me, shrieking—I heard them in the wind; and I disappointed them this *one* night.' Then the face was hid again. Mrs. Bates trembled. The blast howled down the street, and flapped the shutters, which Johnny had not securely fastened.

'Hear them knocking at the door,' said Bates, mysteriously. 'That's just how they wake me in the night. I get no sleep—no rest. I wish I were dead!' He rose, and walked backwards and forwards like a caged tiger. His hands were clasped behind him, and they trembled visibly. He kept up a continual inaudible mutter, save when an unusually loud gust of wind seemed to struggle at the front door. Then for a moment he paused to listen.

'Now, Aleck, come and have a cup of tea,' said Mrs. Bates, affecting not to notice his strange manner. 'Here, come round to your old seat by the fire.' He gazed vacantly at her for a moment, and then turned away, speaking more naturally. 'Oh! yes; I remember,' he said. 'No, I don't want any tea. Where's Jess?'

'Here, papa,' said the child, springing forward. He smoothed her silken hair, saying, 'Poor darling!'

'We'll have tea now, papa, eh?' said Jessie.

'Yes, anything; but don't tease, dear. You shouldn't come near me.'

Jessie looked astonished, but went away quietly. After much persuasion poor Bates took a cup of tea, which seemed to do him good. Then he asked Jessie to reach his hat. A shocking bad hat it was.

Mrs. Bates had hoped so much to have kept him at home. She was alarmed at the idea of his going out after what he had disclosed of his state of mind. 'Don't go out, dear,' she pleaded.

'I must, Marian. I could not stay here. I should go mad—raving mad!'

She followed him to the door. The cold, damp air rushed in and chilled her. It was reviving to him. 'It is such a rough, miserable night. Do stay,' she implored.

'The night suits me, Marian. It is full of unrest and darkness. It is glorious!' And he passed away.

'The

The wife returned to her children, and the long pent-up feelings burst out in irrepressible sobs. 'Darling mamma, dont cry,' said Jessie. 'Let me run and ask him to come back.'

'No, no, Jessie, not you.' She glanced across at the happy unconscious babe. Jessie understood the look.

'Not you, mamma, because if anything should happen to baby. Let me run, now, quickly. Do, ma.' She ran and snatched up a shawl of her mother's. 'Put this round me and let me run quickly,' she urged. 'Suppose if he should do *that*, mā !'

That was enough. The shawl was folded about her, and she was at the door.

'It is spotting with rain, my dear. Here, Jessie, wait, your shoes are thin.'

'Oh, don't mind, ma. I will run. It isn't much.' And she sprang off, a mother's prayers following her all the way.

A sudden gust dashed the small, blinding rain into her eyes. She stopped short for a minute; then recovering breath, held her arms tightly across her chest and started again. The rain came on faster and faster; the pavements became slippery with it, and shone in the flickering light of the street lamps. Jessie strained her eyes to endeavour to discern her father in the distance; but when hurrying up to one or another whom she supposed to be him, the figure would suddenly disappear in a doorway. Yet she would not give up. There were not many people about, that was one advantage, for it enabled her to keep a good look-out, and likewise spared her the jostling which she would surely have encountered had the streets been fuller. Nothing but urgent business would have called people out on such a night.

The tempest rushed sobbing along, and poor Jessie's clothes were wet and heavy with the angry rain. She was beginning to feel faint and despairing, when just as she turned into D— Street, she caught sight of her father some way on. Yes, there was no mistaking that tall, bending form. She knew it well; and keeping her eyes steadily fixed on it, she quickened her steps. Suddenly he came to a large doorway, whence a stream of light issued and glared on the muddy pavement. He passed in, and the child's heart sank. She hurried up and stood gasping under the sheltering portico.

People passed in and out, but heeded her not. It was no uncommon thing to see children waiting about there for their parents.

Presently a poor haggard wreck of a man came up his clothes dripping with wet, and passed along the passage to the door at the farther end. Jessie moved a step or two in, gazing earnestly forward. He threw the door wide open. A huge fire was blazing in the grate; there were two large tables, around which men, in all attitudes, were sitting. There was Mr. Bates, a steaming glass of dark liquor before him and untasted, for it was filled to the  
brim

brim. All this Jessie saw at a glance, and with a smothered cry of joy she sprang along the passage, and in a moment was at her father's side.

'Heyday!' shouted a burly tipsy fellow. 'Where the dickens—'

'Jessie!' exclaimed her father, rising hastily, and hurrying her out of the place. 'Where—how did you come?'

'Papa, I only came,' she said, in her childish winning way.

'We wanted you at home so much. Come along, pa.'

He walked mechanically into the street without speaking. He held Jessie's hand so tightly that it pained her. After a while he said, 'Your hand is so hot, Jessie. Stop! are you wet? are your feet wet? I forgot that, my darling. You are wet through, Jessie! Why did you come?'

'It was not wet when I came out, pa. It won't hurt. We shall soon be home.' He lifted the slight little form and carried her tenderly; even so light a burden was almost too much for the enfeebled man. The wind had somewhat fallen, and the rain descended with a sullen decided splash on their unsheltered heads.

Mrs. Bates was in an agony. Twenty times had she reproached herself for letting Jessie out in such weather. 'She will catch her death,' was her continual plaint.

How was her heart relieved when she entered, and with her father too! 'Thank God!' she murmured while stripping off the child's outer clothing.

'Let me go to bed now, mamma,' said Jessie. 'I'm tired.'

'Very well, darling. Mary can help you while I get some dry clothes for papa to put on. I will bring you something up in a few minutes.'

It took her some time to hunt up an old change of things for Mr. Bates, for his wardrobe was lamentably scanty. Then baby had to be settled with playthings between Johnny and Freddy; so that by the time Mrs. Bates had got hot water ready for Jessie's feet, full a quarter of an hour had elapsed, and when she took it upstairs Jessie was quite asleep.

'Mary,' said Mrs. Bates, 'she ought not to have gone off without this water. She will have a dreadful cold.'

'Mamma, she was too weary to sit up another minute. I rubbed her feet well with this rough towel.'

'Perhaps that will do,' said Mrs. Bates, with a sigh; glancing anxiously at the thin, flushed face of the little girl.

It was between nine and ten o'clock that evening. The children were all in bed except Mary. She was finishing the turning of Jessie's school cloak. Mr. Bates had taken nothing to drink since before tea; and his wife thought what a comfort to have him, nearly sober, at home that night. However, he was just getting out

out some coppers for Mary to fetch 'something to keep him from catching cold,' when they heard a low cry proceeding from the room where Jessie was sleeping. Mrs. Bates rose saying 'Hush!' and the next minute the much-dreaded hoarse, thick cough startled them. 'There! she has the croup,' said Mrs. Bates, and her heart sickened with apprehension.

Mr. Bates hurried up to her. She was awake. 'Can I have anything, papa?' she gasped.

'Yes, darling; mamma is getting something.'

She started up in the bed, the terrible cough almost choking her. 'Try to lie down, my dear,' said her father in alarm; 'you are in such a perspiration, and must keep warm.' She shook her head; and her mother brought a flannel and hot water, and gave her a simple remedy which she had prepared. All seemed to be in vain. Still was the wild struggle kept up for breath; still sounded out the stubborn choking cough. The hours passed away in the fight for life. An emetic was administered, which gave no relief; and with agonized hearts the parents watched beside the bed of distressing suffering.

'What can we do, Aleck?' groaned his wife when Jessie had dropped to sleep for a moment, the quick breath rattling continuously in her throat.

'God knows!' he replied, with feelings of bitter remorse as he considered how he was the indirect cause of this trouble. 'She has got over it before, you know, Marian. We must hope for the best.' He was himself now—the kind considerate husband, the affectionate father.

Morning dawned cold, gray, comfortless. The earth was damp from the night's storm; and the ragged, broken clouds moved steadily before a bitter east wind. 'Papa,' gasped Jessie, turning her eyes towards him with an earnest unearthly gaze.

'Yes, my darling,' he replied.

She tried to speak, but the choking feeling in her throat prevented her, and the tears streamed down her face with the mere effort.

'What do you want to say, my pet?' said her father.

She pointed upwards and nodded her head. 'Going,' she said.

'No, no, Jessie, you'll be better presently: the doctor will be here.'

She shook her head and beckoned. Her little strength was all spent; and when he stooped down as she wished, she had scarcely power to clasp her arms round his neck.

'Pa,' she whispered hoarsely, 'promise that you will—turn—over—a—new leaf.' The words were at last got out with difficulty, and then the large blue eyes pleaded more than any words possibly could.

Mr. Bates groaned. Big, burning tears rolled slowly from beneath his closed eyelids. Jessie took his hand.

'Will you, pet?' she still pleaded.

'O Jessie,

‘O Jessie, don’t! I’ll promise anything, my darling, only be quiet.’

Still the child looked anxious and dissatisfied. Mrs. Bates stood by weeping. ‘Promise her, Aleck,’ she whispered.

But he remained silent, perfectly still, save that his breast heaved laboriously. There was a mighty struggle going on within him. In a moment all the events of his past life came crowding back upon his memory. There was the happy home of his early childhood; there was the good mother speaking to her little son words of holy counsel and wisdom; there was the youth—the man—the new home—the happy wife—the gleeful children. There was the yielding to fierce temptation—the first downward step taken. There was the horror of thick darkness settling down on the once happy dwelling, then the exodus; the going forth, branded, to wander through the world; there was the remembrance of hours of disgrace and anguish; the sinking lower, lower into the ‘horrible pit and the miry clay;’ there was the feeling of utter helplessness; and the man wept. He raised his head. Low, indeed, he had fallen, but life and comparative strength were still his. He looked up to the future, but it seemed dark, very dark. There were thorny paths to tread, rocky heights to climb, whose rugged outlines stood out in gloomy relief against a gloomy sky. The way looked very rough. ‘Turn over a new leaf.’ Ah! that involved so much. The conflicts with old habits would be sharp and sanguinary; the fight would be long and desperate; the upward ascent toilsome and wearying. But as he thought, a ray of light shot athwart the gloom and mellowed the scene. The bold rugged heights were softened down; the unsightly parts thrown into pleasant shadow; yea, that sunshine of hope revealed flowers strewn along the rough upward pathway; and behold! the lofty summits were bathed in light ineffable. And thrilling his inmost soul came to memory the inspired and inspiring words: ‘In ME is thy help.’ Weary, and with soiled garments, the man stood in the quagmire of degradation; but his uplifted brow was radiant with the glow caught from that sunbeam of hope, and his breast throbbed and heaved with noble, earnest aspirations. Then to the dying little one before him he answered, with husky voice—

‘I will, my child!’

The clouds have rolled away. The western sky is gorgeous with blending, fading tints. Far up in the zenith the stars gleam out, pale and lustrous. Another spirit has passed within yon mystic portals.

Hush! tread softly in this shadowy little room. Angels awhile since trod its roughly-boarded floor! A child sleeps her last sweet sleep upon that lowly bed. Still the breath while gazing on the white form, the folded hands, the marble brow!

Weep

Weep not over the beautiful clay—all that remains of little Jessie ! She sleeps well ; she has fulfilled her mission !

In that solemn eventide hush a man sits pale and statue-like beside the dead child. There is something unnatural in his outward calmness. The eyes are red and tearless ; the hands are pressed so closely together that the nails and knuckles are white as marble. Within the man, grief, yearning love, remorse, hate, determination, alternately rage and struggle. His bosom is torn with strong, conflicting emotions. He would weep, he would pray, but just now is powerless to do either ; and so he keeps his silent, solitary watch, as immovable as the dead by his side. A little boy steals on tiptoe into the room. The presence of death awes him. The curly head is thrown back, and the ruby lips whisper : ‘ Somebody wants you, papa.’

Gone is all the nervous bitterness that has rankled in the father’s bosom for so long a time in the past ; gone the harsh, thoughtless manner of rebuff, and he replies : ‘ Who, my darling ?’

‘ A gentleman, pa ; he is waiting to see you.’

Mr. Bates leaves the still quiet chamber for almost the first time that day. As he enters the ‘ parlour,’ unlighted save by the street lamp which gleams through the window, a dim figure advances with outstretched hand to meet him. ‘ Bryant, I have had no rest to-day thinking of you ; you must come back.’

Bates draws his tall form to its full height, and answers proudly, and withal bitterly, ‘ Thank you, Mr. Harris, I shall intrude no further upon your benevolence.’

As he turns his fine face—fine still, though branded with his sin—towards the window, Mr. Harris is startled. Pale and haggard it is, but the expression is indescribable. He perceives, too, that he is sober. ‘ Bryant,’ says the gentleman, with delicacy of tone and feeling, ‘ you are suffering.’

‘ Not from anything that has transpired between us,’ says Bates, quickly. ‘ I have lost a child, Mr. Harris, and the pain of separation is somewhat acute.’

‘ God knows it is, Bryant ! I will not offer a word of sympathy, which in such a case would seem burdensome and intrusive. You will allow me to be your friend ?’

‘ Mr. Harris, you have been more than a friend to me. I and my family owe much, very much, to you. I have ever appreciated your kindness, though I have given no proof of it. I have not requited you in any single instance. I have been bound, kept down, down ! No man could sink much lower. However, it is of the past, I trust. The business of my life shall be to repay the only man who has reached a helping hand to Alexander Bates  
in

in his degradation. I shall decline availing myself of your disinterested offer to return.' And he bows haughtily.

'Alexander Bates!' echoes the astounded merchant. 'Surely you are not the architect of the ——?'

'The same, sir.'

'O, Mr. Bates, be true to yourself! You have been bound; you have been kept down, and sorely tempted, I know. Set your face like a flint against the temptations that surround you; they will seem stronger and more subtle than ever as you take your first struggling steps in the upward way. Lean upon God, Bates; lean upon Him, and may you hear his voice saying, "This is the way, walk ye in it, when ye turn to the right hand, and when ye turn to the left."'

Neither spoke for a minute. Then says the gentleman, 'You are determined, Bates?'

'*Determined!* Mr. Harris, I have made promises to you again and again, and as soon as made they have been broken. I feel in no mood now to parley with any one, neither to make promises to man. But a few hours since I was ordained to stand, for the first time, by the bedside of a dying child. She was aware that I was—what it costs me a bitter effort to pronounce—a drunkard. It is useless to deny the fact. She is gone, and with her bears the vow which she entreated of and received from me—that henceforth I would be free from the curse that has dragged us down to this, and that has been the indirect cause of her death.' The lips tremble and the eyes flash as he adds, 'And, Mr. Harris, I'll fulfil that vow! so may God help me!'

And by God's help he did fulfil it.

Fifty-six times had the moon waxed and waned since that eventful night.

It was a lovely morning in early summer. The old bell of St. Paul's had just struck the hour of eight; the million-peopled city was all astir. Very cheering the pleasant sunshine seemed to the myriad pedestrians who were hurrying to their various avocations.

Two gentlemen were walking along the Strand engaged in earnest conversation. One of them was short and thickly built. His bearded face glowed with quiet, scarce-repressible humour. His step was firm and independent, and he walked with his hands behind him under the tails of his coat. The other gentleman was tall, graceful in manner, and very anxious-looking. His handsome face was bronzed, his dark eyes were restless and piercing. He looked like a man who had travelled much and had seen much of the world.

Mr. F., the shorter gentleman—a wealthy builder, by the way  
Vol. 4.—No. 16. 2 c —suddenly

—suddenly broke short the conversation by exclaiming, as he pointed across the road, ‘There, what d’ye think of that? That’s what I call elegance and substantialness combined; and a very happy combination too. Ha! ha! Plenty of room for improvement in our street architecture, you think, eh?’

Yes; Mr. Sharland assented abstractedly, perhaps there was, &c. Then a confab was commenced about American buildings, and buildings in general.

‘I’ll show you a concern presently,’ said the enthusiastic little builder, ‘worthy of the grandest city in the world. I’m just going to run in to have five minutes with the architect. A fine fellow! Clever and——’

‘Pardon me,’ said Mr. Sharland, interrupting; ‘but while I think of it, have you heard anything lately of my brother-in-law, Bates?’

‘Bates!’ echoed Mr. F. ‘Oh, to be sure, he married your sister; well, I quite forgot.’ A strange roguish smile played round his mouth and lurked at the corners of his small gray eyes. ‘He was sold up some five or six years ago, and went off to Liverpool, or somewhere, like a shot. I lost sight of him for some time, and I believe he got down very poor; but he is doing well now, to my certain knowledge.’

‘How? where? where is he?’ asked Sharland, breathlessly.

‘Hey-day! prythee keep cool, old fellow; remember, ’tis June.’

‘Excuse me, Mr. F., I’m anxious to know. During the past few years I have suffered much. At times I have despaired of ever finding my sister again.’

‘But how is it you ever lost sight of them, Sharland?’

‘By the merest bit of thoughtlessness. I wrote to my sister when I left Charleston, and told her to defer answering me until I sent her a proper address. She must have received it, as I afterwards concluded, just as they were starting for Liverpool. One day the thought occurred to me that she might have addressed a letter to the Post Office at New Orleans; and on inquiry I found one had lain there a long time for me; it contained sad news, and was dated from Liverpool. I was then about to start for home, and you may suppose how great was my disappointment on arriving and inquiring for them in the locality she mentioned, to be told that no one of their name was known about there. I have since then crossed the Atlantic three or four times, but each time of my return to England my stay has been necessarily so short that I have been utterly unable to make thorough inquiries about them. Will you give me their address, Mr. F.?’

‘Yes, in a minute,’ said the tantalizing builder. ‘Just step in here with me; I’ve a little business to transact.’

They had turned into a bye-street, and were now at the door of a handsome

a handsome house. Mr. F. gave a noisy rap, and then turned his back to the door, placing his pert, consequential little figure in such a position that the brass plate should not be visible to Sharland.

'Master at home?' was his laconic query to the servant. He was evidently no stranger there, for without waiting her reply, he commenced a quick march to the first door on the left of the hall.

'Come in,' cried he to Sharland.

Perceiving the apartment empty, he bounced out again, saying, 'Call the master quickly, my good girl.'

'I feel like some one who has no right here,' said Sharland, with a snile.

'All the right in the world, my dear fellow. I'll introduce you in a trice.'

A child's musical laugh rang through the hall, and a deep manly voice was heard saying, 'I'll catch you, you rogue!' Then the door was flung wide open, and a little boy bounded in, his cheeks glowing with excitement; but seeing two gentlemen, he coyly shrank back, and the next minute his face was hidden in his father's morning gown.

'You see, I'm with you bright and early this fine morning. I just want five minutes with you; but I beg pardon—allow me—Mr. Sharland, Mr. Bates.'

There was no regard paid to the rules of etiquette as the two last-named gentlemen stood staring at each other. Then hands were grasped. Such a grasp!

'Frederic Sharland!'

'Alexander Bates!'

We readily confess our inability to describe that meeting, though it may be easily imagined. Suffice it to say that the eyes of both were moistened with tears; and while a few eager, earnest sentences were exchanged, the dapper little builder stood at the window regarding the passers-by with uncommon interest, and anon making a noise with his pocket-handkerchief, suggestive of the explosion of a miniature powder-magazine.

'Where is Marian?' asked Sharland.

'You'll find her in the room at the farther end of the passage.' Whither he immediately repaired. He knocked with a trembling hand at the door.

'Come in!' said the well-known voice—his sister's voice. He entered. It was a pleasant room, tastefully furnished. A young lady was standing near the window picking faded leaves from a few choice flowers that bloomed there. She had just finished arranging a vase of flowers on the nicely laid breakfast-table.

A matronly-looking lady was sitting in an easy chair with a

little girl of three summers on her lap, who was impatiently waiting whilst mamma, with pardonable pride, was looping up the dainty white sleeves with blue ribbon, so as to display the round dimpled arms to the greatest advantage.

A young gentleman of some seven or eight years was sitting on the carpet, puffing and panting and pushing back the brown curls from his heated brow. 'Harry musn't play at ball this weather; he gets too warm.' Then perceiving a stranger in the room, instead of the servant, whom she supposed had entered, the speaker rose hurriedly and made an apology.

'Marian! dear sister!' and before she could speak she was clasped in her brother's arms. Then came a flood of happy, thankful tears.

'Oh! Fred, what a weary time we have waited for you!'

'And what a weary search I have had for you, dearest; but, thank God! found at last.'

The young lady at the window was looking round in astonishment. In a moment she comprehended it all, and approached. 'This is Mary?' asked Sharland, as he stooped and tenderly saluted her. 'God bless you, dear child! I scarcely recognize you—grown almost a woman. Where's my little pet, Jessie?'

A shade flitted across the mother's brow as she said softly, 'She sleeps away in Liverpool, Fred.'

'Nay, Marian! not dead?'

'Not dead, but sleeping,' returned the mother.

He placed his hand across his eyes, and said with emotion, 'Oh, Marian, I expected to see her sweet face once again. Will you tell me all about it?'

'I cannot just now, Fred. Wait awhile.'

There was a solemn, tearful silence. Sharland broke it by saying, 'Time works sad changes.'

'And happy ones, too, thank God!' returned Mrs. Bates.

'Marian!' said her brother, suddenly; 'how was it I could not find you in Liverpool?'

'Oh, Fred! I have remembered with much pain that I forgot to tell you we had changed our name. It was so thoughtless, but at the time of writing we were in such great distress.' After a pause she added: 'Our long estrangement is attributable solely to inadvertence of this kind. I have grieved much and often about it.'

'How strange that it should be so!' said Sharland, musingly.

Just then two fine lads came in. Mr. Sharland rose to meet them.

'John and Fred,' said Mrs. Bates. 'Boys, this is your long-lost uncle.'

After greetings and much chat, Mrs. Bates explained. 'They are home for their holidays just now. Mary arrived only yesterday.'

How

How delightful to have such a happy meeting!' Her eyes were filled with tears.

'I hope excess of happiness will not blunt your appetites,' said Mr. Bates, entering the room just then with his youngest boy. 'Mary, my darling, the table looks quite gay with your charming flowers; and they are well arranged,' he added, playfully stroking his daughter's hair.

Whilst little Harry was getting the large Bible on the table, and placing the chairs, Mr. Bates was standing by the window conversing in low tones with Sharland.

'Don't regret it,' he said in reply to something just uttered by the latter. 'Doubtless it was ordered for the best. I might perhaps have looked too much to you; as it was I leant only upon God.'

'How did this reformation work come about?' asked Sharland, smiling. 'You are the last man in the world I should have expected to see shining in the teetotal ranks.'

Bates did not reply for a minute—he was looking down thoughtfully on the floor; and as he raised his head, he said slowly, as if musing, 'And a little child shall lead them.' Then he proceeded to speak briefly of Jessie's death, and the circumstances attending it, not omitting to mention the disinterested kindness of the Liverpool merchant; and in conclusion, said, 'That turning over a new leaf was hard work; but I tell you, Fred, what I went through then—the battling against the most terrible of all besetting sins: and all that was nothing in comparison of what I experienced whilst going down. "The way of transgressors is hard"—hard!' he repeated, with emphasis. 'Never were truer words uttered than those.'

'Are you an abstainer, Fred?' he asked suddenly, with changed tone.

'Well, no!' replied Sharland; 'but as you know I am particularly moderate, I cannot think I shall ever overstep the mark.'

'Nor do I think you will,' said Mr. Bates; 'still you are not out of danger. If any one had told me once that I should have done so, I should have scorned the bare mention of such a thing; but—you see. Well, here is a motive for you—"the weak brother." Oh, those weak ones! It harrows one's soul to think of them in the midst of such manifold temptations. Look at the allurements on every hand! Look at the drinking dens that can be counted by hundreds in our streets. It's shameful!'

Mr. Bates always grew warm when touching upon this theme, as every true patriot would be expected to do who had a wealth of love in his heart for his kin and country.

Turning his head at that moment, he observed that the servants were in the room, and that all were waiting for him.

Mr.

Mr. Sharland proceeded to the seat which Master Harry had assigned him close by himself. Then the father—the priest of the household—read in clear, beautifully-modulated tones, the sweet words—‘It is of the Lord’s mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not. They are new every morning: great is thy faithfulness. The Lord is my portion, saith my soul, therefore will I hope in Him;’—and so on. Then prayer was uttered—such prayer! rising from hearts that remembered the wormwood and the gall. Sometimes as it gushed up, it fell from the lips in broken words: but was it less acceptable for that? God knoweth!

Why should we linger around that table when our pen fails us to do justice to the scene? Why need we tarry to hear the explanations that have to be given and received? We know somewhat already; let that suffice us.

In conclusion, we may say, for the satisfaction of the inquisitive reader, that upon a plain white marble tablet that adorns the quiet grave of a little child, is recorded the very day of the month and year on which Alexander Bates ‘turned over a new leaf,’ and it is written immediately after the words, ‘To the beloved memory of Jessie Bates, who fell asleep in Jesus.’

## ART. VII.—SOCIAL STATISTICS.

### No. I.—PUBLIC INCOME from EXCISE for the Year ending March 31st, 1861.

	£	s.	d.
1. Chicory . . . . .	357	7	2
2. Game Certificates . . . . .	129,906	9	0
3. Hackney Carriages . . . . .	87,571	4	6
4. Hops . . . . .	582,727	9	5
5. Licenses . . . . .	1,492,687	7	3
6. Malt . . . . .	6,208,813	8	10
7. Paper . . . . .	1,306,253	11	9
8. Race Horses . . . . .	6,244	14	0
9. Railways . . . . .	366,280	6	2
10. Stage Carriages . . . . .	127,883	6	3
11. Spirits . . . . .	9,225,538	19	10
12. Sugar used in Brewing . . . . .	180	1	0
13. Law Costs recovered . . . . .	342	0	6
14. Fines and Forfeitures . . . . .	6,369	8	0
15. Sums received from contributions to late Scotch Excise Incorporated Fund . . . . .	1,000	12	11
16. Miscellaneous . . . . .	5,977	1	4
	<u>£19,548,133</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>

### No. II.—INCOME from CUSTOMS on SPIRITS.

#### Colonial and Foreign :—

	£.	s.	d.
Rum . . . . .	1,733,445	12	6
Brandy . . . . .	747,150	12	9
Geneva . . . . .	107,263	6	7
Other Sorts . . . . .	35,755	5	0
	<u>£2,623,614</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>

No. III.

## No. III.—EXPENDITURE ON LAW AND JUSTICE.

	£.	s.	d.
1. England . . . . .	1,262,559	18	8
2. Scotland . . . . .	239,041	7	5
3. Ireland . . . . .	1,013,860	6	11
4. Convict Establishments at Home . . . . .	368,100	0	0
5. Convicts in the Colonies . . . . .	13,238	1	5
6. Expenses of Transportation . . . . .	25,782	0	0
7. Maintenance in County Gaols, &c. . . . .	205,544	0	0
8. Prisons—Transportation . . . . .	18,000	9	0
9. Superintendence of Prisons . . . . .	18,545	0	0
	<u>£3,184,670</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>

## ART. VIII.—RECORD OF SOCIAL POLITICS.

**W**HILST we write a great sorrow and bereavement have come upon our beloved QUEEN and her nation. The ROYAL CONSORT, PRINCE ALBERT, the husband of our monarch and the father of our princes, has been called away, suddenly, in the prime of life and plenitude of public usefulness. This is the second great family bereavement which the Queen has sustained during the year just ended. First her revered mother, the DUCHESS OF KENT, was taken, and now her beloved Consort has been removed from her side. Signs of mourning and voices of lamentation are in all the land; for never was there an event that stirred the heart of a loyal people with more sincere sympathy and condolence. The most illustrious personage of this great realm has, at a moment of great national anxiety and peril, been deprived of her greatest source of earthly comfort, protection, and guidance. The Queen of England is now a widow, and her children are orphans. We trust that the prayers of the people so largely offered on behalf of the Queen and the royal household may be abundantly answered, and that consolation may be afforded to the widow; and that the youthful members of her family may imitate the virtues, the prudence, and the magnanimity of Prince Albert. This is not the place for an eulogium; but that has been pronounced already from pulpit and from chair, and the press of the country has been unanimous in its tribute to the memory of the illustrious Consort of our Queen.

During the past month the all-absorbing question of 'Peace or War' has been discussed by all our public men and journals. The American civil conflict between North and South, not only drags its slow and ominous length along, but whilst we write the complications are extending to other countries, and Old England is being drawn into the fray, and instead of being a neutral may soon become a belligerent. We need not record the details of the unfortunate affair of the 'San Jacinto' and the 'Trent.' The facts are familiar to all our readers. The 'rebel,' or 'contraband,' commissioners, Slidell and Mason, were taken by force from beneath the British flag in neutral waters. How far this act has violated international law we do not pretend to decide. Opinion inclines against the act as being illegal in form, if not in substance. Much indignation has been manifested through the newspaper press, and in various ways; but we sincerely hope that the affair, grave and threatening as its aspect is, will be settled by an appeal to reason, law, and mutual interests, rather than by a resort to force of arms. It cannot be that the cabinet of Abraham Lincoln can wish to offer a deliberate insult to, or outrage upon, the flag and honour of England. He is too sober-minded, sagacious, and law-abiding to attempt anything of the kind; and we doubt not the President will act with calmness and moderation in this great exigency. And we have equal confidence that our British Cabinet will endeavour to steer clear of the rock ahead, and carry us safely through the breakers into

into the bay of peaceful neutrality. No truly enlightened statesman, who is a friend to either nation, and cares for the progress of humanity, will for a moment desire to plunge Great Britain into a war with America. The cause of freedom, good government, and commercial prosperity cannot be advanced by England and America coming into conflict.

It is sad to be spectators of the awful strife now going on between the Federal Government and the Confederates; and we cannot but suffer, as a people, so long as the war continues. Still we trust that the conflict will not be prolonged, but that peaceful and righteous counsels will soon prevail. The Federal Government has at length begun to develop a policy of 'Emancipation.' The unanimous cry for 'Union' is now giving way to the higher and nobler cry for 'Freedom.' It begins to be clearly discerned that a return to the old state of things is not possible. The instructions of the Secretary of War, on the recent landing of the Federal navy in South Carolina, involves, in principle, the liberation of all slaves, the acceptance of their services, their arming and enrolment, and compensation to loyal masters. In this policy and issue we must sympathize and pray God speed the Federal cause. This is not the moment, surely, for Old England to allow herself to be drawn into a conflict that would inevitably place her flag, side by side, in friendly alliance with the black flag of slavery.

Turning from these transatlantic and international questions, we must briefly notice some of our domestic matters. The returns recently made to the Poor-law Board show that the increase of pauperism goes on, though to a much less extent than might have been expected. At the close of September it was 5.56 per cent over the corresponding period of 1860. At the close of October it had reached 5.93 per cent. The chief change in October was in the north-western district—Lancashire and Cheshire, which are remarkable in ordinary times for the small number of their paupers. At the end of September last there were 5.53 per cent. more than at the same date in 1860, but at the end of October they had increased so greatly as to be 10.38 per cent. more than at the end of October, 1860; but still these two counties, with,

as compared, for instance, with the south-eastern district of England, a population of three to every two persons in either of those districts, have much fewer paupers than they.

Some dreadful disclosures have recently been made before the Marlborough-street Police Court in London regarding an immoral traffic in Belgian girls and women. The protection of the law has been sought for a number of young girls brought over from Belgium, some under pretence of being provided with situations, and others without the knowledge and consent of their parents. All were compelled to enter upon a course of prostitution. The principal agent in this scandalous traffic was a Belgian, who kept a house of ill-fame in Marylebone, and who had already been convicted and punished in his own country. The girls whom he contrived to get into his power had no possible means of escape. They were supplied with clothes, jewellery, and board at his expense, and no matter how large the profits of their unhappy life, such accounts were kept with them that they were always shown to be in debt. Besides being confined to the house, they were frequently beaten and otherwise ill-used by the keeper of the house. The Society for the Protection of Women and Children had been at great pains to collect evidence, and they had so far succeeded as to be able to prove that there existed a regular trade in young girls of the ages of thirteen to fifteen, who were imported from Belgium to London, and that the person who conducted the traffic abroad, received a stipulated sum, according to the youth and attractions of the victim. Some of these unfortunate girls were the children of respectable parents; some had even been enticed from boarding schools without the knowledge of their parents. The majority were deluded by false pretences of one kind or other. The difficulty which the society experienced was to get at these girls to ascertain from their lips whether they were detained against their consent, and by what means they had been induced to leave their homes. They were, however, too strictly watched for the society to hope to get such positive proof as they required. The proceedings referred to both here and in Belgium had become so notorious, and the traffic was increasing to such an extent, that

that the society, who had fully prepared themselves with evidence, had resolved to attempt to deal with the evil, and had authorized the applicant to lay the matter before the magistrates of this court for their advice, in the hope that they would point out the course of law the society ought to follow to effect their object. Mr. Tyrwhitt suggested that some person should be sent to the house to collect statements from the girls themselves privately. There could be no difficulty in getting access to the house, and if it was then found that any of the inmates were kept there against their will, they might insist on their being released. We sincerely hope that the law of England will be found strong and righteous enough to put down such a revolting and cruel system of social infamy and wrong.

At Edinburgh there has been a fearful catastrophe through the fall of a tenement in the High Street, by which between thirty and forty lives have been sacrificed, many persons injured, and much property destroyed. The accident, or rather the calamity, seems to have occurred through some portions of the foundation walls having been undermined thirty or forty years ago to make way for a boiler, the heat of which had helped to crumble the thin remainder of the wall. The wall had been further weakened by hollowing out a chimney for the boiler, and by carrying through a door. The timbers also, in many parts of the building, were perfectly rotten with age. A local fund has been raised for the relief of the surviving sufferers. At a meeting of the citizens in the council chamber, Dr. Begg urged the necessity of providing better houses for the working classes. It seems to us that proper persons should be appointed to inspect dilapidated houses, and that such fearful occurrences should be prevented.

Another great public swindle has been detected and exposed in regard to the management of the National Assurance and Investment Association, better known as the Bank of Deposit, the affairs of which are pronounced to be irretrievably, hopelessly, and ruinously insolvent, and well known to have been so by the managing director, if not every person at the board; and yet up to the time of the bubble-bursting crisis, the public were invited by adver-

tisement to deposit their money on the promise of receiving five per cent. Numerous small depositors will lose nearly all of their little savings by this 'joint-stock villany,' as in the case of the Royal British Bank, and other similar corporate frauds.

A circular has just been issued from the War Office, regulating the supply of Bibles and Prayer Books to the army at home and abroad. The books supplied are expected to last ten years, unless the regiment is called into the field, when losses of books will be replaced at the public expense. Books lost by soldiers are replaced at exceedingly low rates—a Bible and Prayer Book, bound together, being supplied at 1s. 4d., a Bible at 8d. Provision is made for supplying Roman Catholic Prayer Books and Testaments, and Presbyterian Bibles, with Psalms, at equally low rates.

The great question of National Education has been stirring the minds of vast multitudes during the past quarter. Meetings have been held, and resolutions adopted, in regard to the revised code of the Committee of Council, in various parts of the country, and the newspapers, previous to the affair of the 'Trent' outrage, were filled with leaders, speeches, and letters on the question *pro* and *con*. A numerous deputation, representing the National Society, the Church of England Education Society, the Metropolitan and Provincial Training Institution, and other bodies, waited upon Earl Granville, on the 10th December last, to present a memorial urging his lordship 'to withdraw the new code which has occasioned wide-spread alarm, and thereby restore that confidence and co-operation between the educationists of Great Britain and the Committee of Council which had hitherto so happily prevailed.' In reply, Earl Granville admitted that blots existed, and that alterations as to details were needful, and would be made, but that he could not promise the withdrawal of the measure. Mr. Martin, on behalf of the memorialists, complained that the pupil teachers had had held out to them advantages after passing through their pupilage, and obtaining certificates of merit, which the new code would deprive them of. Mr. Lowe, on behalf of the Government, could not admit that any positive engagement had been entered into; and Earl Granville remarked

marked that it was impossible to say that a rule which depended upon an annual vote of Parliament, and which the Committee of Privy Council had power at any time to alter, could be regarded as permanent. A large and influential body of gentlemen opposed to the Government system of education, met in conference on the 27th November, at the London Coffee House, Ludgate Hill. Mr. Baines, M.P., presided, and moved a lengthy resolution, expressing the opinion of the conference 'that the present system of Government education has been productive of varied and serious evils,' and 'that in view of all these considerations, and relying on the many and powerful forces which now stimulate and necessitate education, independently of Government aid, this conference is of opinion that the parliamentary grants for that object should, year by year, be reduced, until they shall wholly cease.' Mr. Edward Miall, Mr. S. Morley, the Rev. G. W. Conder, Sir S. M. Peto, Mr. Charles Jupe, and others, took part in the proceedings. Mr. Jupe remarked on the great obstacle to self-education among the masses, arising from the drinking customs, and the abounding temptations and facilities afforded by the liquor traffic now licensed and sanctioned by the State. He urged that efforts should be made in the direction of the removal of these fearful obstacles to education and social and moral progress. Mr. Miall also adverted to the same evils, and deprecated their continuance.

The annual meeting of the United Kingdom Alliance was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, on the 23rd October, and but for an attack of serious illness, would have been presided over by Lord Brougham, who has given his full adhesion to the organization, by consenting to occupy an official position, as vice-president. At no former meeting has the Alliance movement stood out before the public with such power and prominence, or indicated such signs of rapid progress in the public mind. The 'Times,' the 'Daily News,' the 'Scotsman,' and hosts of journals, not only noticed the proceedings, but favoured their readers with elaborate leading articles, criticising the arguments, principles, and policy of the Alliance. The anniversary proceedings were unusually animated, and a perfectly unanimous expression was

arrived at on all points that were put forward. The great public meeting was presided over by Sir W. C. Trevelyan, Bart., and was ably and eloquently addressed by Sir John Stewart Forbes, Bart.; the Rev. G. T. Fox, M.A., Durham; the Rev. W. N. Molesworth, M.A., Rochdale; Handel Cossam, Esq., Bristol; Wilfred Lawson, Esq., M.P., Carlisle; Samuel Pope, Esq., Hon. Sec.; Rev. Dr. McKerrow, Manchester, and Rev. W. Griffith, Derby. The subscription list in the council meeting amounted to nearly 2,500/.

The Great Exhibition of 1862 promises to be one of the grandest, most varied, and most interesting that the world has yet seen. For the first time in the history of art, all the rarest and most valued masterpieces of modern art will be assembled under one roof. The inestimable works, the possession of which makes public galleries and great collections famous throughout the Continent, will all be together next year at South Kensington, marshalled according to the various epochs they represent with the most consummate skill and care. There is not now a single state or country in Europe, no matter what its size, which has not applied for and received space for the exhibition of works in this section. Even Russia has demanded and received a proportionate allotment of the picture galleries for the display of works belonging to the Russian school of painting, which as a distinct school of art is heard of now almost for the first time. It is said, however, that this Russian gallery will contain many fine, though all very large works. When such preparations are made by all foreign countries in this great art contest, it is satisfactory to know that such wide-extended efforts are making in this country for the proper representation of the English school of art as must result in raising the fame of our painters throughout Europe even higher than it has stood before. All the national collections in England and Scotland will furnish important works by both living and deceased masters whenever it is found difficult to illustrate satisfactorily their merits and characteristics from other sources. The Council of the Royal Academy, the Trustees of the National Gallery and the National Gallery of Scotland, the Corporation of the City of London, the Commissioners of Greenwich Hospital, the Governors of

of the Foundling Hospital, and other public bodies, have offered a selection from the works of art under their control. From these sources the display next year will be enriched with the rarest and most striking examples of the works of Hogarth, Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Northcote, Opie,

Turner, and others. It is to be hoped in this general competition that the Trustees of the Soane Museum will depart from their usual exclusiveness, and for this occasion at least allow some of the art treasures under their care to become more widely known and appreciated.

## ART. IX.—REVIEWS OF BOOKS.

*The Golden Opportunity, and how to improve it.* Being Prize Essays on the best means of infusing a Missionary Spirit into the Education of the Young. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. W. Champneys, M.A. London: Elliot Stock. 1861.

THIS work is worthy of its subject, and the first essay of the Rev. John Stock is written with considerable power and pathos. Its circulation among teachers of day and Sunday schools would be sure to produce good fruit. The other two essays are short though good. It is an interesting fact that no fewer than four hundred and seventy-one essays competed for the prizes offered, which were 50*l.*, 20*l.*, 10*l.*, and 5*l.*, respectively. The adjudicators had therefore much work ere giving their award.

*A Few Words on Women's Work.* By Mrs. Baines.

*Popular Education, What it is and what is not.* By the Same.

MRS. BAINES has written several pamphlets on the proper work of women and the proper care of children. They all evince a well-informed mind, full of sound principles and real philanthropy.

*Bright and Dark Spots in Life.* Founded on fact. By W. Bradley, Temperance Missionary, Exeter. London: Caudwell.

THIS story contrasts the advantages of abstinence from intoxicating drinks with the miseries of intemperance. It is pleasingly written, pervaded with a religious spirit, and calculated to promote the cause of temperance.

*The Temperance Meeting Melodist.* Compiled by Walter Ludbrook. London: Caudwell.

THIS is a good selection of temperance hymns and songs, and is published at a penny.

*The Grand Alliance* (not the Ascetic Alliance). By George Lucas, Gateshead-on-Tyne. London: Caudwell.

THIS is a sharp reply to the misrepresentations of the United Kingdom Alliance made by the Rev. Wm. Binns. Mr. Lucas deserves credit for his courage and for his argument.

*The Temperance Spectator.* Published monthly. London: Caudwell.

THIS periodical continues to advocate the temperance cause with ability, and keeps its readers abreast of the science involved in teetotalism.

*Intemperance and Crime: their Causes and Remedies.* By William Hoyle. London: Caudwell.

THIS is a local defence of the suppression of the liquor traffic, and is written with good spirit.

*Philanthropy, Proselytism, and Crime.*<sup>4</sup>

A Review of the Irish Reformatory System, with a glance at the Reformatories of Great Britain, and at Mr. Maguire's Industrial Schools Bill. By the Rev. Richard Smyth, M.A. Londonderry: R. Hamilton.

THIS pamphlet contains an enlightened review of the reformatory system, and shows many weaknesses and failings which our legislators and social reformers would do well to consider and amend. Mr. Smyth supports his arguments with facts sufficiently startling.

*Tracts for the Thoughtful on matters relating to the Religious Condition of the Age.* 1. *The Strife of Sects.* London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.

THE present agitation in religious thought is calling forth many publications; and if the series, of which this is the first, be as sensible and sound as this, it will aid in the reformation and unity which are desired by all good men. We commend it to our readers.

The

*The Fourth Annual Report of the Ladies' Sanitary Association.*

*Tracts published by the Association.*

THE Report before us illustrates what a society of earnest and philanthropic ladies can do in promoting social reform. The tracts which have been issued are all well written, very intelligible, and admirably adapted to convey instruction in common things to the most ignorant. The poor can do much to improve their own sanitary condition by observing the plain and simple prescriptions of these tracts. 'The Value of Fresh Air,' 'The Use of Pure Water,' 'The Influence of Wholesome Drink,' 'The Cheap Doctor,' 'The Power of Soap and Water,' 'The Health of Mothers,' and, indeed, all in the series, including the verses on sanitary subjects, so happily expressed, are models of their kind, and deserve to be circulated over the length and breadth of the land. We sincerely trust that none of our readers will be unacquainted with them; and we strongly recommend the purchase and distribution of such good counsel. Such would largely promote the *meliora* which this review seeks to advance.

*Has Sir Benjamin Brodie spoken the Truth about Homœopathy and its Practitioners?* By J. Harmer Smith, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., &c. London: Tressider.

HOMŒOPATHISTS are always ready when any of their opponents make an attack upon their system to prepare and publish a reply. Mr. Smith has met the objections of Sir Benjamin Brodie in a spirited lecture. One of his answers is to the effect, that of one hundred and fifty homœopathic practitioners, one hundred and thirty-eight are on the Government register as properly qualified medical men who passed through the ordinary curricula of education. These were all educated according to the allopathic system. Credit should therefore be given to them for their sincerity, and we are of opinion that the same toleration should be allowed for the one system as the other as to schools of medicine, hospitals, and practice. Thorough education is of grow-

ing importance in a profession on whose skill the health and happiness of the lieges depend; and if this be guaranteed and secured by law, let there be a rivalry in their benevolent operations.

*Etymological Dictionary of Scripture Names.* By W. G. Hird. Second Edition. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

IF Professor Pillans considered the origin of the verb a subject becoming the attention of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, the author of this 'Etymological Dictionary' is warranted in sending his work to the *Review of Social Science*. He has bestowed great pains upon his production, which is well fitted to open up the meaning of many names in Holy Scripture, which are often of great practical significance. The accentuation of these proper names gives the dictionary much utility. Sunday-school teachers will find Mr. Hird's labours of great service to them.

*The Life and Times of George Lawson, D.D.,* Selkirk, Professor of Theology to the Associate Synod. With Glimpses of Scottish Character from 1720 to 1820. By the Rev. John Macfarlane, LL.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Co. 1862.

SCOTTISH character has of late received ample illustration in the autobiographies of Drs. Carlyle and Sommerville, and in the collections of anecdotes and *ana* which Dean Ramsay, Dr. Rogers, Alex. Leighton, and Mr. Kennedy have given to the press. Dr. Macfarlane has cultivated a distinct field of the same period, and has produced a work of equal interest, full of anecdote, thoroughly Scottish, and delineating the life, labours, and influence of a man of high scholarship as a divine, exemplary fidelity as a pastor, beautiful piety as a Christian, and of healthy influence for good as a professor. Dr. Lawson and Dr. Carlyle are 'wide as the poles asunder.' The one was as fervent as the other was cold, as evangelical as the other was moderate, as honourable to the ministry as the other was discreditable. Both were able, and calculated to mould and lead the minds of others.







